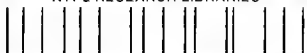


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LECTURES
ON THE
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES



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SERIES SIXTEEN

LECTURE SEVENTY-THREE

The Reconstruction Era, 1865—1877

(Continued)

73. The Undoing of Reconstruction and Its Effects



CHAPTER IX.

1873-1876.

THE UNDOING OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Conditions in Alabama — Democrats elect governor — Carpet-bag government superseded — The Brooks-Baxter war in Arkansas — Democrats regain State — Governor Davis of Texas defeated by Democratic nominee, Richard Coke — "Shot-gun" methods in Mississippi — Prevalency of corruption — Success of Democrats — Impeachment of State officials — Enormous frauds in Louisiana — Negro legislators — Usurpation of government by Kellogg faction — Backed by Grant — Open warfare — McEnery faction submits — Riots and bloodshed — Battle between Metropolitan Police and White League — Government troops sent and order restored — Disputes in legislature — Protests sent from Northern cities — Kellogg and others impeached — South Carolina debt and taxes — Furnishings of State House — Queer supplies for legislators — Composition of legislature — Gradual emancipation.

In chapter VII was shown the manner in which several of the Southern States passed from under the control of the radicals. In 1874 three other States, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, overthrew the reconstruction régime and in 1875 Mississippi followed, leaving Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina still under carpet-bag governments.*

In Alabama the governor and lower house of the legislature had been elected in 1870 by the Democrats. The senate still remained Republican, however, and in 1872 the Republicans again came into power, electing the governor and with the aid of Federal troops securing the majority in the legislature.† Under this régime the State became worse than bankrupt, and the taxes soared beyond all reason. In 1860 the rate of taxation

was one-fifth of one per cent. on a portion of the wealth of the State, but this rate had risen by 1868 to three-fourths of one per cent. representing an eight-fold increase, considering the vast difference in the value of property. Expenditures for State purposes, which had amounted to \$530,107 in 1860, increased to \$2,081,649.39 in 1873 and the State debt advanced from \$4,065,410 in 1866 to \$30,037,563 in 1874, beside which a city and county debt amounting to about \$12,000,000 was piled up, so that the total of State, city and county debts amounted to about 65 per cent. of the assessed valuation of the farm lands of the State.

This was mainly due to the policy adopted by the State in 1867 of endorsing the bonds of new railroads at the rate of \$16,000 for each mile actually constructed. But the roads obtained endorsements not only for what was actually constructed but for hundreds of miles that were never constructed; one road alone — the

* On general conditions see Fleming, *Documentary History*, vol. ii., chap. viii.

† For methods of compiling poll lists see Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875*, pp. 85-89 (D. Appleton & Co.)

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Alabama and Chattanooga — securing \$5,300,000, of which \$1,300,000 represented unconstructed lines. By this method the State treasury was mulcted of about \$14,000,000, though the exact total was never known. The State school fund in 1873 was also found to be short \$1,260,511.92, all of which the legislature had illegally diverted to other purposes, and in several counties the school funds were embezzled by the officials. Approximately \$15,000,000 of the State debt was afterward repudiated.*

The carpet-bag government was split by an internal fight among the carpet-baggers, negroes and scalawags over the patronage of State offices, whereas the Democrats had become well organized and were well led. The chief issue in the election of 1874 was black domination, and the desertion of whites on this issue from the radical party, which was composed of nine-tenths negroes and one-tenth whites, further weakened the carpet-baggers. Therefore the Democrats were able to elect their candidate, George S. Houston; the radicals were soon expelled from office, and the Republican party was so shattered that it has never since gained control over the State. An investigating committee sent by Congress reported that the election had been gained by fraud, but at this time there was a growing disposition on the part of the Federal government to leave the Southern State governments to themselves, and therefore

the whites of Alabama were left to work out their own salvation.* This they did by repealing the laws passed by the carpet-baggers, reducing the number of offices and salaries, adjusting the public debt, and framing a new constitution.†

In Arkansas the same tactics were pursued. Bonds aggregating \$10,000,000 were issued for funding purposes, for alleged railroad and levee aid, etc. Bonds were issued on rails laid in one direction and a second series was issued on the same rails which had been taken up and laid in an opposite direction. Aid was given to the railroads for embankments near streams and "levee" aid was also given these same roads for the same purpose. Bonds were issued by the counties to build court houses and jails, but not one was ever erected. Most of the counties, after a severe struggle, finally paid off these bonds.‡ "The schools are almost all closed because the school fund was stolen; and Little Rock is unpaved, though the conquerors of 1865 issued nearly shinplasters enough to pave all the streets handsomely with the paper itself and bonds enough besides to make dry crossings at the corners."

After the Republican governor had declared martial law in fourteen counties, and had gained undisputed sway in the State, the Republican party dis-

* Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, pp. 90-94.

† Fleming, *Reconstruction in Alabama*; Rhodes vol. vii., pp. 74-84.

‡ Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, p. 29 *et seq.* (D. Appleton & Co.)

* Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 512-516; W. A. Scott, *The Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 54-63, 276.

integrated because of internal dissensions, as in Alabama, and a split occurred, the moderates, disagreeing with the leaders, forming into the Reform Republican party, with Joseph Brooks as their leader. At the following election Brooks was nominated by this party for the governorship and because of his reform platform drew many Democrats to his side. His opponent, nominated by the radical element, was Elisha Baxter, who also promised reforms.

When the ballots were counted Baxter was declared elected, but Brooks contested the election before the legislature, though unsuccessfully. Brooks then secured a decision from Judge Whytock of the Pulaski circuit court declaring Baxter's election illegal, and on April 15, 1874, ejected Baxter, and declared himself governor. Baxter, however, raised an armed force, called a session of the legislature, which recognized him as the lawful governor, and then petitioned Grant to sustain him. Grant, therefore, on May 15, issued a proclamation* declaring Baxter to be the rightful occupant of the governor's chair. The Brooks forces were ordered to disperse, and Baxter's possession of the governorship was not thereafter disputed. In July, 1874, a new constitution was framed and in the following October was ratified by popular vote, and the State once more came into an era of peace. The Democrats

elected A. H. Garland to the governorship and also captured the legislature. Subsequently fraudulent bonds to the value of several millions were repudiated by the State.†

In Texas Governor Davis had been placed in power in 1870 by the votes of negroes and extreme radicals, and soon the legislature organized a state militia and a "state police" under the governor's orders. This police, composed chiefly of negroes, was used to control the elections by intimidating the whites, but by 1872 a strong reaction set in and a Democratic legislature was elected. The governor's headstrong course had alienated many of his erstwhile friends and at the election in 1873 he was defeated by Richard Coke, by 85,549 votes to 42,633. Davis, however, in an endeavor to save himself, secured a decision from the supreme court, under his domination, declaring the election null and void. As this decision was not respected he tried to enlist the aid of the Federal government; but on January 17, 1874, he was forced to abandon his attempt to seize the government and it once more came into the hands of the people of Texas.‡

* J. M. Harrell, *The Brooks and Baxter War: A History of the Reconstruction in Arkansas*, p. 163 *et seq.*; Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 534-542; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1874, pp. 87-100; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 86-91; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 136-142; *House Report* No. 2, 43d Congress, 2d session.

† Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 121-128.

‡ Garrison's *Texas*, pp. 296-297; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1874, pp. 108-112; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 737-741.

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 272-273; see also his annual message of December 7, 1874, p. 298.

In Mississippi it was necessary to use "shot-gun" methods in order to bring the State from under the mismanagement of the carpet-baggers. The taxes had become so burdensome that meetings were held by the members of all parties to protest. At the State Grange it was resolved that "taxation in Mississippi had become a burden so large and extensive that the vital energies and industries of our state are becoming sapped, paralyzed and destroyed and ruin inevitable and irretrievable stares us in the face." Most of the leaders of the legislature were carpet-baggers and their names did not appear on the tax list at all. The session of 1871 lasted six months and the expenses were three times as great as those of 1865.* New offices were created and salaries raised.

Governor Alcorn in a message to the Mississippi legislature in 1871 said that "while the average pay of the teachers in Northern schools is less than \$300 a year, salaries here range from \$720 to \$1,920."† The receipts in 1870 amounted to less than half the expenditures, these items being \$436,000 and \$1,061,249, respectively, and the expenses of the legislature alone were more than half the entire revenue. In 1871 the expenses of the judiciary were \$377,000. When four years of reconstruction had passed the revenue failed to meet the expenditures by over \$850,000 and

the State debt had increased from less than \$1,000,000 to \$3,750,385 in 1875. The burden of taxation finally threatened to depopulate the State, the rate varying from 2½ to 5 per cent. Of the total area of the State (30,000,000 acres) over 6,000,000 acres were forfeited for taxes.*

In the local elections of 1874 the Democrats had made such gains that they were encouraged to redouble their efforts in the campaign of 1875. As in the other States, the issue resolved itself into one of race supremacy, and intense feeling was manifested by both sides during the campaign. Political marching clubs with military features were organized by both parties and frequent clashes occurred between the whites and blacks. Failing to secure Federal troops Governor Ames organized two regiments of negro troops armed with Gatling guns and small arms.† But this was ineffective, for the whites so overawed the blacks with threats of nonemployment, no credit, etc.,‡ that they refrained from voting, and the Democrats won the election on No-

* *Ibid*, pp. 290-328 for details.

† *Ibid*, pp. 372-389.

‡ *House Report* No. 261, app. b. 43d Congress, 2d session, gives collections of documents illustrating this method; Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, pp. 80-84 also gives some instances in previous elections. See also *Senate Report* No. 527, 44th Congress, 1st session; Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, pp. 389-414; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, pp. 278-280; Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 532-534; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 91-104, 128-142; Susan D. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*; Mayes, *Life of L. Q. C. Lamar*, pp. 229-264, 311-318; Merriam, *The Negro and the Nation*, pp. 333-340.

* Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, p. 286.

† *Ibid*, p. 365.

vember 3, 1875, by 30,000 majority. An investigation of the State offices was instituted and the lieutenant-governor was impeached, the superintendent of education resigned under impeachment, and Governor Ames resigned on March 29, 1876, on condition that the impeachment proceedings against him should be dismissed. Thus home rule was established once more.

The conditions in Louisiana resulting from carpet-bag-negro rule were probably as bad as in any of the States. The State debt, which in 1869 amounted to \$6,777,300, had risen by January, 1870, to \$28,000,000 and by November of that year had reached the enormous total of \$40,456,734, an increase of over \$33,000,000 in less than two years.* Beside this there were over \$30,000,000 of local indebtedness, of which New Orleans alone carried \$17,000,000. The tax increase was six-fold. In New Orleans the local tax rate was three per cent. in 1873 and in Natchitoches eight per cent. The legislative expenses for the session of 1871 were \$958,956.50 — for the house \$767,192.65 and for the senate \$191,763.85 — an average of \$113 a day for each member. In the house there were 80 clerks at enormous salaries and yet only 120 bills were passed during the entire session at an average expense of about \$6,500 per bill.† The perma-

nent school fund disappeared and no one knew or would tell where.

Governor Warmoth declared that the legislature was honeycombed with bribery and corruption and even stated that he had been offered \$50,000 to sign a bill.* A member of a Congressional committee asked the price of a senator and was informed that it was \$600.† Colored members of the legislature, who only a few years previous had been slaves, were frequently seen "driving magnificent horses, seated in stylish equipages and wearing diamond breast pins." "What then must have been the feelings of men who saw blacks, but lately their own slaves, and as ignorant as the mules they drove, preferred before them for office, set over them in authority, making laws for them — and making them very badly at that — openly plundering the State, bribed by rascally whites, and not merely enjoying but under the lead of white adventurers, shamefully abus-

* Much of this was afterward repudiated. See Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 107-119.

† Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 367-371; Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, pp. 57-62.

* This man, who had said "there is but one honest man" in the legislature, said of himself: "I don't pretend to be honest, but only as honest as anybody in politics." When the negroes first voted in Louisiana Warmoth "had a charity-box attached to every ballot-box and a negro dropping a ballot into one had to drop fifty cents into the other, contributions paying Warmoth's expenses as special delegate to Washington, where Congress refused to recognize him. He returned to Louisiana and in two years was governor and in three was worth a quarter of a million dollars and a profitable autograph. 'It cost me more,' said W. S. Scott, 'to get his signature to a bill than to get the bill through the Legislature.'"—Avery, *Dirie After the War*, p. 281. See also Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 553-555, 559.

† Report No. 32, 12d Congress, 2d session, p. 26.

ing place and power.”* “The very grossest government was the consequence of the combination of these corrupt whites and blacks * * *. The processes of the thieves resembled those of the Tweed ring of New York. There were ‘alteration and erasure of warrants, forgery of names,’ unauthorized and illegal issues of warrants and drawing of mileage by legislative committees for tours of inspection that were never made. There were all sorts of fraud, bribery and embezzlement in the different parishes; mismanagement and corruption in the school boards. There were corrupt district attorneys and judges; and illiterate negro juries trying intricate cases of commercial law. A man openly charged with theft was elected parish judge by the colored people. Another whom the United States Supreme Court in a decision had alleged guilty of fraud in the sale of a railroad property was appointed chief justice of the supreme court of Louisiana by the governor and permitted to retain his place by the legislature.”† Consequently property was “almost worthless and totally unsalable.”‡ There were 47,491 seizures for taxes in the years 1871-73.‡

But though Grant had backed up the carpet-bag-negro régime with every means in his power a rift in the clouds soon appeared. The Repub-

lican party in 1871 had split into two factions. One was known as the custom-house faction, composed of the carpet-baggers, of whom the chief were S. B. Packard, the United States marshal, and the speaker of the House, George W. Carter; the other party was headed by Governor Warmoth, who, though he was undoubtedly as corrupt as any and had grown rich in office, was at times animated with a charitable spirit toward the whites and endeavored to obtain a shadow of justice for them. Because of his leaning toward the Democrats, the custom-house faction declared war on him and his followers and attempted to impeach him in order to secure a more firm hold on the State. This strife finally developed into open warfare and soon Warmoth was arrested under the enforcement law and brought before Packard. But Warmoth’s influence was so great that the action against him was dropped. Carter and Packard then proceeded to organize what they called the “true legislature” and attempted to seize the reins of government, a plot which was frustrated only with the aid of Federal troops.

In the campaign of 1872 the Carter-Packard faction supported Grant and nominated William Pitt Kellogg for governor and C. C. Antoine, a negro for lieutenant-governor. The Warmoth faction sided with the Liberal Republicans and Democrats and supported John McEnery and Davidson Penn, the Democratic nominees for

* Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, p. 43 *et seq.* (D. Appleton & Co.)

† Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 106-107.

‡ Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 110-111; Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, p. 62 *et seq.*

governor and lieutenant-governor. Both parties claimed to have won the election, but as two members of the returning board were candidates, and therefore by law prevented from passing upon the election returns, Governor Warmoth appointed others to the vacancies. These appointments were not satisfactory to the radicals and they formed a new board known as the Lynch board and induced Judge Durell of the United States district court of Louisiana to issue an order restraining Warmoth's appointees from counting the votes.* In order to frustrate this plan Warmoth now signed a bill which the legislature had previously passed giving the Senate the right to appoint a returning board. But as the Senate was not then in session Warmoth had power under this bill to appoint a temporary board and he accordingly did so. This board, known as the De Feriet board, declared McEnery elected.

But Kellogg enlisted the aid of the Federal authorities and President Grant, who refused to recognize the count of the De Feriet board as legal, ordered United States troops to seize the state house at New Orleans and hold it for Kellogg, which was done on the night of December 5-6, 1872. In January, 1873, both McEnery and Kellogg were inaugurated and the Kellogg legislature (68 of the 140

members being negroes) proceeded to rule the State with an iron hand. Grant, accepting the impeachment of Warmoth by the Kellogg faction, declared the McEnery administration unlawful and ordered it to disperse.* The supporters of McEnery, however, did not submit gracefully to these orders, but in different parts of the State they maintained small military organizations. Kellogg used the metropolitan police and Federal troops to enforce his laws and mandates and riots frequently occurred. On March 3, 1873, the Kellogg faction was attacked in New Orleans but the disturbance was quelled by Federal troops. In the same month Kellogg threw all the Democratic members of the legislature into prison. On April 13 there was a sharp fight between the whites and the blacks at Colfax, in Grant Parish, in which 150 negroes were killed. In Red River Parish six office-holders were shot.† On May 7 there was another riot at St. Martinsville, and it became necessary to employ Federal troops to suppress it.

The whites thereupon determined to overthrow the Kellogg government and organized themselves into the "New Orleans White League," subsequently securing arms and drilling themselves as State troops. Kellogg's police in New Orleans attempted to seize the arms, but on September 14, 1874, the White League at a mass

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1874, p. 101 *et seq.* The Judiciary Committee of the House subsequently reported in favor of impeaching Durell but he resigned shortly afterward. See *House Report No. 732*, 43d Congress, 1st session; Mayes, *Lamar*, pp. 195-197.

* Burgess, *Reconstruction*, pp. 269-272; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 78-85.

† *Appleton's Annual Cyclopadia*, 1874, p. 477; Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 372-376.

meeting in New Orleans called upon Kellogg to resign. The League troops then attacked the Kellogg police, cavalry and artillery, under generals Longstreet and Badger, and after a severe fight, in which 80 were killed and wounded, captured all their cannon and forced Kellogg, Longstreet and the others to flee to the United States custom house, where they were sheltered by the Federal troops. On the 15th the state house, all the State and city property, arsenals, and all police and militia property were turned over to Lieutenant-Governor Penn (McEnery being absent) and thus control of the city was gained by the McEnery faction. Penn was inaugurated on the same day.

Kellogg now made application to Grant for reinstatement and again the President refused to recognize the McEnery government.* He called upon it to disperse and ordered General Emory to secure Kellogg's seat, sending troops and war vessels to New Orleans to aid. But the McEnery faction on September 17 quietly and without resistance transferred all the State property to the Kellogg administration.†

In the elections of November, 1874, the whites succeeded in electing 57 of the 111 representatives, several of the

State officers, and four of the six members of Congress. The returning board, under J. Madison Wells, nevertheless declared a majority of the radical State officers and representatives elected and as a result Grant sent Sheridan to New Orleans, ostensibly to report the situation to the President but in reality to support the radical element in its fight.*

When the newly elected legislature met on January 4, 1875, the Democrats who had been counted out by Wells were refused their seats and a quarrel arose over the organization. As some of the radicals were absent the Democrats elected L. A. Wiltz speaker, and admitted those Democrats who had been ousted. The Kellogg party appealed to the military authorities, whereupon General De Trobriand with Federal troops proceeded to the state house and ejected the Democrats whose seats were disputed by the Kellogg faction. The remaining Democrats then left the state house and the radicals elected Michael Hahn speaker.†

But the action of Grant and the military authorities was severely denounced even by supporters of the administration, and indignation meetings were held at New York, Boston

* See his proclamation of September 15, 1874, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 276-277, also his annual message of December 7, 1874, p. 296 *et seq.*

† Appleton's *Annual Cyclopadia*, 1874, p. 479; Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 376-381; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 152-159; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1876, pp. 21-25.

* See his special message of January 13, 1875. Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 305-314; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1876, pp. 32-36.

† *House Report No. 101*, p. 287 *et seq.*, 43d Congress, 2d session; Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 381-385; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1876, pp. 28-45; Mayes, *Lamar*, p. 206 *et seq.*

and other Northern cities.* So much pressure was brought to bear on Congress that a committee† was sent to Louisiana to adjust the differences. A compromise, known as the "Wheeler Adjustment," was proposed by which all the Democratic members were seated, provided the Democratic majority would not impeach Kellogg for acts committed prior to the adjustment.‡ This adjustment was accepted by the Democrats, but Kellogg and the State auditor were afterward found guilty of embezzling public funds and both officials were recommended for impeachment, though not convicted because of lack of preparation of the case against them.¶

In South Carolina we perhaps find the most appalling and disgraceful conditions. Under Robert K. Scott, an Ohio carpet-bagger and a former chief of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Franklin J. Moses, Jr., "scalawag, licentiate and debauché," the "Robber Governor," the State treasury was looted by the "legislators" who made no pretense of honesty. These patriotic statesmen openly said that they intended to "squeeze the state as dry

as a sucked orange," and one of these eminent personages asserted that "South Carolina ought not to be a state if she cannot support her statesmen." In 1867 the State debt was \$5,800,000, but by the end of 1871 this had become \$29,000,000, actual and contingent, and there were so many other obligations that no estimate was ever made of them.* The taxable property exclusive of slaves was \$316,000,000 in 1860 on which the annual taxes amounted to \$392,000; by 1871 the property values had been reduced to \$184,000,000 but the taxes had been increased over five-fold, to about \$2,000,000.† The public printing for one administration cost more than it had for the previous 70 years, and in one session the legislature spent \$95,000 for furniture alone, \$80,000 of which was spent to furnish the homes of the members. The state house was refurnished, not so much on an elegant as on a costly scale, some of the items being as follows: Chandeliers cost from \$1,500 to \$2,000; the \$2 window curtains were replaced by others costing from \$600 to \$1,500; chairs that had cost \$1 were discarded and \$60 chairs were used instead; \$200 sofas took the place of \$4 benches; \$5 clocks were exchanged for some costing \$600 as were \$4 looking-glasses for \$600 mirrors, and \$10 desks for \$175

* Mayes, *Lamar*, p. 208 *et seq.*; Godwin, *Life of W. C. Bryant*, vol. ii.

† The members of which were Hoar, Wheeler, Frye, Foster, Phelps, Potter and Marshall.

‡ McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1876, p. 200, Fleming, *Documentary History*, vol. ii., pp. 157-160; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 159-167.

¶ Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 385-387; Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, pp. 41-43, 63-68; Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 555-570; Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, pp. 259-265.

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* Pike, *Prostrate State*, chap. xvii.; Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 78-93; Cox, *Three Decades*, pp. 501-507; Governor Chamberlain's inaugural address of December 1, 1874, quoted in Walter Allen, *Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina*, pp. 10-30.

† Pike, chap. xxxi.

desks, hand-painted cuspidors at \$50 apiece for the members, etc. Beside this each member was furnished a \$10 gold pen, a \$25 calendar ink-stand and a copy of Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* and free use of railroads and telegraph lines. Even the private accounts and gambling losses of the members were paid.*

The legislature invested several millions in railroads and subsequently waived its claim to any share in the roads; it appropriated \$1,250,000 to redeem \$500,000 in State bank notes and used the securities belonging to the educational fund for State purposes. It also appropriated \$700,000 to buy land that was worth \$50,000 to give to the negroes. Over \$800,000 was paid for lands by the State Treasurer but of this amount about \$225,000 was never accounted for. Of the \$575,000 supposed to have been actually paid for land about \$400,000 represented graft and the balance the actual value of the land purchased.† Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on supplies for bars and restaurants that the "legislators" might refresh themselves and their friends with food, wines, liquors and cigars. Forty bedrooms were furnished as "committee" rooms each session, at the close of which the "statesmen" carried home the furniture. But the most ludicrous part of the whole affair was the character of the supplies furnished. "Bills

made by officials and legislators and paid by the state reveal a queer medley! Costly liquors, wines, cigars, baskets of champagne, hams, oysters, rice, flour, lard, coffee, tea, sugar, suspenders, linen-bosom shirts, cravats, collars, gloves (masculine and feminine, by the box), perfumes, bustles, corsets, palpitators, embroidered flannel, gingham, silks, velvets, stockings, chignons, gowns, chemises, garters, fans, gold watches and chains, diamond finger-rings and ear-rings, Russia leather workboxes, hats, bonnets; in short every article of furniture and house furnishing from a full parlor set to a baby's swinging cradle, not omitting a \$100 metallic coffin."*

Pike, in speaking of the State legislature says: "Here sit one hundred and twenty-four members. Of these twenty-three are white men * * *." Of the remaining one hundred and one "ninety-four are colored and seven are their white allies. * * * The speaker is black, the clerk is black, the door-keepers are black, the little pages are black, the chairman of the Ways and Means is black and the chaplain is coal-black. At some of the desks sit colored men whose types it would be hard to find outside of Congo, whose costume, usages, attitudes, and expression only befit the fore-castle of a

* *Ku Klux Report*, minority, p. 539; Pike, *Prostrate State*, p. 199 *et seq.*

† Pike, chaps. xix., xx., xxii.

* *Avary, Dixie After the War*, chap. xxx.; Fleming, *Documentary History*, vol. ii., pp. 59-69; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 142-168. See also the *Report of the Joint Investigating Committee on Public Frauds* * * * made to the General Assembly of South Carolina at the Regular Session, 1877-78, extracts from which are quoted in *Scott's Repudiation of State Debts*, pp. 313-316.



RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE S^C LEGISLATURE.

From *Dixie After the War*, by courtesy and permission of Myrtle L. Avery and Doubleday, Page & Co.

THESE ARE THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF SIXTY-THREE MEMBERS OF ONE OF THE RECONSTRUCTED LEGISLATURES OF SOUTH CAROLINA. ONLY THIRTEEN OF THEM ARE WHITE AND ONLY TWENTY-TWO COULD READ AND WRITE. FORTY-FOUR PAID NO TAXES WHATEVER AND THE TAXES PAID BY THE OTHER NINETEEN AGGREGATED ONLY \$146.10.

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buccaneer." "The whole of the late administration, which terminated its existence in November, 1872, was a morass of rottenness. * * * They plunder and glory in it. They steal and defy you to prove it. * * * Nearly two millions per annum are raised for State expenses when \$400,000 formerly sufficed * * *. The new Governor has the reputation of spending \$30,000 or \$40,000 a year on a salary of \$3,500 * * *. This is the kind of moral education the ignorant blacks of the State are getting by being made legislators."*

In 1871 the legislature accused Governor Scott of misusing public funds and he in turn called the legislature corrupt; a quarrel consequently ensued and in December of that year impeachment proceedings were brought against Scott and N. G. Parker, the State treasurer, for fraud in connection with an issue of bonds. But with the liberal use of money the proceedings were beaten.† In 1872 the conservative element gave only half-hearted support to the Liberal Republican candidate Tomlinson, and Franklin J. Moses, Jr., the regular

Republican nominee, won easily. In 1874 Daniel H. Chamberlain was elected governor by the regular Republicans and the opposition gained in the legislature, only 77 of the 157 members being negroes.‡ After his inauguration Chamberlain vetoed several bills of plunder and refused to sign the tax and supply bill which carried extravagant appropriations.§ He refused to sign the commissions of W. J. Whipper, an unscrupulous negro politician and ex-governor F. J. Moses, Jr., who had been nominated and elected judges of the circuit court by the Republicans of the legislature.¶ He also supported State Treasurer Cardozo, whom the Republican corruptionists tried to remove,|| and he disbanded several companies of colored militia who upon investigation he found to have started an outbreak which was charged against the whites.§ Thus Chamberlain started the State on the road toward resuming a government by its native intelligent whites. This was not, however, to be accomplished without a bitter struggle, which will be related in connection with the presidential election of 1876.

* *The Prostrate State*, pp. 13-15, 26, 28, 29, 50 (D. Appleton & Co.). See also Andrew D. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i., p. 175.

† *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1871, p. 700; Allen, *Governor Chamberlain's Administration*, pp. 145-152.

* Allen, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, p. 184 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-45, 192-219, 228 *et seq.*

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-87.

¶ By a proclamation dated January 28, 1875, *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

CHAPTER X.

1877.

THE HAYES-TILDEN DISPUTE: END OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Party nominees and platforms—Democrats aided by various scandals—Blaine involved—Extricates himself—Belknap impeachment—Result of election close—Dispute over returns—Louisiana, Florida, Oregon and South Carolina cases—Democratic plan for counting electoral votes—Electoral Commission Bill introduced and passed—Commission formed—Votes of Commission on four disputed returns—Decided in favor of Republicans—Democratic filibustering—Louisiana and South Carolina gubernatorial contests—Secret agreement between Democrats and Republicans—Threats to inaugurate Tilden by violence—Hayes takes oath without trouble—Hayes withdraws troops from South Carolina and Louisiana—End of reconstruction régime.

As has been said, the elections of 1874 throughout the country showed an overwhelming reaction against Grant, and most of the States of the Union, even Massachusetts, were carried by the Democrats. In the Forty-fourth Congress there was a large Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and the Republican majority in the Senate was considerably lessened. The Democrats, therefore, went into the presidential campaign of 1876 determined not only to hold the ground they had, but also to gain the other States still under the radicals—Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina.*

* Dunning, in his *Reconstruction*, pp. 281-282, says: "That the conflict of the races in the South was not yet entirely settled in favor of the whites was indicated by the presence of seven negroes in the House, two from South Carolina, and one each from North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; while in the Senate a single member, Bruce, of Mississippi, still preserved the foothold which his race had gained in that reluctant body." See also McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1876, p. 139; McClure's *Recollections*, p. 253.

The nominees of the various parties for President and Vice-President were as follows:

PARTY	President	Vice-President
Republican....	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio	William A. Wheeler, N. Y.
Democratic....	Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y....	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.
Prohibition Reform....	Green Clay Smith, Ky. ...	Gideon T. Stewart, Ohio.
National Independent— (Greenback)	Peter Cooper, N. Y.	Samuel F. Cary, Ohio.
American National.....	James B. Walker, Ill.	D. Kirkpatrick, N. Y.

At the convention of the Republican party James G. Blaine was called the "plumed knight" by Robert G. Ingersoll, in a speech nominating him as the presidential candidate.*

The fourth paragraph of the Democratic platform reads as follows:

"Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honey-combed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud, in-

* McClure's *Recollections*, pp. 425-428; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 381-401; Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 133-137.

fects States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of 'hard times.'"

The platform denounced the failure to resume specie payments, demanded public economies, flayed the tariff as a "master-piece of injustice, and inequality and false pretense," and called for many reforms particularly "in the higher grades of the public service" further stating, in advocating a change to Democratic rule, that

"the annals of this Republic show a disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his Department; an ambassador to England in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors," etc.

The Republican platform as usual reviewed the party history and defended its actions; it declared against the application of public funds for the benefit of sectarian educational institutions; demanded legislation to secure the prohibition of "that relic of barbarism, polygamy," and in the fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs made the following statements:

"We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and

we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

"We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable."*

In their campaign the Democrats were greatly aided by the numerous public scandals which were unearthed during Grant's term of office, and which reflected very seriously on the administration. Beside the custom-house frauds, the "salary grab," and Crédit Mobilier scandals, the Sanborn and Jayne contracts, the Safe Burglary frauds, the Seal-Lock frauds and the Subsidy frauds, in which some of the government officials were involved, there were also Indian agent peculations and much crookedness in appointments under the "spoils system." But the greatest scandal was

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 302-327 and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 356-393; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 206-218; Paul L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876*, chaps. i.-iii.; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 567-580; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 394-402; Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. i., pp. 299-313, and *The Writings and Speeches of S. J. Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 354-373; Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. i., pp. 375-383; Foulke's *Morton*, vol. ii.

unearthed by Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, in connection with the frauds against the government by internal revenue officers, the largest of these being the diversion by the "Whiskey Ring," to their own pockets, of many millions of dollars in revenue which belonged to the government. By Bristow's efforts arrests were made in many cities, but chiefly in St. Louis, and 152 liquor men and other private people were indicted beside 86 government officials including the chief clerk in the treasury department and O. E. Babcock, private secretary to President Grant. McDonald, the Missouri supervisor, Joyce, the special revenue agent, Avery, the former chief clerk of the treasury, and McKee, proprietor of the *St. Louis Democrat* were tried, convicted and sentenced to heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment. McGuire, the revenue collector at St. Louis, pleaded guilty, but Babcock, through the aid of able counsel and the influence of President Grant, was acquitted. Grant, however, upset the verdict of the court by pardoning the convicted men and remitting their fines. Secretary Bristow and Solicitor of the Treasury Wilson, feeling that their efforts had been set at naught by the arbitrary will of one man and against the verdict of a sworn jury, resigned their respective offices.*

James G. Blaine had also become involved in some questionable transactions not calculated to enhance his reputation, but owing to his remarkable oratorical ability, his great services to the country, and his personal popularity, the charges against him came to naught. While Blaine was Speaker of the House in 1869, a bill for renewing the land-grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock and Arkansas Railroad was introduced in the House, but was so amended as to kill it. Blaine, however, used his influence to side-track the amendment and the bill in its original form became law. Blaine subsequently accepted a "commission" of \$125,000 of land grant bonds (which should have gone to the investors) a "brokerage" of \$125,000 of land grant bonds and \$32,500 first mortgage bonds for his services in selling \$125,000 of the first mortgage bonds of this very railroad to his friends in Maine. He also received \$15,150 commission for selling \$43,150 worth of securities, chiefly to Maine friends. But the road went into the receiver's hands and Blaine's friends in Maine pressed him to return the money which they felt he had tricked them into investing. Blaine then endeavored to secure money with which to reimburse his friends for their losses, and succeeded in refunding them the entire \$168,150, but by a

* McDonald, *Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring*; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 182-189; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 237-242; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, pp. 283-286; Garland's *Grant*, pp.

434-441; A. R. Hancock, *Reminiscences of W. S. Hancock*, pp. 147-150; David A. Wells, *Practical Economics*, pp. 218-229; Bolles, *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 432 *et seq.*



Photo by C. M. Bell, Washington, D. C.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

strange coincidence at this very time (1871) the Atlantic and Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas and the Union Pacific railroads evinced a desire to become possessed of about the same amount of Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad first mortgage bonds and land grant bonds. The sale of these bonds realized a sum that more than enabled Blaine to discharge his obligations, and the inference was that the railroad had bought these bonds from Blaine at a profit with a purpose.

The subject was brought up in the House in April, 1876, and in May a committee was appointed to investigate. In taking testimony a man by the name of James Mulligan stated that he had some incriminating letters written by Blaine to another party. Blaine by a subterfuge came into possession of them and by the advice of his counsel refused to return them, claiming that they contained nothing of a public nature, and that, as the person to whom they were written no longer wished to retain them, they naturally and of right reverted to the one who wrote them (Blaine). He also refused to allow the investigating committee to see them, but on June 5 made a speech in the House defending his actions and in a highly dramatic manner at the same time read the letters, of course omitting any parts that might damage his case (though to how great an extent these might have incriminated him only he knew). But while he misstated facts, and was full

of evasions, his eloquence completely dominated his audience and practically settled the case in his favor though it did not prove his innocence.* As the committee could not induce Blaine to allow them to see the letters, they adjourned after one or two meetings and never made a report.†

Beside all this the Centennial year witnessed the impeachment of W. W. Belknap, the Secretary of War, who was charged with accepting gifts from post-traders, as a bribe for favors. Belknap resigned on March 2 and the Senate sitting as a high court of impeachment, tried him. On August 1 by a vote of 37 to 25 the disgraced officer escaped without further punishment.‡

The result of the election was very close. While it was known absolutely that Tilden had a popular majority of over 200,000, each party claimed that its candidate had a majority in the electoral college (185 being necessary to a choice). The Republicans conceded that Tilden had 184 electoral votes and it was soon known that Hayes only had 165. There was no thought of fraud in the returns making up these totals, but in three States — Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina, having 19 votes — the Repub-

* *Congressional Record*, p. 604, 44th Congress, 1st session.

† Rhodes, vol. ii., pp. 194-206; and the lives of Blaine by Hamilton, pp. 335-362; Stanwood, pp. 144-176; Crawford, pp. 314-373; and Ridpath, pp. 129-133.

‡ *House Reports* Nos. 186, 345, 791, 44th Congress, 1st session; *Miscellaneous Document* No. 84; Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. i., pp. 364-368; Garland's *Grant*, p. 441 *et seq.*

licans claimed to have won out and in Oregon there was a dispute over one elector. If, therefore, the Republicans could establish their claims to the entire 20 votes, the election of Hayes was assured.*

A violent contest over the returns from these four States now ensued and agents of each party were dispatched to guard their respective interests. It was claimed that vast sums of money were used by each party to buy the elections, and the country became wild with excitement as the contest progressed. President Grant on November 10, ostensibly to secure a "square deal," ordered troops to guard the legal boards of canvassers in the performance of their duties and also to see that no frauds should be perpetrated on either side.† These troops were to be sent chiefly to Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina.‡ "No man worthy of the office of President," Grant said "would be willing to hold the office if counted in, placed there by fraud. * * * The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns."||

A request was now sent from Louisiana that representatives of both

parties from other States be sent to see that the votes in that State were honestly counted. The Republican "visiting statesmen" of course declared that the action of the Louisiana election board had been fair and that the Republican State ticket had been elected by a majority of over 4,000 votes.* The Democrats denied these statements and sent contrary returns to Washington.† The settlement of the dispute was therefore left to a higher tribunal. In Florida the canvassing board, evidently influenced by some outside agency, turned a majority of over 90 for Tilden into a majority of 925 for Hayes by the rejection of the votes of several counties. As a compromise, however, they declared that George F. Drew, the Democratic candidate for governor, had been elected.‡ A double set of certificates was then sent from this State for future decision. The dispute over the presidential vote in South Carolina was practically settled

* Report of the Potter Committee in 1878-79, *House Report* No. 140, 45th Congress, 3d session; also the report of the "visiting statesmen," *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 2, 44th Congress, 2d session. See also J. M. Bundy, *Life of James A. Garfield*, pp. 156-60; and on the entire situation, Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 81-121 and authorities cited.

† For an analysis of the testimony in the Louisiana case see Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 33-54; and for the legal aspects of the count, Jeremiah S. Black, *The Electoral Vote of Louisiana*, in *Essays and Speeches of J. S. Black*, pp. 407-416.

‡ The figures vary widely. See *Senate Report* No. 611; *House Report* No. 140; *House Misc. Doc.* No. 35, 44th Congress, 2d session; John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida*; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 57-80; Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 21-32.

* Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 1-16; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 45-49.

† *House Ex. Doc.* No. 30, pp. 22-24, 44th Congress, 2d session.

‡ These despatches are quoted in Curtis, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii., pp. 409-410; Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 17-19.

|| Blaine, vol. ii., p. 581. See also his message of January 29, 1877, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 422-424, where the same sentiments are expressed.



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

by the middle of November when it became certain that the Republicans had a small majority in the popular vote. On the appointed day the Republican electors cast their votes for Hayes. Nevertheless the Democrats went through the same form for Tilden and the actual decision was deferred to the Electoral Commission.* Oregon likewise sent contested returns.†

On December 6 the electors in the various States cast their votes, and as the Republicans had succeeded in capturing the returning boards in the disputed States the result showed that Hayes was elected by 185 votes to 184 for Tilden. As the votes were yet to be counted by the president of the Senate it was foreseen that the Democrats would carry the struggle into that body and again protest the votes.

The Democrats now laid plans to thwart the Republican designs. On December 14, 1876, Proctor Knott, a Democrat, introduced a resolution in the House calling for the appointment of a committee of seven members of each House to draft a measure for counting the electoral votes before a tribunal "whose authority no one could question, and whose decision all will accept as final."‡

* Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, p. 151 *et seq.*; Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, p. 399; *The South Carolina Case*, in *Essays and Speeches of J. S. Black*, pp. 616-621.

† For details of which see Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 157-167.

‡ Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, p. 190 *et seq.*

Though this was contrary to precedent and the usual custom, the Republicans agreed to it, and the joint committee was appointed. On January 18, 1877, the plan was completed and reported. It provided that the two Houses should meet in joint session, February 1, the president of the Senate to be presiding officer. There were to be two tellers, one appointed by each House. When there should be any objection to the votes of a State from which there was but a single return such objection was to be made in writing and signed by at least one member of each House. The two Houses should then vote separately upon the question at issue and no vote or votes were to be rejected except by the affirmative vote of *both* Houses. Should there be more than one return from a State, such returns were to be opened and read by the tellers and then submitted to a commission of 15 to be composed of five members of each House and five associate justices of the Supreme Court. Four of these justices were from the first, third eighth and ninth circuits and they were to select one of their associates as the fifth judicial member. The decision of the commission or a majority thereof was to be final, unless overruled by the action of *both* Houses. This plan was submitted in the form of a bill — the famous Electoral Commission Bill; it was passed in the Senate January 25, by a vote of 47 to 17, and in the House, January 26, by

a vote of 191 to 86, and became a law on the 29th.*

On January 30 the Senate and the House appointed their members of the commission.† The four associate justices — Clifford, Miller, Field and Strong — chose David Davis, an independent in politics, as the fifth judicial member, who was satisfactory to both parties, but at the last moment he was elected to the Senate by the legislature of Illinois and was therefore disqualified. The justices then chose Joseph P. Bradley. On February 1 the commission and both Houses assembled and the count began, proceeding smoothly until Florida was reached. There were three sets of certificates from that State, and as objection was entered the matter was referred to the commission. On the 9th that body by a partisan vote of 8 to 7 decided that the four electoral votes of Florida should be counted for Hayes and Wheeler. On the 10th the Senate accepted this decision but on the 12th the House rejected it. As the decision of the commission was to stand unless overruled by *both* Houses, the Florida votes were cast for Hayes. The Louisiana returns were also referred to the commission and on the 16th by

decision of the majority of that body, were ordered to be counted for Hayes.

But the Democrats now began to filibuster in the hope of putting off the final count until after the 4th of March. The counting of the Louisiana votes was delayed by these tactics until February 20 when the decision of the commission was confirmed by the Senate but rejected by the House. On the same day the returns from Oregon went to the commission and on the 23d the votes of this State were given to Hayes. The South Carolina returns were also decided in favor of Hayes on the 28th by the same vote of 8 to 7.*

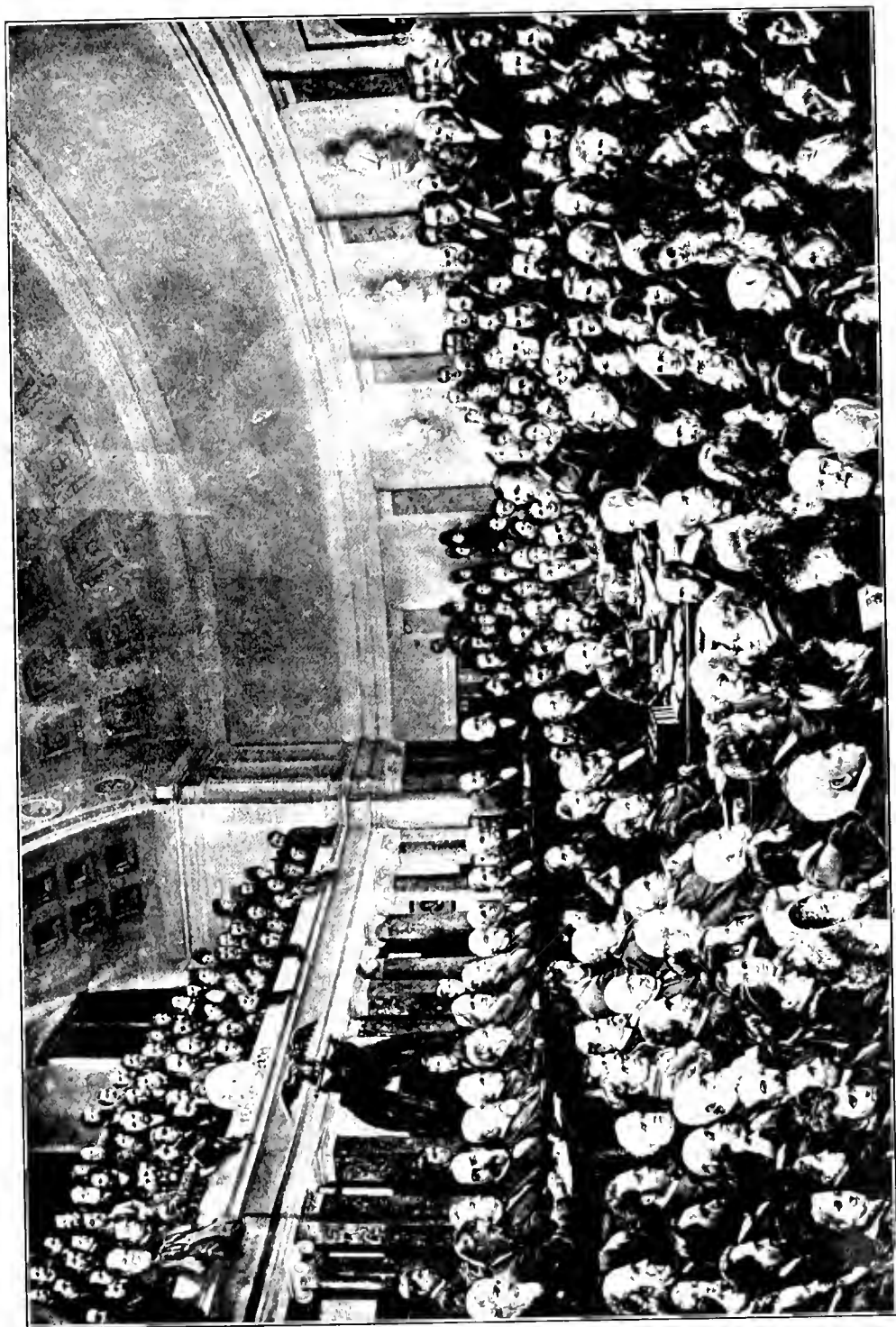
In the meantime the condition of affairs in Louisiana and South Carolina was far from encouraging to either party. In Louisiana both candidates — F. T. Nicholls, Democrat, and S. B. Packard, negro-Republican — claimed the election, though on the face of the return, Nicholls had received a large majority.‡ In January, 1877, both candidates had been installed in office, but the White League took possession of New Orleans and recognized the Nicholls faction. Grant was slow to send military aid, as he was too closely occupied in watching the electoral count, but after the Louisiana votes had been given to

* Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 196-219; *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xix., p. 227; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, pp. 8-10; Curtis, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii., pp. 421-423; Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 57-84; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopadia*, 1877, p. 137.

† Senators — Edmunds, Morton and Frelinghuysen, Republicans, and Bayard and Thurman, Democrats; Representatives — Garfield and Hoar, Republicans, and Payne, Abbott and Hunton, Democrats.

* For the votes on the various States see McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, pp. 12-32. See also Bigelow's *Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 89-105; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 222-268.

‡ For evidence as to the methods employed in the election, see *Senate Report No. 701*, *House Report No. 156*, and *House Misc. Doc. No. 34*, 44th Congress, 2d session.



THE FLORIDA CATTLE RAISERS, THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
From the painting by Mrs. Cornelia Adeline Fessett in the Capitol at Washington.

Hayes, Grant notified Packard March 1 that he would remain neutral in the State controversy and that the military could not be used to support either faction.*

As had been said in a previous chapter South Carolina had been aroused by the election to the bench of a negro (Whipper) and a renegade white (Moses). All persons of whatever political color had endorsed Governor Chamberlain's refusal to sign the commissions of Whipper and Moses. But a national election was in sight, and both the Democrats and Republicans in the North condemned the actions of their Southern branches, the Republicans because Governor Chamberlain had pointed out the rottenness and corruption existing in a Republican legislature, whereas he should have covered it, and the Democrats because their allies in South Carolina had honored and sustained Chamberlain (a Republican) against the time honored custom of partisan party politics. The Democrats were now in a position to regain their lost control of the State because of the exposures and they began to organize their members for a hard struggle.

At the election Wade Hampton was the Democratic nominee and Governor Chamberlain the Republican nominee, and then followed the "Red Shirt Campaign" in which "Hampton or Military Rule" was the slogan. Bands of armed men known as "Rifle Clubs," "Sabre Clubs" and "Artillery Clubs," countenanced by some of

the leading Democratic politicians, patroled the election districts for the purpose, it was charged, of preventing the Republicans from voting. Fearing they could not command a full party vote at the coming election, and especially that the negroes would lack courage to vote against the Democrats, the Republicans persuaded President Grant to issue a proclamation on October 17, 1876,* commanding the "rifle clubs" to disperse within three days. On the same day the Secretary of War issued an order to General Sherman to direct all the available troops to proceed to Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, to enforce the President's proclamation. Hampton won the election, but the Republicans refused to submit, claiming Chamberlain's election by over 3,100 votes. Both Hampton and Chamberlain were inaugurated, and for five months the State was forced to undergo the suspense and disorganization of a "dual government."†

A group of Southern politicians (including Gordon of Georgia, Ellis and Levi, of Louisiana, and Watterson, of Kentucky) now resolved upon a bold and shrewd stroke. In order to gain control of the Southern States and establish home rule there, they determined to sacrifice the national office. They therefore agreed with some

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 396-397.

† Avery, *Dirie after the War*, chap. xxx.; Allen, *Governor Chamberlain's Administration*, p. 258 *et seq.*; Fleming, *Documentary History*, vol. ii., pp. 405-414; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 122-156; *House Report No. 175*; *House Ex. Doc. No. 30*, 44th Congress, 2d session.

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, p. 67.

prominent friends of Hayes (including John Sherman, Garfield, Matthews, Dennison, and Foster) to discontinue the filibustering tactics and allow the electoral count to be completed in time if the Republicans would pledge the new administration to withdraw the troops from the state-houses at Columbia and New Orleans.* While Hayes himself was not a party to this agreement, the Southern leaders were satisfied that his friends were strong enough to fulfil their part of the "bargain" without committing Hayes himself to any explicit pledge. The agreement was therefore consummated at a conference in the apartments of Mr. Evarts at Wornley's Hotel, February 26. The Democrats then allowed the count to proceed without serious interruption and it was completed early on the morning of March 2d, when the president of the Senate announced that Hayes and Wheeler had been elected by a majority of one vote. On Saturday, March 3, the Forty-fourth Congress adjourned.

The leaders of the Democratic party now raised a cry of fraud, and threats were made that Mr. Tilden would be inaugurated by force,† but Mr. Hayes quietly proceeded to Washington, and as the 4th of March fell on Sunday, he

privately took the prescribed oath of office on Saturday the 3d, and on Monday, the 5th, was publicly inaugurated, Chief Justice Waite administering the oath.

Dunning says* that though the Democrat-Republican agreement "was not generally known when Hayes was inaugurated, the substance of it was in the thoughts of many men. Generalized the famous bargain meant: Let the reforming Republicans direct the National government and the Southern whites may rule the negroes. Such were the terms on which the new administration took up its task. They precisely and consciously reversed the principles of reconstruction as followed under Grant, and hence they ended an era. Grant in 1868 had cried peace, but in his time, with the radicals and carpet-baggers in the saddle, there was no peace; with Hayes peace came."

In his inaugural address President Hayes indicated that he would pursue a conciliatory course toward the South. The state of affairs in Louisiana and South Carolina, therefore, received early attention. As loud complaints were made against the presence of the troops in those States he sent a commission to investigate and upon a favorable report the troops were removed from both capitals. In Louisiana the Packard government broke down, thus securing to the conservative whites nearly everything for

* Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 265-282; Testimony of Roberts and Burke in *House Misc. Doc.* No. 31, pp. 881, 964, 45th Congress, 3d session; McClure, *Recollections*, p. 101.

† Almira R. Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock*, p. 161; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 187 *et seq.*, 285.

* *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 341.

which they had contended. They were unsuccessful, however, in securing the confirmation of Henry M. Spofford by the Senate, and instead Kellogg, the choice of the defunct Packard legislature, was seated.* In South Carolina the Republican claimant, Chamberlain, also withdrew from the contest, and the Democratic candidate,

Hampton, assumed undisputed control.*

The carpet-baggers and scalawags were given Federal offices, or otherwise found it convenient to move North and the reconstruction régime was over, though its effects were apparent for many years afterward.†

CHAPTER XI.

1877.

ECONOMIC RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION.‡

Reorganization of National finances — Adoption of a protective tariff — Extension of transportation and means of communication — Grants of public lands — Immigration and prosperity in the North — Economic reorganization in the South — Political extravagance — Agricultural decline — Industrial renaissance — Summary.

During and after the Reconstruction, as during the Civil War, economic conditions in the North and in the South presented a sharp contrast; but there were some economic problems of National rather than sectional importance, which may be treated from the National point of view. These were the problems of National finance, the development of transportation facilities, the tariff, and the public lands.

The large National debt, about \$2,800,000,000 in November of 1865, was refunded in 1870-1871 at a lower rate of interest; and had it not been for the disordered currency, the debt would have had no worse effect than

to cause a heavy tax rate. But the currency was uncertain, and the pay-

* Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 287-297.

† Beside the works already mentioned, the reader should also consult the following for minor details and opinions of prominent men of opposite political beliefs: Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 302-344; McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 244-269; Curtis, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii., pp. 397-440; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, pp. 280-298; Rhodes, vol. vii., pp. 219-285; *Appbton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876-77; S. S. Cox, *Three Decades*, chap. xxxvi.; M. H. Northrop, *A Grave Crisis in American History*, in *Century Magazine* (October, 1901); Manton Marble, *A Secret Chapter of Political History: The Great Fraud*, in *Essays and Speeches of J. S. Black*, pp. 312-340; A. M. Gibson, *A Political Crime*; Merriam, *The Negro and the Nation*, pp. 346-353; Bigelow, *Writings and Speeches of S. J. Tilden*, vol. ii., pp. 384-481; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 567-594; McCulloch, *Men and Measures*, pp. 410-422; Sherman, *Recollections*, vol. i., pp. 550-564; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, vol. iii., pp. 365-376; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 403-413; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 405-414, 440-474; A. R. Conkling, *Roseoe Conkling*, pp. 516-528; B. A. Hinsdale, *Works of James A. Garfield*, vol. ii., pp. 393-462; and files of *The Nation*, the *New York Times*, *World*, *Herald*, *Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, etc.

‡ Prepared for this History by Walter L. Flem-

* Fleming, *Documentary History*, vol. ii., pp. 417-420; Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 105-108; Phelps, *Louisiana*, pp. 387-392; *Life of Benjamin H. Hill* by his son, pp. 80-81, 635-711; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Election*, pp. 297-300.

ment of interest on Government securities always brought up the question of currency. When the war ended, "greenbacks" were the chief legal tender, but their constitutionality was doubtful, and the decision of the Supreme Court, first against them and then in their favor, did not strengthen the popular confidence in paper currency. Coin had practically disappeared from circulation. The poorly secured paper money was heavily discounted in gold bullion, and prices were always high but never certain. The instability of the money market fostered a restless, speculative spirit, which finally resulted in the Black Friday of 1869 and in the overtrading which precipitated the crisis of 1873. Attempts between 1866 and 1869 to get back to a specie basis failed, but in the latter year Congress pledged payment in coin of all specie obligations and promised a speedy return to specie redemption of "greenbacks." Though this steadied the money market, there was, for several years, a strong feeling in favor of an inflated currency—even of larger issues of "greenbacks"—and this feeling expressed itself in politics as the "greenback movement." Not until 1879 was it possible for the Government to return to a specie basis.

For several years taxes remained at the war rate and were reduced but

slowly after 1868. In 1870 the internal revenue taxes were much reduced, but, in spite of adverse sentiment, the war tariff was retained. The interests fostered by it had become so powerful that it was found impossible to revise it downward.

The extension and consolidation of transportation systems continued in the North and West and even extended to the South. In 1865, 419 miles of railway were built; in 1869, 4,102 miles; in 1872, 7,439 miles. The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific completed the great transcontinental line in 1869 and others were building or being planned. The Government aided this western railway building by lavish grants of public lands and by subsidies. The vast grants of aid by Congress, the scandals that resulted, the consolidation policy, and high freight rates aroused intense popular opposition to the railroads, expressed somewhat in the "Granger movement" of the 70's, which voiced the people's desire for Government control and regulation of transportation agencies. Out of this discussion finally came the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

The public lands were lavishly granted until by 1880 the best was gone. The greater portion went to the railways, which by 1873 held title to 180,000,000 acres. Fortunately the railways were anxious to get rid of most of the lands to farmers and sold farms at low rates, thus helping to

populate the Northwest. Under the Homestead Act of 1862, 65,000,000 acres were settled by farmers before 1880 and the frontier had disappeared. The Indians were pushed off the open lands to reservations, where they ceased to check the white advance.

The North, except for financial crises, continued to enjoy the prosperity which resulted from the stimulus of 1861-1865. State finances were generally sound, though the corruption in the larger cities was scandalous. The speculative spirit and the abnormal industrial expansion resulted in the panic of 1873, after which thousands of bankruptcies occurred each year until 1878, when business began to recover. All industries — agriculture, mining, and manufacturing — continued to prosper and to consolidate, except during the period following 1873. The new railroads drew hundreds of thousands to the West and from 1870-80 297,000 square miles of productive lands were added to the grain area and the United States had secured a permanent position in the world's food and raw material markets. Immigration on a large scale prevented this Western movement of population from deranging industry in the East. From 1865 to 1880 the Northern States received 5,000,000 immigrants, who went to the Eastern cities as efficient laborers and to the West as good farmers. The Southern markets were regained, domestic markets monopolized with the aid of the protective tariff, and

some foreign trade secured. But the merchant marine was not revived.

The South during and after Reconstruction was, on the whole, much less prosperous than before 1861. There was progress, or promise of progress, in the white districts and a general decline in the black belt, where a new economic organization was partially evolved, in spite of the handicap of carpetbag and negro misgovernment.

As a result of Reconstruction, the State and local governments were bankrupted. New offices were created by the reconstructionists, salaries increased, extravagances and corrupt expenditures were made — particularly in subsidies to railroads — until in 1871 the bonded debt of the former seceded States amounted to \$131,717,770 and in 1876 to \$292,000,000 (more than the other twenty-seven States owed), and this in addition to crushing local indebtedness. Taxes increased in proportion. The tax rate in Louisiana in 1867 was $3\frac{3}{4}$ mills, in 1874 it was $21\frac{1}{2}$ mills. The tax rate in Texas was increased threefold; in Mississippi, fourteenfold; and so in other Southern States. Outside capital, so much needed to develop the South, was timid in the face of misgovernment, high taxes, and heavy debts. Land was cheap, but purchasers were few; mortgage sales were frequent, and it is estimated that half the original owners had lost their land by 1880.

The industrial reorganization finally accomplished in the white districts of the South was superior to that of ante-

bellum days. The reverse was true of the Black Belt. After much suffering and confusion, the negroes slowly adjusted themselves to an agricultural labor system which has survived, in essentials, to the present day—the share or metayer system, with the attendant credit and crop lien adjuncts. There was too little control and supervision by whites, and the Black Belt as an agricultural region declined. Improved methods, improved machinery, and fertilizers were but little used there. The annual output of all former slave grown crops declined for a time. The production of rice, cotton, and tobacco in negro districts never again equaled that of 1860. The rice production in 1860 was 186,000,000 pounds; in 1870 it was 74,000,000. In 1859, 5,387,000 bales of cotton were produced; in 1869, 3,012,000; in 1879, 5,755,000; and much of this was in the white districts. In spite of increased population, not until about 1900 did the average negro county equal its cotton production of 1860; the production per acre has not yet reached that of 1860.

On the other hand, the removal of slave labor competition and the development of the railways, mines and factories operated even during Reconstruction to elevate the economic condition of the white districts—the former backwoods, hill and mountain counties. Progress was slow on account of lack of capital and immigration, the evils of government, and

the loss by emigration of 2,000,000 of the population to other sections. But by 1880 it was clear that the white districts of the South were on the eve of an industrial renaissance. White farmers, though on poorer soil, had proven themselves superior to black in the production of cotton, rice, tobacco, corn and truck crops. By the use of improved methods, machinery and fertilizers, the whites were everywhere producing more, man for man, acre for acre, than the negroes; whites were developing the timber and mineral resources and operating the new factories; the mountain whites were expanding into more favorable regions—all whites were encroaching on the former slave territory, were acquiring land, and entering occupations once monopolized by negroes. The industrial “new South” is the old backwoods region and the new States west of the Mississippi.

The period of Reconstruction was thus marked by a reorganization of National finances, by financial crises, the adoption of the protective tariff principle, the distribution of the best of the public lands and the consequent settlement of the far West, the rapid extension and consolidation of transportation systems, with resulting political and economic problems. In the North there was, on the whole, continued progress in all lines of industry, a general tendency toward the consolidation of capital and of industrial enterprises, on extension of commerce

under the protection of the tariff, a great increase of population by immigration, and a widespread organization of labor unions. In the South there was a marked decline in the agricultural industries of the former slave-labor districts and the development in them of the share-credit-croplien system; a slow but sound progress in the white districts toward the development of railroads, natural re-

sources, manufacturing, and scientific agriculture.*

* *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii. (1903); Bruce, *Rise of the New South* (1905); Bogart, *Economic History of the United States* (1908); Coman, *Industrial History of the United States* (1908); Bullock, *Selected Readings in Economics* (1907); Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time* (1903); Dunning, *Reconstruction* (1907); Fleming, *The Economic Results of the Reconstruction*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. vi., pp. 12-16 (1909); United States census reports, 1860-1880.

SERIES SEVENTEEN AND EIGHTEEN
LECTURES SEVENTY-FOUR AND SEVENTY-FIVE

The United States as a World Power, 1877-1915

- 74. The Era of Industrial Reorganization
- 75. The Spanish-American War

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I.

1877-1881.

PRESIDENT HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

The President's Cabinet — Civil Service Reform — Failure to pass appropriation bills — Extra session called but no action taken — The great railway strike — The Nez Percé war — Chief Joseph surrenders — Negotiations with Sitting Bull — His final acceptance of amnesty — Shoshones and Bannocks exterminated — Trouble with the Utes — The Halifax Fishery Commission — Review of dispute — Attempts to secure appointment of third commissioner — Failure of Blaine to exclude Delfosse from commission — Finally appointed — Great Britain awarded \$5,500,000 — United States astonished at terms of award — Amount paid when due — Measures for resumption of specie payments — Effort of opponents to hinder it — The Bland-Allison Coinage act — Stanley Matthews resolution — Resumption successfully accomplished — General prosperity of country — Failure of foreign crops — Large exports — Business revival — Gold imports — Rise in Treasury gold reserve — Political changes — Elections of 1880 — Party platforms — Garfield and Arthur elected — Refunding bill introduced — Fails to pass over veto — New apportionment of Representatives.

FOLLOWING his inauguration President Hayes made his Cabinet selections known. These officers were nominated and immediately confirmed by the Senate. They were as follows: William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War, followed by Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota, in 1880; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy followed

by Nathan Goff, Jr., of West Virginia, in 1881; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, followed by Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, in 1880; and Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

After he had settled the disputes in South Carolina and Louisiana, previously mentioned, President Hayes turned his attention to making a reform in the civil service, and on June 22, 1877, addressed the following cir-

cular letter to all the government office-holders:*

"Sir:—I desire to call your attention to the following paragraph addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the conduct to be observed by officers of the General Government, in relation to the elections: 'No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions either orally or through the public press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed.' This rule is applicable to every department of the Civil Service. It should be understood by every officer of the General Government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements."

Had this order been adhered to the office-holders would have been relieved of a burden that they should not have been called upon to bear. But the leaders of both parties would not willingly allow such an enormous source of income to slip from their grasp and consequently did everything within their power to contravene the effect of the order. While the President was unable to accomplish much in the way of reform because of this opposition, he brought the need of such reform most forcibly to the attention of the nation.†

The last session of the Forty-fourth Congress had been given almost entirely to the struggle over the Presidency between Hayes and Tilden and consequently no consideration was

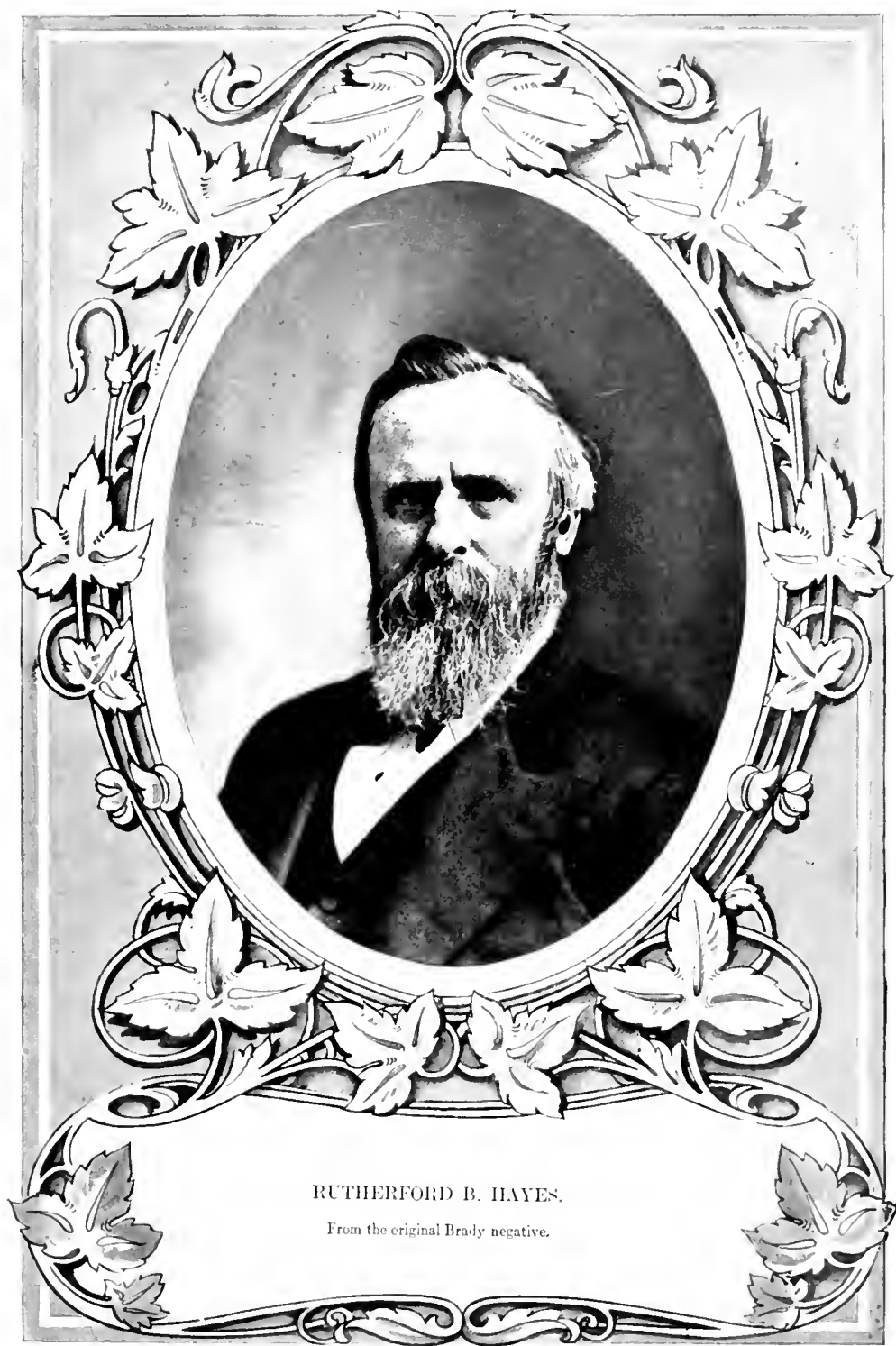
given to the passing of appropriation bills. President Hayes was now compelled to call a special session of Congress to provide means for carrying on the government, but as summer was drawing near he called the session for October. In his message of October 15,* the President stated that the deficiencies amounted to about \$37,000,000 and asked that Congress pass the necessary legislation. But that body occupied itself with other measures and failed to make the appropriations asked for even though the session was prolonged until the regular December session.

While business conditions were fairly prosperous during 1877, the industrial world was somewhat upset by several strikes. The most noted of these was the railroad strike, which occurred during the summer. The employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad struck because of a reduction in their wages, and in the Northern States the employees of the Pennsylvania, the Erie and the New York Central railroads—the chief trunk lines between East and West—tied up the freight traffic for several weeks. At Martinsburg, West Virginia, the strike could not be controlled by the State authorities and Governor Matthews called upon President Hayes for troops, which were sent. The President also issued a proclamation calling upon the strikers to disperse. A serious riot broke out at Baltimore on

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., p. 450.

† Schurz, *Reminiscences*, vol. ii., pp. 377-383; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 242-247.

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 452-454.



July 20-21, in which the 6th Maryland regiment and some of the United States regulars were stoned, but the rioters were put down by the government troops sent at the request of Governor Carroll of Maryland. In Pittsburg the Philadelphia militia was attacked by a mob on July 21-22 and the troops were fired upon. Many were killed on both sides. The troops took refuge in a roundhouse but they were besieged and the roundhouse burned by the mob and in the end the troops were compelled to leave the city. The mob then destroyed 125 locomotives and nearly 1,600 cars, the Pennsylvania Railroad sustaining a loss of nearly \$2,000,000. Riots also occurred at Buffalo, St. Louis, Chicago, Columbus and San Francisco.*

During the summer of 1877 occurred a short war with the Nez Percé Indians of Idaho. The government had forced them several years before to take a chief who was not of their selection to the exclusion of a member of one of the illustrious families of the tribe — Joseph. They then became discontented and restless. Joseph, however, did not relinquish his claim to the chieftaney and when a portion of the tribe were removed to a reservation, Joseph and his band, denying the right of the government to dispossess them, refused to go. In 1871 Joseph died and his son of the same name became his successor.

White settlers now began to encroach on Joseph's domain, and in 1875 he was peremptorily ordered to leave. Joseph refused and troops were sent to drive him out, despite the remonstrance of General O. O. Howard. Hearing of the advance of the troops Joseph resolved to strike the first blow and in the early part of June, 1877, took the warpath. By July 10 more than 30 lives had been sacrificed, chiefly Chinamen, but the troops were now pressing the Indians hard and the latter experienced difficulty in eluding the soldiers. On July 12 the first engagement occurred and 11 soldiers were killed. The Indians maintained the contest for many weeks until General Miles was sent against them. He succeeded in cornering them early in October and on the 5th of that month Joseph and his band surrendered at Eagle Creek, Montana.*

After Sitting Bull, the Sioux chief, had destroyed Custer's command (as recorded in a previous chapter) he eluded the other troops and escaped into Canada. As the government could not send troops into British territory to capture the Indians and as the Indians could not be enticed across the line again, a commission was appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship with the old chief. As word had now been received of the surrender of the Nez Percés, the commission consisting of General A. H. Terry and A. G. Lawrence, con-

* Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, pp. 301-306; Ezra H. Heywood, *The Great Strike*.

* Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 259-280.

sidered the time favorable for negotiating their treaty. They met Sitting Bull on October 17, 1877, but could not come to any satisfactory agreement and returned. The Indians then remained quiet until 1880.

Sitting Bull now experienced trouble from another quarter, for the Canadian authorities notified him that unless he and his tribe moved from Canadian territory troops would be sent to expel him. Perceiving that he could no longer successfully resist and as the extreme cold was causing much suffering among the members of his tribe, he expressed a desire to make terms with the United States authorities. In the autumn of 1880, Rain-in-the-Face and about 1,000 of Sitting Bull's warriors surrendered; others gradually followed this example but the wily chief himself feared for his life and still refused to surrender. He was finally persuaded by General Miles to accept the proffered amnesty and on July 19, 1881, returned to the United States where he remained quiet for several years.*

In the summer of 1878 there was more trouble with the Indians, this time with the Shoshones and Bannocks of northern Oregon. These tribes, in the early part of June, went on the warpath against the whites, but United States troops under Generals Howard and Miles were sent against them, and after three months of severe

and bloody fighting the tribes were finally conquered.* The Cheyennes also went on the warpath and in September massacred many whites in eastern Colorado. United States troops were sent after them also and the Indians, after suffering a crushing defeat, fled into Nebraska. They were then imprisoned at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, but escaped from that place in January, 1879. The troops which set out in pursuit finally surrounded them and after surrender had been refused, almost exterminated the band.

The Utes on the western frontier of Colorado now took their turn in making trouble, and under chief Ouray broke out into active hostility in the early autumn of 1879. In September, N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River, complained that the Utes resisted his agricultural operations and he appealed to the national government for protection. Major Thornburg, with three companies of cavalry, was sent to Meeker's aid, but while on the march the detachment was ambuscaded by the Utes, at Milk Creek, Colorado, on September 29, and the commander and several of his men were killed and about twenty wounded. Beside this the Indians killed about three-fourths of the trooper's horses and burned a wagon train. The troops thereupon intrenched and for six days were surrounded by the Indians, but they held out until relieved by troops under

* Judson E. Walker, *Campaigns of General Custer in the Northwest and the Final Surrender of Sitting Bull*, pp. 59-76; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 306-318.

* Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 294-301.

Colonel Merritt who repulsed the Utes on October 5. In the meantime, however, the Indians had murdered Meeker and the whites at the White River agency and carried off the women and children into captivity, but upon the arrival of reinforcements these were surrendered by the Indians to General Adams. After several months the Utes who were guilty of the massacre were surrendered and by a treaty of peace between the national government and chief Ouray, in September, 1880, the Utes sold their lands.*

The Apache Indians also caused the government much concern during 1879 and 1880. Under the leadership of their chief, Victorio, these Indians overran New Mexico, and beside destroying and confiscating much property, also killed many whites. Victorio successfully combatted the efforts of the United States and Mexican authorities to capture him for a long time, but in October, 1880, the Mexican troops cornered the band and Victorio and many of his warriors were killed and the others captured.†

Foreign affairs also occupied the attention of President Hayes and his Cabinet and an important dispute—the fishery dispute—was apparently settled during his term of office.

By the terms of the Treaty of Washington concluded in 1871 the fishery dispute was to be settled by a commission of three members, one each

appointed by the United States and Great Britain, the two then selecting the third member. There was also a provision that if the first two could not agree upon the third commissioner within a period of three months after the article should take effect, the minister of Austria-Hungary at London should name him.

This dispute had awaited settlement for many years. As finally signed on September 3, 1783, Article III of the Treaty of Paris gave our fishers the same rights in British North American waters that they had before the Revolution. But when the commissioners were discussing the terms for the second treaty of peace at Ghent in 1814 the fishery clause was the subject of much wrangling and was finally omitted altogether from the treaty. In October, 1818, a convention was signed, by the terms of which the former privileges were again restored to the Americans on condition (Article I) that they should neither “take, dry or cure fish on or within three marine miles of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbors” of Canada. Then came the reciprocity treaty of June 5, 1854, executed by Secretary of State Marcy and Lord Elgin, Governor-General of Canada as plenipotentiary of Great Britain. By this treaty the Americans were to enjoy the use of the inshore fisheries of the Canadian waters, and the Canadians were given certain privileges of free trade with us, heavy duties being laid on our principal articles of export to Canada in favor of British merchants, whereas the

* Miles, *Personal Recollections*, p. 319.

† S. M. Barrett, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, pp. 98-104.

principal Canadian products were allowed to enter this country duty free.* On January 18, 1865, however, Congress passed a resolution giving notice that this treaty would be terminated on March 17, 1866, and on that date the fisheries were again regulated under the terms of the treaty of 1818.†

In 1873, therefore, legislation was enacted giving the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington‡ full effect and on July 7, 1873, acting Secretary of State J. C. Bancroft Davis suggested to the British minister at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, the names of several foreign diplomatic representatives at Washington any one of whom would be acceptable to the United States as the third member of the commission. He omitted the names of those ministers who "by reason of the peculiar

political connection of their governments with Great Britain would probably esteem themselves disqualified for the position," and also those "who have not the necessary familiarity with the English language." Being absent from Washington Thornton did not receive this message till July 11, but not until August 19 did the British government make any counter proposals and then suggested a person whom Secretary Fish regarded as especially disqualified—Maurice Delfosse, the Belgian representative at Washington. "The disqualification did not convey a personal reflection on that gentleman, but was based upon the relations of his government to the government of Great Britain."* This was because of the relationship of the reigning family of Belgium to that of Great Britain. Furthermore, Belgium owed her origin to the armed interposition of Great Britain and the bonds of friendship were necessarily strong. Secretary Fish therefore informed Thornton that the selection of Delfosse was impossible, whereupon Thornton notified Fish that the Canadian government strongly objected to the "appointment of any of the foreign ministers residing at Washington."†

While this excluded Delfosse, Secretary Fish felt that the British government was resorting to devices for delay, and on September 6, 1873, rebuked this interposition of the Cana-

* For the early history of the dispute see Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 451-510; Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 337-339; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 615-623; Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 404-416; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 87-94; Freeman Snow, *Treaties and Topics in American Diplomacy*, pp. 427-446; F. E. Haynes, *The Reciprocity Treaty with Canada of 1854*, in *Publications of the American Economic Association*, vol. vii., No. 6; J. L. Laughlin and H. P. Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 30-54, 473 (The Baker & Taylor Company); Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*, pp. 226-236; Charles B. Elliott, *The United States and the Northeastern Fisheries*, pp. 15-75, 103-129.

† The President signed the bill January 18. See *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xiii., p. 566. For the debates in Congress see *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st session, part iii., pp. 2333-38, 2364-71, 2452-56, 2476-84, 2502-09, and 2d session part i., pp. 204-213, 226-234. See also Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 54-65.

‡ These articles are printed in full in the *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission of 1877*, vol. i.

* Blaine, vol. ii., p. 625; also Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, pp. 81, 83, 84.

† Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, p. 82.

dian government saying that "the reference to the people of the Dominion of Canada seems to imply a practical transfer to that Province of the right of nomination which the treaty gives to her Majesty." On September 24 Thornton proposed that the ministers of the two countries at The Hague nominate "some Dutch gentleman," but Secretary Fish replied that this was contrary to the treaty. After much correspondence Thornton on October 24 advised Fish that the British government considered that the three months allowed by the treaty for the selection of a third commissioner had expired and on December 2 under instruction from Lord Granville, insisted that Great Britain and the United State write the Austrian government "requesting that the Austrian ambassador at London may be authorized to proceed with the nomination of the third Commissioner."* The Austrian ambassador then nominated Minister Delfosse, Fish having withdrawn his personal objections.†

The Commission met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, early in June, 1877. Ensign H. Kellogg represented the United States, Sir Alexander T. Galt represented Great Britain and Mr. Delfosse was the third Commissioner. Francis C. Fort was the agent of the British government and Dwight Foster of the United States. After presentation of both sides of the case by counsel, Delfosse, having the deciding

vote, on November 23, 1877, cast it in favor of Great Britain. Blaine says: "The result of the negotiation, therefore, was that for twelve years' use of the inshore British Colonial fisheries, which were ours absolutely by the treaty of 1783, we paid to the British government the award of \$5,500,000 and remitted duties of \$350,000 per annum (for the period of twelve years \$4,200,000), besides building up into a profitable and prosperous industry the shore-fishing of Prince Edward's Island, which before the Reciprocity Treaty was not even deemed worthy of computation."**

The award created astonishment in the United States and on March 11, 1878, Mr. Blaine in the Senate requested the papers in the case and President Hayes transmitted them to Congress.† After being debated in the Committee on Foreign Relations a report was submitted to the Senate on May 28 by Hannibal Hamlin, the chairman, which recommended that the award be paid by the President "if, after correspondence with the Government of Great Britain, he shall, without further communication with Congress, deem that such payment shall be demanded by the honor and good faith of the Nation." A

* Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 626-629.

† Henderson, *Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 513-516; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 446-449.

* Vol. ii., p. 632; Henderson, pp. 517-519; Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 416-417. The full proceedings of the commission are given in *House Ex. Doc. No. 89*, 45th Congress, 2d session.

† *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 44*, 45th Congress, 2d session. For Blaine's speech see Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 282-288.

bill was afterward passed appropriating the necessary money.*

On September 27, 1878, Mr. Evarts, then Secretary of State, endeavored in a despatch to Lord Salisbury to convince the latter that the award was unreasonable and excessive, but Salisbury replied that the case ended when the award was made by the commission.† Therefore the money was paid to Great Britain when due — one year from the date of award.‡

During the past few years the country had been preparing for the resumption of specie payments as authorized under the act of Congress of 1875 and the subsequent enactments. The resumption necessitated the hoarding of gold, for the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, estimated that the smallest reserve of gold that was safe would be 40 per cent. of the notes outstanding, and on this basis \$138,000,000 in coin was necessary.|| This was a difficult task at best and was rendered doubly so by the attitude of Congress. In 1877 it was estimated that the total stock of gold in the United States, outside the treasury, was less than \$100,000,000, and of this sum the national banks held only \$22,658,820.§ But the country was losing more gold by export

than it was producing and the treasury was compelled from time to time to sustain the money market by releasing some of the gold it was accumulating for resumption purposes.

Secretary Sherman, upon assuming office, displayed much firmness in his pursuit of the resumption goal. He gradually sold \$95,500,000 of bonds and took enough from the surplus revenues so that on January 1, 1879, the treasury contained \$133,508,804.50 of coin over and above all matured liabilities.* Before he had succeeded in doing this, however, Congress had made several attempts to repeal the law of 1875. The times were propitious for the opposition to break down the policy of the administration. The Republicans had only a small majority in the Senate and this could not be trusted. Trade was stagnant and prices falling; business failures were numerous; and in 1878 "the record of insolvencies far exceeded even that of the panic year of 1873."† The people moreover were discouraged by four years of hard times and the opponents of resumption had no trouble in being heard.

On November 23, 1877, the House began the attack by passing a bill by a vote of 133 to 120 which practically repealed the Resumption Act, but this was subsequently radically amended in the Senate and then laid on the

* Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, p. 86 *et seq.*
McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, p. 213.

† Elliott, p. 88.

‡ Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 615-637; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 449-451.

|| *Recollections*, vol. ii., p. 631; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, December 2, 1878.

§ *Report of Comptroller Knox*, 1877, p. 163; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 23-26.

* See his report of December 2, 1878 and his *Recollections*, vol. ii., pp. 686-695. See also Bolles, *Financial History*, vol. iii., pp. 293-299; Horace White, *Money and Banking*, p. 196 *et seq.*; Upton, *Money in Politics*, pp. 146-154.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 34-35.

table by the House.* The free silver issue was now vigorously pushed. Congressman R. P. Bland, of Missouri, on July 25, 1876, had introduced a bill in the House providing for a free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.† The House passed the bill after various amendments November 5, 1877, by a vote of 164 to 34.‡ The Senate, however, defeated this bill in its original form and a compromise was offered by Senator Allison. The bill was finally passed February 15, 1878, by a vote of 48 to 21 in the Senate and February 21 in the House by a vote of 203 to 72, being known as the Bland-Allison Act. It provided that there should be "coined at the several mints of the United States silver dollars of the weight of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains troy of standard silver as provided in the Act of January 18, 1837, * * * which coins together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract." This law also provided that "the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase from time to time, silver bullion, at the market price thereof, not less than two mil-

lion dollars worth per month, nor more than four million dollars worth per month and cause the same to be coined monthly, as fast as so purchased, into such dollars." President Hayes vetoed the bill on February 28* but on the same day it was passed over his veto by both Houses (in the House by a vote of 196 to 73 and in the Senate by a vote of 46 to 19). It then became law and continued in force until 1890.†

To further embarrass and humiliate the treasury a resolution was introduced by Stanley Matthews on December 6, 1877, while the coinage bill was under discussion, declaring that all the bonds of the United States "issued or authorized to be issued" were payable in the silver dollars

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 486-488; *Globe*, pp. 1418-19, 45th Congress, 2d session; Watson, *American Coinage*, pp. 151-154.

† *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xx., p. 25; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 405-408; Bolles, *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 390 *et seq.*; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 38, 41-42; Laughlin, *Bimetallism*, pp. 183-186; Hepburn, *Contest for Sound Money*, pp. 286-290, 563-565; Taussig, *The Silver Situation*, pp. 1-17; Watson, *American Coinage*, pp. 146-150; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 603-623; Dunbar, *Currency, Finance and Banking Laws*, pp. 246-248; Upton, *Money in Politics*, pp. 212-219; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 602-610; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 419-437. "Substantially what this law of 1878 did was to make a token coin of the old standard silver dollar. It restored it, but it limited the amount which could be coined, and it went over to the principle of coining on government account."—Sherwood, *Theory of Money*, p. 167. See also J. F. Johnson, *Money and Currency*, pp. 347-353. For the votes taken at various times see McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, pp. 127-135.

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, p. 143 *et seq.*; Hepburn, *The Contest for Sound Money*, pp. 233, 235, 237-238.

† *Congressional Globe*, p. 5186, 44th Congress, 1st session.

‡ Laughlin, *Bimetallism*, pp. 181-183.

provided by the Bland Law.* “The extraordinary character of this resolution may be judged from the fact that it was proposed and passed in both Houses while the Coinage Act was still pending, and while, therefore, there was not in existence the coin which was duly declared a legal tender for settlement with public creditors.”†

As the time for carrying the law into effect drew near the opponents became louder prophets of evil. They predicted that business would be utterly prostrated and that it would be impossible to meet the enormous demands for coin. The premium on gold, however, continually diminished, and paper money was at par on December 17, 1878.‡

Sherman, however, went steadily forward perfecting his plans but took the extra precaution to employ an increased clerical force to assist in paying out the coin. These clerks were not needed, for Sherman's readiness to pay had allayed all fears. At the closing hour the banks had more gold in their vaults than at the opening. Resumption had been effected without the slightest trouble and its salutary influence was immediately felt. Business now began to revive, and the tide of prosperity throughout the whole country continued to rise higher and

higher.* Upon resumption “the measure of value in the United States became gold.”†

The prosperous condition of the country was further augmented by the blight which fell on European crops in 1879; England was hit particularly hard, practically every growing crop being ruined by frost; in France the wheat crop was ruined by snow, and Austria, Germany and Russia yielded the smallest wheat crops in years. On the other hand the crops in this country were huge, the wheat crop alone exceeding by 28,000,000 bushels that of any previous year.‡ The crop of Indian corn was the largest recorded up to that time; coincident with these records also came the completion of the tide-water pipe-lines from the Pennsylvania oil-fields, and the partial failure of the cotton crop of India. Consequently the wheat shipments which in 1878 did not average beyond 2,000,000 bushels weekly, now averaged 1,000,000 bushels daily; the export of cotton was the largest yet recorded for a single season; the exports of oil rose nearly 2,000,000 barrels over the highest previous record; and the shipments of cattle increased in such proportions as to force the

* Passed the Senate January 25, 1878 (43 to 22) and the House January 29 (189 to 79). Laughlin, *Bimetallism*, p. 201 *et seq.*; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1878, pp. 136-139; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 267-269; Hepburn, *Contest for Sound Money*, p. 291.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 38.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

* Bolles, *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 301 *et seq.*; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 374-378; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 48-60; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 623-672, 686-702; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 257-279. See also President Hayes's annual message of December 1, 1879, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., p. 558.

† Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, p. 3 (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

‡ *Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture*.

British graziers out of their own market.*

With an increasing export trade came a revival in the general industries of the country. The iron trade was flushed with orders far beyond capacity; the manufacture of cotton-spinning machinery revived with the rise in the price of raw cotton; prices in the dry-goods trade rose 50 per cent., with mills running under full pressure and large orders unfilled; and every branch of industry felt the stimulus. As the balance of trade was now in our favor gold began to come from Europe, within three months \$60,000,000 being shipped from England, France and Germany. "As the special need of the American bankers was currency suitable for use in interior trade, a large part of this specie went directly into the treasury in exchange for legal-tender notes—another wholly new phenomenon, impossible except under resumption."†

The gold reserve in the treasury which had been very low gradually rose until at the beginning of November, 1879, it stood at \$157,140,114; and

* See the *Annual Reports* of the New York Chamber of Commerce and the New York Produce Exchange for 1879, and the files of the *New York Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. David A. Wells, in his *Recent Economic Changes* (D. Appleton & Co.), pp. 6-7, says that the exports of wheat rose "from 40,000,000 bushels in 1877 to 122,000,000 bushels in 1879, 153,000,000 bushels in 1880 and 150,000,000 bushels in 1881, while the corresponding values of the amount exported rose from \$47,000,000 in 1877 to \$130,000,000 in 1879, \$190,000,000 in 1880, and \$167,000,000 in 1881. There was also a corresponding increase in the quantity and value of the American exports of other cereals, and also of most meat products and provisions."

† Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 58.

whereas in the early months of 1879 customs payments were made in legal-tenders, in November and December more than 60 per cent. of these were made in gold.

With the influx of gold, the bumper crops, the awakening of industry and the general prosperity came speculation and inflation of prices, such as the rises in the wheat and iron markets and of corporation shares on the stock markets, but after these bubbles had collapsed "the underlying strength and healthfulness of the markets was asserted." The tide of immigration set this way, increasing each month until, in 1882, 788,992 came into the country, nearly one-third of whom were Germans.

The political situation changed with the industrial improvement. Those who had previously been foremost in their predictions of disaster upon specie resumption gradually swung into line when that event was successfully consummated. The fall elections of 1879 were largely in favor of the Republicans, Maine, Ohio, New York, Michigan, and Iowa giving large Republican majorities. The situation was not much changed when the presidential election of 1880 came on.

The parties held their nominating conventions in the spring and early summer and selected the following candidates:

PARTY	President	Vice-President
Republican . . .	James A. Garfield, Ohio	Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.
Democratic . . .	Winfield S. Hancock, Pa.	William H. English, Ind.
National Green-back	James B. Weaver, Iowa	Benj. J. Chambers, Texas.
Prohibition . .	Neal Dow, Maine	H. A. Thompson, Ohio.
Anti Masonic . .	John W. Phelps, Vermont	S. C. Pomeroy, Kansas.

In the history of their party's accomplishments the Republicans said in their platform:

"Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

The platform also declared for government aid to educational projects; for a national law against the appropriation of public funds to sectarian schools; for the levying of revenue duties so as to favor American labor; for the abolishment of polygamy; for the restriction of Chinese immigration; for the reform of civil service; etc. The Democrats demanded that Church and State should be kept apart; that common schools be fostered and protected; that the civil service be thoroughly reformed; that a tariff be enacted for revenue purposes only; that the election laws be reformed; that the treaty with China be revised, etc. They concluded by saying:

"We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditures \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad; and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

After an exciting canvass, the election resulted in the choice of Garfield

and Arthur. Garfield received an electoral vote of 214 against an electoral vote of 155 for General Hancock. At this election the Republicans secured a majority in the House of Representatives, and also gained control of the Senate. The result gave a wonderful forward impulse to business of every kind.*

Beside passing the usual appropriation bills the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which expired March 4, 1881, also discussed some other important legislation. The most important measures under consideration were bills for refunding the public debt and for making a new apportionment of Representatives in Congress under the census of 1880.

The bill for facilitating the refunding of the national debt had been pending during the preceding session and was again taken up in the third session. The original bill provided that "in lieu of the bonds authorized to be issued by the act of July 14, 1870, * * * and the acts amendatory thereto and the certificates authorized by the act of February 26, 1879 [bearing five, four and a half, and four per

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 345-374 and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 394-418; McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 270-286; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1880, pp. 188-198; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 307-318; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 657-672; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 766-783; Hoar, vol. i., pp. 384-404; A. R. Hancock, *Reminiscences of W. S. Hancock*, pp. 170-176; Conkling, *Life of Conkling*, pp. 588-632; Conwell's *Garfield*, pp. 327-334; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 298-306; and lives of Blaine by Crawford, pp. 477-482, Hamilton, pp. 479-490, Stanwood, pp. 223-232, and Ridpath, pp. 140-141.

cent. interest] * * * bonds in the amount of not exceeding \$500,000,000 which shall bear interest at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, redeemable, at the pleasure of the United States, after twenty years and payable forty years after the date of issue, and also notes in the amount of \$200,000,000 bearing interest at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, redeemable, at the pleasure of the United States, after two years and payable in ten years," should be issued. Debate was opened in the House on March 4, 1880, but no vote was reached.* The passage of this bill would have saved the country enormous sums of money.

When the bill was called upon for action in the House December 14, 1880, the rate of interest was reduced to three per cent., and a provision made that "no bonds should be taken as security for bank circulation except the three per cent. bonds provided for by that bill." Other amendments were made and it passed the House January 19, 1881. After amendments by the Senate which were concurred in by the House the bill was passed and sent to the President March 1.†

Section 5 of the bill was regarded as so hostile to the interests of the national banks and so likely to "bring

serious embarrassment and disaster to the business of the country" that on March 3, 1881, President Hayes vetoed the bill, in his message saying:

"To prevent the further organization of banks is to put in jeopardy the whole system, by taking from it that feature which makes it, as it now is, a banking system free upon the same terms to all who wish to engage in it. Even the existing banks will be in danger of being driven from business by the additional disadvantages to which they will be subjected by this bill. In short, I cannot but regard the fifth section of the bill as a step in the direction of the destruction of the national banking system."

No further action was taken on the bill and it failed to become a law.*

The new apportionment bill increased the ratio of representation from 131,425 under the census of 1870 to 151,911 under the census of 1880. When first introduced the ratio under the 1880 census was much higher and the increase in representation was from 293 to 319. But the bill carrying the representation at the 319 figure failed to pass at this session and went over to the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress. At that time the ratio was decreased and the number of Representatives placed at 325, and in this form President Garfield approved the bill February 25, 1882†

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1880, pp. 148-149, 1882, pp. 13-14.

† *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 10-11, 14-25.

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* Sherman, *Recollections*, vol. ii., pp. 796-801; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 637-639; Bolles, *Financial History*, vol. iii., pp. 328-329; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, pp. 11-12.

† McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, pp. 39-44, 192-193.

CHAPTER II.

1881-1885.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD ASSASSINATED: ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

President Garfield inaugurated—His Cabinet—Dispute over nomination of Judge Robertson—Conkling and Platt resign in protest—Not re-elected—The President shot by Guiteau—Efforts to save his life unavailing—He dies September 19—Vice-President Arthur sworn in—Cabinet changes—Blaine's diplomatic intercourse: with Great Britain: with Chili: with South and Central American republics—Business conditions unsettled—Crops poor—Large surplus in treasury—Congress proceeds to spend it—River and Harbor bill—"Star Route" frauds—Changes in political situation—Internal revenue and tariff bills—Financial distress in 1884—Record of failures—Political nominees and platforms—Cleveland elected—Other events.

President Garfield was inaugurated March 4, 1881, and chose the following men as his Cabinet officers, who were confirmed without debate: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of President Lincoln; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York, Attorney-General, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania.

The President's subsequent nominations were not so well received by the Senate. Judge William H. Robertson was nominated for the office of collector of customs for the port of New York, but his confirmation was opposed by Senator Conkling, of New York, because the latter considered that the appointment was made in payment for political services rendered to Garfield by Judge Robertson* and

also because the former incumbent was closely affiliated with Conkling in politics.

Robertson had gained the enmity of Conkling at the convention which nominated Garfield for the presidency by refusing to vote for Grant, for whom Conkling was endeavoring to secure a third term. The minority of the New York delegation under the leadership of Robertson refused to accept the unit rule in voting and this example had great influence in the convention, so much so that Conkling could not secure the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate Grant. This defection finally resulted in swinging the necessary votes to Garfield. For this aid, therefore, Garfield appointed Robertson to the position named, and Conkling used this argument as a reason for his rejection by the Senate.

Conkling also held that nominations for Federal offices should be made upon the recommendation or at least with the approval of the Senators of

* A. R. Conkling, *Life of Conkling*, p. 636.



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the State wherein these offices were located. He called upon the Senate to reject Robertson because Garfield in presenting his name had acted contrary to the "courtesy of the Senate." Conkling succeeded in withholding the consent of the Senate, but Garfield refused to make another nomination, and the two Senators from New York—Conkling and Platt—resigned their seats (May 16) as a protest, supposing that their immediate re-election would rebuke Garfield sufficiently to induce him to withdraw Robertson's name.

The conflict was now transferred to Albany and carried on with much bitterness, even Vice-President Arthur stooping to mingle in the fray. But greatly to their surprise, instead of being endorsed and re-elected by the State legislature, Conkling and Platt were rejected and retired from public life for a season. Garfield had won.*

Garfield, however, did not enjoy the fruits of his victory very long, for soon after this political struggle had ended he was struck down by the hand of an assassin. On July 2 the President had determined to leave Washington for a brief holiday and in company with Secretary Blaine was awaiting the arrival of the train in the railway station, when an assassin, Charles J. Guiteau, crept stealthily behind the President and shot him in the back. Garfield fell to the ground,

but after examination it was ascertained that the wound was not fatal and that he was still alive. Guiteau was arrested and conveyed to prison to await the result of his deed.

The President was removed to the White House and the best medical and surgical skill employed in an endeavor to save his life. He gradually became weaker, however, and as the White House was considered unhealthy he was removed to the sea-coast at Elberon, New Jersey. There for a few days he seemed to gain strength, but the hope was vain as neither change of place nor of climate proved to be of lasting benefit. He lost strength daily and finally died September 19.*

The assassin was brought to trial before Judge Cox in the District of Columbia, on November 14, and the case lasted until January 25, 1882, because of the obstructive tactics employed by counsel. He was found guilty, and on February 3 was sentenced to be executed.†

Immediately after President Garfield's death was announced Vice-President Arthur took the oath of office as President in his home in New York, and two days afterward was sworn in by Chief Justice Waite at Washington. Garfield's Cabinet then tendered their resignations, as is usual under such circumstances, but they were requested by the new President

* Conwell's *Garfield*, pp. 346-348; Conkling, *Life of Conkling*, pp. 638-643; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 488-492; Boutwell's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii., pp. 260-276; McClure's *Recollections*, pp. 111-113; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 319-329.

* Conwell's *Garfield*, pp. 349-376; Bundy's *Garfield*, pp. 233-274; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 498-509.

† Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 329-336.

to retain their positions until competent successors could be found. Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, was the first of the officials to leave the Cabinet. He resigned in order to represent Minnesota in the Senate, and was succeeded on November 15, 1881, by Judge Charles J. Folger, of New York. Folger died in 1884 and Gresham was transferred to the Treasury portfolio, but he soon resigned and was succeeded by Hugh McCulloch. In December, 1881, Attorney-General MacVeagh gave way to Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania. On January 5, 1882, Timothy D. Howe, of Wisconsin, became Postmaster-General, but in April, 1883, Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, took his place. Upon Folger's death, as we have seen, Gresham became Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-Generalship was filled in October, 1884, by Frank Hatton, of Iowa. In April, 1882, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, succeeded Mr. Hunt as Secretary of the Navy; and in the same month Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, took the place of Mr. Kirkwood as Secretary of the Interior. The final withdrawal of Mr. Blaine took place late in 1881, and he was succeeded as Secretary of State by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, whose views were more in harmony with those of the new President than Mr. Blaine's had been.

Before Blaine relinquished his office, however, several important matters in connection with our foreign relations had come up for consideration.

Blaine was particularly desirous of establishing closer relations with the Central and South American republics and two events which now transpired confirmed his opinion that stronger friendship with these countries would be mutually advantageous.

The question of national rights in connection with the projected Panama canal was one of these things. In a circular letter to the American representatives in Europe Mr. Blaine very forcibly expressed his adherence to the "Monroe Doctrine." * In November, 1881, in a dispatch to Minister Lowell, he proposed a revision or revocation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty† by the terms of which any interoceanic canal was to be under the guarantee of the two contracting powers and of any others who might join them in the project. Mr. Blaine claimed that the United States should have jurisdiction over the territory and that it should be under our guarantee and protection.

The British government, however, declined to accept the amendments suggested by Mr. Blaine, and considerable diplomatic correspondence ensued with Blaine and with his successor, Mr. Frelinghuysen.‡ The latter held that as Great Britain had violated the treaty, it was voidable at the option of the United States. He also said that the canal needed a protectorate only of the United States

* *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1881, p. 537.

† *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 554; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 510-514; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 341-342.

‡ *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 194*, 47th Congress, 1st session; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 26*, 48th Congress, 1st session; Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 55-76.



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and the country through which the canal should run and that the United States could not, under the Monroe Doctrine, entertain a proposition for a European protectorate.*

In 1884 the Frelinghuysen-Zavalla treaty with Nicaragua was negotiated for the construction of the canal by the United States, the latter guaranteeing the integrity of Nicaragua.† But the treaty was not then ratified by the Senate, being held over until the accession of President Cleveland. Cleveland withdrew the treaty without action, as his views did not agree with those of his predecessor.‡

The next affair that claimed Mr. Blaine's attention was the war between Chili on the one side and Bolivia and Peru on the other. Chili had gained a decided victory over her two antagonists, the armies of the latter being beaten on land and their navies destroyed. After Lima had been occupied by the Chilean forces the President of Peru fled to the interior, and Chili, being unable to negotiate a treaty of peace because the proper authorities were not there, proceeded to annex the nitrate-bearing district of Peru by way of indemnity. The Peruvians then named Señor Garcia Calderon as the head of the government and Blaine instructed our minister to acknowledge him as the *de facto* President. But the Chilean admiral deposed him and Blaine then

sent W. H. Trescott and Walker Blaine as special envoys and threatened Chili with intervention if Calderon were not recognized.

Before the matter was settled Secretary Blaine had retired from the Cabinet and President Arthur had appointed Mr. Frelinghuysen. Upon his accession Frelinghuysen modified the instructions given Trescott and Blaine and they were told to remain neutral.

Blaine had also issued a note to the Spanish-American republics inviting them to send representatives to meet in congress at Washington for the purpose of discussing their common interests and to devise plans for their mutual protection against European intervention. Many of them accepted the invitation, but before the congress met Blaine retired. Frelinghuysen as soon as he came into office abandoned the plan and by this act caused no little ill-feeling. The project was not undertaken until Blaine was again appointed Secretary of State by President Harrison.*

Meanwhile the prosperous condition of the country had received a check. The chief agricultural regions in 1881 suffered a destructive drought, which caused the crops to fall off 25 per cent.; the corn crop was the smallest since 1874. But while the financial returns to the farmers were nearly as great as in 1880 because of a rise in prices due to a shortage of grain in

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 342-343.

† For copy of treaty see *Senate Report* 1265, p. 20, 55th Congress, 2d session.

‡ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., p. 377; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 344-345.

* Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 514-516, 536-545, where Blaine's policy is outlined. See also Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 519-520; Stanwood's *Blaine*, pp. 247-256; Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 335-344.

Europe, still the railways felt the decrease in traffic, their earnings shrinking by about \$45,600,000.

By March, 1882, the export of gold in large quantities began, the total for the fiscal year ending June, 1882, being \$32,500,000. Furthermore, Europe in 1882 produced large crops which hurt the American exports, not only in quantity but in prices. Wheat, cotton, iron and steel,* and almost all trades felt the change. Beside this the speculators on the exchanges were experiencing a slump in the prices of stocks, bonds, etc.

But the surplus of public revenue continued to raise higher and higher, in the fiscal year 1882 amounting to \$145,543,810, and the disposition of this vast sum was now a great problem. But Congress soon found a way out of the difficulty. Instead of reducing taxation, that body proceeded to spend the surplus as rapidly as possible. The pension disbursements† were increased from \$27,000,000 in 1878 to about \$68,000,000 in 1882 and other appropriations were increased in almost the same proportion. In 1882 President Arthur recommended‡ that the Mississippi River and its tributaries be improved in the interests of commerce. A bill known as the

River and Harbor bill (House Bill No. 6242) was thereupon passed by both Houses of Congress, appropriating \$4,000,000 for improving the Mississippi and \$14,000,000 for other purposes. President Arthur vetoed this bill August 1 as he considered the appropriation extravagant, but it was passed over his veto the next day and became a law.*

Several instances of corruption were also unearthed, the most prominent of which were the so-called "Star Route" cases, in which it was alleged that General T. W. Brady, the second assistant Postmaster-General, Senator Dorsey, of Arkansas, and others, had conspired to defraud the government of enormous sums by an ingenious system of contracts and subcontracts on certain mail routes. Brady and Dorsey were tried on this charge but were acquitted, and the trial only served to furnish campaign material for the next presidential campaign.†

The political sentiment of the country, in the face of Congressional extravagances, and in the light of the exposures of corruption, now underwent a change. The voters stood behind President Arthur in his veto of the River and Harbor bill and at the elections of 1882 the Republicans suffered an overwhelming defeat, their plurality of twelve in the Forty-seventh Congress being turned into a

* See the *Report of the American Iron and Steel Association for May, 1883* and subsequent numbers.

† In his first annual message to Congress, December 6, 1881, President Arthur said that 789,053 pension claims had been filed since 1860, of which 450,949 had been allowed.—Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., p. 58.

‡ In his message of April 17, 1882, Richardson, vol. viii., p. 95.

* Richardson, vol. viii., pp. 120-122; Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 112-119; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 89-90; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, pp. 175-179, 202-203.

† Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. i., pp. 336-341.

Democratic plurality of seventy-eight in the Forty-eighth. New York turned a Republican plurality of 43,000 (for Cornell) into a Democratic plurality of 192,000; and Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Kansas, Colorado, and California also elected Democratic governors. This change meant a revision of the revenue schedules but the protectionist Republicans now executed a clever move. Before the political complexion of Congress changed, that body passed a bill which was signed by the President May 15, 1882, appointing a committee of nine (not members of Congress) to investigate the tariff question and to report the next December.* This committee was protectionist, with John L. Hayes, president of the Wool Manufacturers' Association, at its head.† Congress also passed at this session a Civil Service bill, providing for a nonpartisan commission of three members, and an act reducing the postage on letters throughout the country to two cents.

On December 4, 1882, the report of the tariff commission, covering 2,500 printed pages, was presented to Congress and an average reduction of 20 per cent. was recommended, a reduction which was an unwilling "concession to public opinion."‡ This reduc-

tion applied "to commodities of necessary general consumption, to sugar and molasses, rather than to luxuries and to raw rather than to manufactured materials."*

An internal revenue bill was introduced in the House and the Senate tacked on the tariff bill containing some of the reductions recommended by the commission.† The act of March 3, 1883,‡ as finally passed (in the Senate 32 to 31, in the House 152 to 116) abolished the taxes on bank checks, on watches, on savings-bank deposits, on patent medicines and perfumeries and on the capital and deposits of banks; it also reduced the duties on tobacco by one-half. The loss in internal revenues, however, "was not so great as anticipated, as there was a constant gain from the duties on spirits and fermented liquors.|| It was estimated that the loss of internal revenue would amount to about \$40,000,000, but the actual loss was less than \$22,000,000. With regard to customs duties the act was a disappointment to those who favored a downward revision, for the ratio of duty actually collected to the value of dutiable articles during 1883 was 42.45 per cent., whereas the ratio

facturers, quoted in Taussig's *Tariff History*, p. 254.

* Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 421; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 849-851.

† Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 232; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 841-845; Pierce, *The Tariff and the Trusts*, pp. 285-288.

‡ For text see Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 275-313; for votes on various schedules, McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1884, pp. 18-71.

|| Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 419-420.

* Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., p. 202 et seq.; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1880, p. 157, 1882, pp. 109-112.

† The other members were H. W. Oliver, A. M. Garland, J. A. Ambler, Robert P. Porter, A. R. Boteler, J. W. H. Underwood, W. H. McMahon, and Duncan F. Kenner.

‡ John L. Hayes, in *Bulletin of Wool Manu-*

by 1885 had risen to 45.86 per cent.* Professor Taussig says "had the higher duties of the act of 1883 been brought before Congress in a separate bill, there can be no doubt that their enactment would have been impossible. That they were in many cases half concealed by means of changes in classification, or were coupled with apparent reductions on other articles in the same schedules, shows that the protectionists themselves had some fear of putting them nakedly before the public.† Taussig also says that the measure "is best described as a half-hearted and unsuccessful attempt on the part of protectionists to bring about an apparent reform of the tariff," that "it was framed by men who at heart were protectionists," and that the reductions made "had little effect other than the change of the figures on the statute-book."‡ The "infant industries" demanded protection and the reductions were small, the more radical protectionists securing "modifications along lines of high and even increased protection." Congress treated the recommendations of the commission "with disapproval, if not with contempt." The duties were raised on "certain classes of woolen goods, especially on dress goods, and the finer grades of cloths and cassimeres * * * on cotton hosiery, embroideries, trimmings, laces, and insertions, constituting about two-thirds

of the cottons imported; * * * on iron ore and certain manufactures of steel." The reductions were on "the finer grades of wool, on the cheaper grades of woolen and cotton goods, on steel rails, copper, marble, nickel and barley."*

But the bill was not satisfactory even to the Republican protectionists, John Sherman being particularly outspoken in his criticism of the bill.† As it was, the conference committee of the two Houses, instead of reducing duties raised them so that in some instances they equalled the old war tariff.‡

A period of financial depression now set in, culminating in the panic of May and June, 1884, not however caused by the enactment of the tariff law. The gigantic speculation in railroads had reached its zenith in 1880, and a retrograde movement set in. Prices of securities declined for three years due to the ruinous competition of new lines and lowered rates and above all by the speculations and manipulations of their managers. In 1884 and 1885 forty-one railway corporations holding 19,000 miles of track were placed

* Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 421. See Taussig, pp. 235-253, for a discussion of the various schedules, and p. 266 for a table showing changes.

† *Recollections*, vol. ii., p. 851 *et seq.*

‡ This was undoubtedly due in some measure to the lack of proper consideration of the bill owing to the desire to pass it before that Congress expired. Debate on the bill began January 25 and ended March 3, but a large part of the discussion which should have been given to the bill was taken up with points of parliamentary law. For a summary of the debate see Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., pp. 208-218.

* Howe, *Internal Revenue System*, p. 221 *et seq.*

† Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., p. 219 *et seq.*

‡ Taussig, *Tariff History*, pp. 242-254.

under receivership and thirty-seven smaller railroad properties were sold under foreclosure.* During 1883 there were several commercial failures and prices began to decline; goods accumulated in the warehouses; gold flowed away and ready cash decreased daily. On January 1, 1884, the New York & New England Railroad went into receivers' hands, followed by the North River Company January 12. These were followed on May 6 by the failure of the National Marine Bank of New York, the president of which was associated with the firm of Grant & Ward, which failed shortly afterward with liabilities of \$17,000,000.†

* Coman's *Industrial History*, p. 321. A. T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation*, p. 52 (G. P. Putnam's Sons), states that of the 29,000 miles constructed in 1880-82 "not more than one-third * * * were justified by existing business. Another third perhaps were likely to be profitable at some future date. * * * Of the remainder some were built to increase the power of existing systems, where they were not needed. * * * Some were built to put money into the hands of the builders as distinct from the owners. Some were built to sell as a blackmailing scheme against other roads."

† Ex-President Grant was a special partner in this firm but was innocent of any wrongdoing in connection with the firm's affairs, as Ward had used Grant's name without his knowledge to cover some gigantic speculations on his own private account. Nevertheless, Grant suffered both in fortune and reputation, even pledging his sword of honor and other priceless gifts to partially redeem the notes which bore his name. He then began to write his *Memoirs* to recoup his lost fortunes and provide for the future of his family, as he was then nearly bedridden by an incurable disease. See W. C. Church, *U. S. Grant*, pp. 441-454; Henry Clews, *Twenty-Eight Years in Wall Street*, pp. 215-221; Garland, *U. S. Grant*, pp. 486-503; Badeau, *Grant in Peace*, pp. 418-424. See also Ward's account of these transactions in the *New York Herald*, issues of December 19, and 26, 1909 and January 2 and 9, 1910.

On the 13th the Second National Bank suspended payment with liabilities of \$3,000,000; on the 14th Donnel, Lawson & Simpson and Hatch & Foote failed, followed by the Savings Bank of New York, Fiske & Hatch and many others on the 15th, the total liabilities of the wrecked concerns being about \$240,000,000.*

Moreover, as defaulting was becoming general, the Secretary of the Treasury, in order to sustain the credit by the most regular methods, pledged himself to prepay the portion of the national debt soon to come due. Besides this \$24,915,000 of Clearing House certificates of deposit were issued to tide over some of the toppling institutions. Things then began to settle down, the general distrust diminished, credit circulation became re-established and the rate of discount declined to 5 per cent. (having been as high as 4 per cent. per day).

There had been no suspension of specie payment during the panic, and this, together with the outlook for a bounteous harvest, gave courage. While the panic centered in New York, there were numerous failures in other cities during the year, 11 National banks and about 130 other banks and private bankers being counted in the list. Almost the entire amount of the losses sustained in this panic was entirely borne "by financiers and specu-

* Clement Juglar, *History of Panics*, pp. 102, 106-107; Henry Clews, *Twenty-Eight Years in Wall Street*, pp. 162-173.

lators rather than by manufacturers and traders.”*

But in the spring of 1884 a slump in the prices of agricultural products had also occurred. The wheat crops of the world were larger than ever before and as a result the price fell below that of 1878. The decreased price produced a stagnant condition in interior trade because the Western farmers would not ship their produce East but preferred to hold it for more favorable market conditions. As a consequence railway freight traffic was greatly diminished. Dividends on railroad stocks, therefore, were greatly reduced and in many cases passed, and consequently investors hesitated to embark in railroad enterprises of great magnitude.†

The situation was thus a double handicap to the Republicans in the coming presidential election, for they must account for a financial panic in the East and depression in the Western agricultural markets. They were also called upon to explain governmental extravagancies and the prevalence of corruption.

The presidential and vice-presidential candidates were as follows:

PARTY.	President.	Vice President.
Republican . . .	James G. Blaine, Maine.	John A. Logan, Ill.
Democratic . . .	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.
Prohibition . . .	John P. St. John, Kansas	William Daniel, Md.
Anti Monopoly	} Benj. F. Butler, Mass.	A. M. West, Miss.
Greenback . . .		

The Republican platform demanded that “the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not ‘for revenue only,’ but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer.” The party pledged itself to a readjustment of the tariff, urged the establishment of an international standard in the coinage of gold and silver, and the enactment of laws for the regulation of railways, and denounced the importation of contract labor.

The Democrats denounced the Republican party as “an organization for enriching those who control its machinery,” and called attention to the many pledges of former years that the Republicans had not redeemed. The platform pledged the party to “purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.” It further pledged a revision of the tariff; recommended more intimate commercial relations with the North, Central and South American republics; favored the enactment of laws by which labor organizations might be incorporated; and demanded a broader policy toward the American merchant marine.

In this election the ranks of the Republican party were rent by internal disputes, for the reform element was

* Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 96-101; Juglar, *History of Panics*, pp. 108-119.

† W. J. Lauck, *The Causes of the Panic of 1893*, p. 2 and footnote.

bitterly opposed to Blaine. These reformers, called "mugwumps," were led by Carl Schurz and G. W. Curtis and were represented in the press by the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*. They repudiated the party nominees and platform, endorsed Cleveland, and threw all their influence on his side. This bitterly fought campaign was characterized and disgraced by gross personalities, and the result was close.

At a meeting of clergy, in which all denominations were supposed to be represented, held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, in the interests of the Republicans, one of the ministers, Rev. R. B. Burchard, in a speech declared the Democratic party to be the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This unfortunate and misdirected remark created much excitement and did untold harm to the Republican cause, for though Blaine denied any responsibility for it the Democrats had spread millions of circulars bearing the charge broadcast over the land and the denial came too late. Cleveland was elected, receiving

219 electoral votes against 182 for Blaine.*

The year 1884 was also noted because of the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge, at that time the largest wire suspension bridge in the world. In this year also Alaska was constituted a regularly organized territory of the United States.

On Saturday, February 21, 1885, the great Washington Monument, at the national capitol, was dedicated with imposing ceremonies. The orator of the occasion was Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who in 1848 had been the orator when the cornerstone of the same monument was laid. The monument is 555 feet high and cost about \$1,500,000.†

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 375-411, and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 419-449; McChre, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 288-315; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1884, pp. 197-222; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 572-593; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 885-890; Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. i., pp. 405-408; lives of Cleveland by W. U. Hensel, pp. 93-120; W. O. Stoddard, pp. 166-198; J. L. Whittle, pp. 56-66; lives of Blaine by Crawford, pp. 553-583; Hamilton, pp. 572-593; Stanwood, pp. 267-295; Ridpath, pp. 146-152.

† Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 897-902, where speeches are given.

CHAPTER III.

1885-1889.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

President Cleveland inaugurated—His Cabinet—Death of Vice-President Hendricks—The Presidential succession—Dispute between President and Senate—Repeal of Tenure-of-Office Act—Pension bills—The Hatch Act—Newfoundland fisheries dispute once more revived—Canadians seize American vessels—Commission appointed and treaty signed—Rejected by Senate—*Modus vivendi* agreed upon—The Samoan dispute—Treaties signed by Samoans—German aggressions—Conference between Great Britain, Germany and the United States—Independence of islands guaranteed by three powers—Disaster at Apia—Statute of Liberty presented to the United States by France—Edmunds-Tucker anti-polygamy bill passed—Charleston earthquake—Death of Chief Justice Waite—Fuller appointed—Department of Labor created—Washington, Montana, North and South Dakota admitted—Johnstown flood—Indian troubles—Interstate Commerce Act—Condition of finances—Mills tariff debate—Labor conditions—Boycotts—Haymarket massacre—Decline of prices—Treasury surplus used to reduce interest-bearing debt—Elections of 1888.

Grover Cleveland was sworn into office March 4, 1885. In his inaugural address he urged that public expenditures be limited to actual needs; he said that taxation ought to be reduced by a readjustment of the revenue schedules; and earnestly hoped that the country would continue on its course of "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations."* The members of the Cabinet were Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, succeeded by Charles S. Fairchild, of New York, in 1887; William C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of

the Interior, succeeded by William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, in 1888; Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General; and William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General, succeeded by Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, in 1888, when Vilas became Secretary of the Interior.

On November 25 Vice-President Hendricks died, and the question of Presidential succession came under discussion. Congress when in session could, under the Constitution, make provision in case either the President or Vice-President should die or be removed from office, but should both these officials die at the same time while Congress was not in session, the country would be without executive guidance. President Cleveland, therefore, recommended in his annual message of December 8, 1885, to the first

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 299-303; George F. Parker, *The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, pp. 32-37; Stoddard's *Cleveland*, pp. 207-211.



GROVER CLEVELAND.
Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth President of the United States.

session of the Forty-ninth Congress,* that the country be protected in such a contingency. A bill was then introduced, passed and approved January 19, 1886, providing that, in the incapacity of both President and Vice-President, the functions of the office should be discharged, until an election could be held under the Constitution, by the Cabinet officers according to official seniority, as follows: (1) The Secretary of State; (2) the Secretary of the Treasury; (3) the Secretary of War; (4) the Attorney-General; (5) the Postmaster-General; (6) the Secretary of the Navy; and (7) the Secretary of the Interior. In 1889 the Secretary of Agriculture became a Cabinet official and in 1903 a new office was created — Secretary of Commerce and Labor. These officials therefore follow in order after the Secretary of the Interior.†

The opponents of the President soon began to attack him for his minor appointments, claiming that his removals and appointments were made for partisan purposes and contrary to the sentiments expressed in his inaugural address. Cleveland was thus in the difficult position of having to satisfy the politicians of his own party by giving them offices without at the same time exposing himself to the charge of inconsistency. The Republicans in the Senate endeavored to entangle the President into some admission of "playing politics," and learning that

a district-attorney in the South had been dismissed, called upon the Attorney-General for the papers and other information in the case. This led to a controversy between that body and the President as to the right of the Senate to such information. The Attorney-General replied that "the President of the United States directed him not to transmit these papers"; and the Senate then passed a resolution condemning this action and declaring that under such circumstances the Senate ought to refuse its advice and consent to removals of this character. A committee was therefore appointed to investigate the rights of the Senate to require such papers and a report approving the claims of the Senate was prepared by the majority consisting of Edmunds, Ingalls, McMillan, Hoar, Wilson, and Evarts. A minority report was also prepared by Pugh, Coke, Vest and Jackson.

President Cleveland then sent a message to the Senate (March 1, 1886) confirming the Attorney-General's assertion and claiming that the papers referred to were unofficial and private and related to a duty belonging exclusively to the President. He denied the statement that the Senate possessed the right to call for these papers, in so far as the right was based upon the claim that the papers were official. He also disputed the right of the Senate "by the aid of any documents whatever, or by any way except impeachment, to review or reverse the acts of the Executive."

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., p. 365; Stoddard's *Cleveland*, pp. 218-230.

† Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 166-171.

Finally he boldly declared: "The pledges I have made [as to civil service reform] were made to the people, and to them I am responsible for the manner in which they have been redeemed. I am not responsible to the Senate * * *." In this message the President spoke of the whole of the tenure-of-office legislation as having been left for the last twenty years in a state of "innocuous desuetude." Aside from condemning the Attorney-General's action, Congress did nothing further in the matter.*

In the December session, 1886, Senator Hoar introduced a bill for the repeal of sections 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771 and 1772 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (relating to the tenure-of-office, which interfered with the President's power of removal) and it was passed by both Houses (the Senate by a vote of 30 to 22, the House 71 to 67) and became law by the President's signature March 3, 1887. Thus it had taken twenty years to remove from the statute books an obnoxious law passed by a radical Congress in an emergency to curb President Johnson.†

In the early part of 1886, during the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress, a bill to increase the pensions of widows, minor children and rela-

tives of soldiers and sailors was considered in the House. The Senate on May 18 passed a bill giving pensions to all dependent soldiers who had served three months in the Union army and also to dependent parents of soldiers. The House amended and passed the bill January 17, 1887, and the Senate accepted the amended bill January 27.*

In addition to this general pension bill, 747 private pension bills were brought in, but the President vetoed 101 of these, pocketed 1, approved 491, and allowed 154 to become law without his signature.† Many of the President's messages were couched in severe language, and provoked considerable hostility. Yet, although many attempts were made to pass these private bills over the veto, there was only one case where it was done.‡

On March 2, 1887, the President approved a bill known as the Hatch Act for the purpose of diffusing "useful and practical information on subjects connected with agriculture and to promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of agricultural science." On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln had signed an act donating to each

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 375-383; Parker, *Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, pp. 464-475; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1886, pp. 119-128; Grover Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 39-69.

† Hoar, *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 135-144; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 46-47; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 25-38, 73-76.

* President Cleveland vetoed it February 11, 1887, and it failed to pass over his veto. See Stoddard's *Cleveland*, pp. 241-242; and for text of veto Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 549-557, and Parker's *Cleveland*, pp. 384-396. See also McPherson, 1886, pp. 189-191, 1888, pp. 17-29.

† McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1886, p. 235.

‡ Hensel's *Cleveland*, pp. 245-246; McPherson, 1886, pp. 229-230.

State, which might provide colleges teaching agriculture and the mechanic arts, 30,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative accorded it by the apportionment under the census of 1860. The Hatch Act further granted the sum of \$15,000 a year to each State for the purpose of establishing and maintaining agricultural experiment stations. A third act of Congress approved August 30, 1890, entitled "An act to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts established under the provisions of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862," appropriating \$15,000 for the year ending June 30, 1890, this sum increasing \$1,000 each year until it reached \$25,000 a year, which amount was to be the permanent annual appropriation.*

* In 1906, during the first session of the 59th Congress, an act was passed in both Houses and received the President's signature March 16, 1906. This act, introduced by Henry C. Adams, of Wisconsin, provides "that each State and Territory shall annually receive from the national treasury a grant of money in addition to that given for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural experiment stations by the act of March 2, 1887 (Hatch Act). The initial appropriation to each State under the Adams Act is \$5,000 for the fiscal year 1906. To this amount \$2,000 is to be added each year for five years, after which an appropriation of \$15,000 is to continue annually. Thus in 1911 and each year thereafter each State will receive \$30,000, double the amount hitherto granted under the Hatch Act."—*Year Book of the Department of Agriculture*, 1906, p. 102. In 1907 an amendment to the Merrill bill was introduced by Representative Nelson and by its terms yearly increments of \$5,000 were also added.

Several important diplomatic questions were now pressed for settlement.

The rights of American fisherman in British American waters was one of them. In chapter I we have seen the results of negotiations looking to a settlement of this dispute, but the payment of money did not hinder the future rupture of pleasant relations on the same score. On July 1, 1885, the fishery clause of the Treaty of Washington ceased to be operative but was extended by agreement through the season of 1885.* The Canadian authorities then seized American fishermen in British North American waters. The controversy now developed into a question of the purposes for which a foreign fishing vessel might lawfully enter a Canadian port. Americans claimed that the Convention of 1818 protected inshore fishermen, and that Canada had no jurisdiction over the deep-sea fisheries, and they therefore could purchase bait in Canadian ports without violating the terms of the Convention.†

From the beginning of 1886, the Canadian government sent cruisers to patrol the deep-sea fisheries, and American fishing vessels were prohibited from entering Canadian waters. The collector of customs was also instructed to detain any American fishing vessels remaining in port twenty-four hours after being ordered

* Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 417-420; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, p. 95; Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, pp. 89-90; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 280-284.

† Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, p. 93 *et seq.*

to depart.* On May 7 the schooner *David J. Adams* was seized for remaining twenty-four hours in a Canadian port without reporting to the custom house and for buying bait; several other American ships were also seized on the same pretext.

The actions of the Canadian authorities finally became so hostile that Congress passed a bill which was signed by the President March 3, 1887, giving the President power to retaliate against Canada by refusing her vessels admission to our ports and by excluding her products from our territory.† Correspondence between Secretary Bayard and the English and Canadian governments ensued, and at length a joint commission was suggested to discuss the whole question. The proposal was agreeable and commissioners were appointed to meet at Washington. Mr. William L. Putnam, of Maine, and President Angell, of the University of Michigan, acting with Secretary Bayard, represented the United States. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Sir Lionel Sackville-West, the British minister, represented Great Britain and Sir Charles Tupper, Canada. The commission met on Tuesday, November 22, 1887. The negotiations were kept secret and were protracted, but a conclusion satisfactory to all was finally reached, and on February 15, 1888, the proposed treaty was signed.‡ On the 20th

it was forwarded by the President to the Senate, with a message* suggesting that it was advisable to publish the text of the treaty as soon as possible. The Senate, accepting the challenge, gave the treaty to the press, and on May 28 the debate began in open session. The chief clauses stipulated that the contracting parties should appoint a mixed commission of four to delimit the British waters, bays, creeks, and harbors of the coast of Canada and Newfoundland, and to define the regulations to which United States vessels entering such waters must conform. The debate was continued until August 21, 1888, when the treaty was rejected by 30 votes to 27.†

Pending action by the Senate a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon,‡ February 15, 1888, which remained in force by renewal for nearly 18 years:

"1. For a period not exceeding two years from the present date, the privilege of entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coasts of Canada and Newfoundland shall be granted to the United States fishing vessels by annual licenses at a fee of \$1.50 per ton for the following purposes:

'The purchase of bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits.

'Transshipment of catch and shipping of crews.'

"2. If, during the continuance of this arrangement, the United States should remove the duties

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 603-607.

† McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 114-122, 192-193; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 118-125. See also Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1015-1021; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 108-122. For Cleveland's message of August 23, 1888, suggesting retaliation against Canada for her treatment of our fishermen see G. F. Parker, *Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, pp. 501-511; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 620-627.

‡ Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, p. 467.

* Elliott, *Northeastern Fisheries*, pp. 91-92.

† McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 38-42.

‡ The text is given in Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 461-467.

on fish, fish oil, whale and seal oil (and their coverings, packages, etc.), the said licenses shall be issued free of charge.

"3. United States fishing vessels entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coast of Canada or of Newfoundland for any of the four purposes mentioned in Article 1 of the convention of October 20, 1818, and not remaining therein more than twenty-four hours, shall not be required to enter or clear at the custom house, providing they do not communicate with the shore.

"4. Forfeiture to be exacted only for the offenses of fishing or preparing to fish in territorial waters.

"5. This arrangement to take effect as soon as the necessary measures can be completed by the Colonial authorities."

But with the improved methods of transporting perishable foods by freezing, the American fishermen found that they would not be compelled to touch at Canadian ports; furthermore the Americans almost entirely abandoned the inshore cod-fishery of Canada and resorted to the Banks. The necessity of coming into conflict with the Canadian fisheries was thus to a great extent obviated, and the stubborn quarrel was settled for many years.*

The Samoan dispute now came up for settlement. The Samoan Islands, which lie in the central part of the Pacific Ocean, had been a bone of contention for many years. American missionaries were the first to attempt the Christianization of the natives, and until the beginning of the last quarter of the Nineteenth century the trade was exclusively in the hands of American and English commercial houses. In 1872 Commodore Meade

made an agreement with the Samoans by which they ceded to the United States the harbor of Pago Pago. President Grant submitted the agreement to the Senate* but that body took no action upon it.† About that time civil war broke out among the various native competitors for the kingship and some German business houses began to curry favor with the natives in order to establish themselves. They sold arms to all the belligerents, and were paid in concessions of land. In 1873 the islands petitioned to be taken under the protection of the United States,‡ and in 1877 a similar petition was addressed to the government of Great Britain.|| Both powers declined. But on January 17, 1878, a treaty between Samoa and the United States was signed, one of the clauses of which was as follows:

"If, unhappily, any differences should have arisen, or should hereafter arise between the Samoan Government and any other Government in amity with the United States, the Government of the latter will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting these differences upon a satisfactory and solid foundation."

The Samoans also made treaties of similar nature with England (August 28, 1879) and Germany (January 24, 1879) granting to each exclusive rights

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., p. 168.

† Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East*, p. 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

|| For the history of the dispute see Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 209-215; *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 43, 43d Congress, 1st session; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 161, 44th Congress, 1st session; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 44, 44th Congress, 2d session.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 519-529; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 96-97.

in certain harbors for naval and coal-
ing stations. But the Samoans were
more generous with the Germans, for
they "granted to the energetic Ger-
man representative concessions that
appeared to be incompatible with the
favored nation clause of the American
treaty."*

In 1884 Germany and Great Britain
mutually agreed to respect the inde-
pendence of Samoa, for the King of
Samoa appealed to Great Britain for
protection and alleged that the Ger-
man treaty had been concluded under
duress. In 1884 the unhappy Sam-
moans, unable to secure just treatment
from any of the great powers, voted
to annex their island to New Zealand;
but Great Britain forbade the con-
summation of this arrangement. The
Germans continued their high-handed
proceedings and the German consul-
general went so far as to hoist the
German flag at Mulinu, January
23, 1885; but this act was disavowed
by the German emperor.

The king of Samoa most generally
recognized was Malietoa Talavoa and
the treaties had been made with him.
Talavoa died on November 7, 1880,
and in March, 1881, Malietoa Laupepa,
the vice-king, was appointed king. He
proved too upright for the Germans,
and they began a series of intrigues
with a rival chief and the then vice-
king, Tamasese. They finally induced
him to embroil the islands in another
civil war, to the great detriment of

American interests.* On May 14,
1886, the American consul at Apia
(Greenebaume) hoisted the American
flag and proclaimed a protectorate
over Apia, an event which further
complicated matters.†

In 1886, President Cleveland called
the attention of Congress to the de-
plorable condition of the islands.‡
He wrote: "Civil perturbations in
the Samoan Islands have, during
the last few years, been a source
of considerable embarrassment to
three Governments—Germany, Great
Britain, and the United States—whose
relations and extra-territorial rights
in that important group are guaran-
teed by treaties." He said that the
three governments had sent special
agents to examine and report on the
situation in the islands, and hoped
that this "change in the representa-
tion of all three powers and an har-
monious understanding" would se-
cure "the peace, prosperity, auton-
omous administration and neutrality
of Samoa." Upon receiving the re-
ports of their agents, the diplomatic
representatives of the three govern-
ments signed a declaration that these
three powers did not recognize Tam-
asese as king.||

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 398-405; Hen-
derson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 217-
226.

† Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*,
p. 390.

‡ In his annual message of December 6. See
Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp.
503-504.

|| See the report of John B. Thurston, the
British commissioner, *House Ex. Doc. No. 238*,
50th Congress, 1st session, extracts of which are
given in Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 398-406.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*,
p. 216; *House Ex. Doc. No. 238*, 50th Congress,
1st session.

The United States now insisted that Great Britain and Germany enter a conference for the purpose of drafting a new treaty guaranteeing the independence of Samoa, using as a basis the report of the three agents above-mentioned. A conference between delegates from the three powers interested was held at Washington in June and July, 1887. The German delegate proposed that a foreign advisor should control the government of the islands for a term of five years, and that this advisor be nominated by the power having the largest material interests in Samoa. Mr. Bayard made a counter proposition — to place the supreme authority in the hands of the king, the vice-king, and three foreigners, one from each of the great powers. No agreement could be reached, and on July 26th, the conference was suspended, but not abrogated.* As President Cleveland's term of office was now nearly at an end, the renewal of the conference did not take place till President Harrison had been inaugurated and Mr. Blaine had become Secretary of State.

On April 29, 1889, the suspended conference was resumed at Berlin, the representatives of Germany being

Count Herbert Bismarck Holstein and Dr. R. Krauel; of Great Britain, Sir Edward Malet, J. C. Crowe and Mr. Charles S. Scott; and of the United States, Mr. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, Mr. George H. Bates, and Mr. William W. Phelps, assisted by Consul Sewall and Lieutenants Buckingham and Parker. The result of this conference was a declaration by the three powers of the independence of the islands, and the creation of a supreme court to decide all disputes respecting titles to land. Malietoa was also restored to his station. The treaty, after being signed by King Malietoa and the British, German and American consuls, was duly ratified, exchanges being made at Berlin, April 12, 1890, and the treaty proclaimed May 21, 1890.* This treaty continued in force until abrogated by the treaty of December 2, 1899.

But before the conference met, disaster had overtaken the ships of war of Great Britain, Germany and the United States lying in the harbor of Apia. A furious storm broke over the islands on March 15, and wrecked the majority of vessels lying in the harbor. The *Trenton* and *Vandalia* (U. S.) became total wrecks, as did the *Adler*

The report of the American representative, George H. Bates, is given in *Foreign Relations* for 1889, p. 237 *et seq.*, and in *House Ex. Doc.* No. 238, 50th Congress, 1st session, the German version by Travers being also found in the same volume. Robert Louis Stevenson's *Foot-note to History*, pp. 1-243, contains some interesting facts regarding the early part of the Samoan imbroglio.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 228-232; Foster, *American Diplomacy*, p. 391; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 407-409.

* For the treaty see Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 417-422; *Foreign Relations*, 1889, p. 353; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1890, pp. 91-97; Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 250-257. See also Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 655-659; *Foreign Relations*, 1889, pp. 179-423; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 238, 50th Congress, 1st session; *Senate Ex. Docs.* Nos. 31, 68, 102; *House Ex. Docs.* Nos. 118, 119, 50th Congress, 2d session; Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific*, p. 144.

and *Eber* (German), but the *Nipsic* (U. S.) and the *Olga* (German), escaped with little damage. The *Culiope* (British) succeeded in gaining open water and suffered no damage.* This incident, however, had no effect on the outcome of the conference.

Other events had also taken place during these years.

In 1886, the statue, "Liberty Enlightening the World" by Bartholdi, was transferred to the United States by France. The cost of the statue was defrayed by public subscription throughout France and the pedestal on which the figure stands was completed by popular subscription in America. The statue, which stands in New York harbor, facing the east, is 151 feet high. It is a draped female figure crowned by a diadem, holding a tablet close to the body in the left hand, and a torch in the uplifted right hand, and standing upon a square pedestal 155 feet high, built of granite and concrete.

In 1886, the government made a strenuous effort to put an end to the practice of polygamy in Utah and many Mormons were tried and convicted, but the results of these efforts were not very far reaching. Several violent outbreaks occurred which were put down by United States troops. In 1887, Congress passed (the Senate, February 18, by a vote of 37 to 13, the House on the 17th, 203 to 40) an anti-polygamy bill known as

the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which dissolved the Mormon Church as a corporate body and confiscated all its property in excess of \$50,000 devoting it to public use.*

During the night of August 31, 1886, the eastern portion of the United States was shaken by an earthquake, the heaviest shocks centering in and around Charleston, South Carolina. The city suffered a loss of property to the value of \$8,000,000 and about 65 persons were killed. The

* For the history of these bills see McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, pp. 51-56; 1884, pp. 179-185; 1886, pp. 166-174; 1888, pp. 33-38. In 1889 the Supreme Court rendered a decision in the case of *Mormon Church vs. U. S.* (136 U. S. 1, 42, 44) in which it said that the power of Congress over the territories is general and plenary; that the power to acquire territory is derived from the treaty-making power; and that a territory once acquired "Congress may legislate directly for its local government and has full and complete legislative authority over its people." In another Utah case (*Murphy vs. Ramsey*, 114 U. S. 44), Mr. Justice Matthews said: "The People of the United States are sovereign owners of the national territories and have supreme power over them and their inhabitants. * * * But in ordaining government for the territories and the people inhabiting them, all the discretion which belongs to the legislative power is vested in Congress. * * * It rests with Congress to say whether in a given case any of the people resident in the territory shall participate in the election of its officers or the making of its laws; and it may, therefore, take from them any rights of suffrage it may previously have conferred, or at any time modify or abridge it as it may deem expedient. * * * The personal and civil rights of the inhabitants of the territories are secured to them, as to other citizens, by the principle of constitutional liberty, which restrains the agencies of government, state and national. Their political rights are franchises which they hold as privileges under the legislative discretion of the Congress of the United States." For limitations on Congress see also *Downes vs. Bidwell*, 182 U. S. Reports, 244 (1901).

* Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 215-219; R. L. Stevenson, *Foot-Note to History*, pp. 244-267.

country generously responded to the calls for aid and the stricken city soon recovered from the calamity.

On March 23, 1888, Chief Justice Waite of the Supreme Court passed away at Washington, and in April, Melville Weston Fuller was appointed by President Cleveland to the vacant office. Justice Fuller's appointment was confirmed July 8, and he took the oath of office on October 8.

A new department of the government was established in 1888, when, by an act approved June 13, the Department of Labor was created, the purpose of this branch of the government being "to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor, in the most general and comprehensive sense of the word, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labor, the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."

In 1889, four new stars were added to our flag when President Cleveland on February 22, signed a bill enabling Washington, Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota to become States. By proclamations of President Harrison, North Dakota and South Dakota were admitted November 2, Montana November 8, and Washington November 11.*

On May 31, 1889, occurred the Johnstown, Pa., flood. There had

been heavy rains for several days causing the waters of an artificial lake thirteen miles above the town to rise to such an extent that on Friday afternoon the dam gave way under the strain, precipitating the entire volume of water into the Conemaugh valley, sweeping everything before it without warning till it reached the doomed town. The town was completely destroyed and about 2,200 people were swept into eternity. Millions of dollars were sent to the relief of the stricken city, not only from this country, but from European countries and even from Australia.

In 1885 and 1886, the Apache Indians caused much trouble in Arizona and New Mexico. These Indians had repeatedly surrendered to the United States authorities and had consented to live on reservations, but their longing for the old life of the plains was too strong to control and as often they broke loose again and ravaged the country for miles around. The last outbreak occurred in 1885 when, led by their chief, Geronimo, they renewed their depredations in these two territories. Captain Marion P. Mans set out in pursuit and succeeded in locating the band. General George Crook also gave chase and on March 25, 1886, forced Geronimo to make a stand at the Cañon de los Embudos. The band being entirely surrounded, Geronimo considered it inadvisable to make further resistance and on the 27th of that month again surrendered. He consented to surrender for two years only and stipulated further that

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 20-26.

the band with their families were to be sent East and then replaced on the old reservation. Crook accepted these terms and the Indians surrendered, but on the march to Fort Bowie, the Indians slipped away and began their old forays again.*

The subsequent criticism of Crook for being duped by the Indians caused his replacement by General Nelson A. Miles, who gave Geronimo no rest until he had been cornered and the band captured. The surrender occurred August 20, 1886. Captain H. W. Lawton and Assistant-Surgeon Leonard Wood, under the direction of Miles, had followed Geronimo over a large section of the country and finally located him at the junction of the San Bernardino and Bavishe rivers, near the Mexican border. They telegraphed the situation to General Miles at Wilcox, Arizona, and he set out to receive the surrender which was effected on September 4.†

But this time it was decided to remove the wily chief to a place so far distant from the scenes of his depredations that it would be almost impossible for him to again start on his murderous career. So Geronimo and his warriors were sent to Fort Pickens, Florida, and the squaws and papposes to Fort Marion, Florida. Two years later all the tribe were moved to Alabama, where they re-

mained from May, 1888, to October, 1894. During this time they made repeated efforts to be transferred to their old haunts, but Arizona, having once been rid of them, refused to receive them again and they were finally sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. There they now are to the number of about 300 and there Geronimo remained quietly until his death, February 17, 1909.

In 1890, the Sioux manifested unmistakable signs of an uprising. After Sitting Bull had surrendered to the United States forces (as recorded in a previous chapter) he remained quiet for a number of years. But in December, 1890, he and his band became hostile and troops were sent out to protect the white settlers. On December 15, as an extra precaution, Sitting Bull was made prisoner by the Indian police at Grand River, South Dakota, but his followers attempted to rescue him and in the ensuing struggle Sitting Bull and eleven others were killed. The hostile Indians were now pursued relentlessly and several conflicts took place. In a battle at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, December 29, 30 soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry, including Captain George D. Wallace, were killed and 200 Indians also fell.

The Indians now took refuge in the Bad Lands, and threatened to attack all neighboring agencies. On January 2, 1891, General Miles was placed in command of the government troops and soon brought the Indians to a state of subjection. On January 15, the

* Barrett, *Geronimo's Story of His Life*, pp. 126-138; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 445-471.

† *Senate Ex. Docs.* Nos. 111-125, 49th Congress, 2d session; Barrett, *Geronimo's Story*, pp. 140-176; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 471-526.



MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Indians returned to the Pine Ridge agency and surrendered their arms.

For several years the subject of railway management in its relation to interstate commerce was widely discussed, and in March, 1885, the Senate adopted a resolution appointing a committee to investigate the matter. This committee collected a vast amount of information and submitted its report to Congress on January 18, 1886. It summed up the testimony as follows:

"The complaints against the railroad system of the United States expressed to the committee are based upon the following charges: (1) That local rates are unreasonably high, compared with through rates; (2) that both local and through rates are unreasonably high at noncompeting points, either from absence of competition or in consequence of pooling agreements that restrict its operation; (3) that rates are established without apparent regard to the actual cost of the service performed, and are based largely upon what the traffic will bear; (4) that unjustifiable discriminations are constantly made between individuals in the rates charged for like service under similar circumstances; (5) that improper discriminations are made between articles of freight and branches of business of a like character, and between different quantities of the same class of freight; (6) that unreasonable discriminations are made between localities similarly situated; (7) that the effect of the prevailing policy of railroad management is, by an elaborate system of secret special rates, rebates, drawbacks, and concessions, to foster monopoly, to enrich favored shippers, and to prevent free competition in many lines of trade in which the item of transportation is an important factor; (8) that such favoritism and secrecy introduce an element of uncertainty into legitimate business that greatly retards the development of our industries and commerce; (9) that the secret cutting of rates, and the sudden fluctuations that constantly take place, are demoralizing to all business except that of a purely speculative character, and frequently occasion great injustice and heavy losses; (10) that in the absence of national and uniform legislation the railroads are able, by various devices, to avoid their responsibility as

carriers, especially on shipments over more than one road, or from one state to another, and that shippers find great difficulty in recovering damages for the loss of property or for injury thereto; (11) that railroads refuse to be bound by their own contracts, and arbitrarily collect large sums in the shape of over charges, in addition to the rates agreed upon at the time of shipment; (12) that railroads often refuse to recognize or be responsible for the acts of dishonest agents acting under their authority; (13) that the common law fails to afford a remedy for such grievances, and that in case of dispute the shipper is compelled to submit to the decision of the railroad manager or pool commissioner or run the risk of incurring further losses by greater discriminations; (14) that the differences in the classification in use in various parts of the country, and sometimes for shipment over the same road in different directions, are a fruitful source of misunderstandings, and are often made a means of extortion; (15) that a privileged class is created by the granting of passes, and that the cost of the passenger service is largely increased by the extent of this abuse; (16) that the capitalization and bonded indebtedness of the roads largely exceed the actual cost of their construction or their present value, and that unreasonable rates are charged in the efforts to pay dividends on watered stock and interest on bonds improperly issued; (17) that railroad corporations have improperly engaged in lines of business entirely distinct from that of transportation, and that undue advantages have been afforded to business enterprises in which railroad officials are interested; (18) that the management of the railroad business is extravagant and wasteful, and that a needless tax is imposed upon the shipping and traveling public by the unnecessary expenditure of large sums in the maintenance of a costly force of agents engaged in a reckless strife for competitive business."

On the basis of this report Congress enacted a law which was approved on February 4, 1887, during the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress, commonly known as the "Interstate Commerce Act" which became effective on April 3, 1887. This act established an Interstate Commerce Com-

* Edward A. Moseley, article *Interstate Commerce*, in *Encyclopedia Americana*.

mission of five members vested with authority to regulate such matters pertaining to interstate commerce as were considered detrimental to public welfare, and to require all railroads to submit sworn reports of their financial conditions and operations on a uniform plan and for a uniform period.*

The financial operations of the government during this time had not been particularly noteworthy. The income of the government far exceeded its expenditures; in 1885, the surplus was over \$60,000,000, in 1886, over \$90,000,000, and in 1888, it had reached \$119,612,115. The treasury officials, therefore, in order to avoid a direct contraction of the currency through an accumulation of money in the treasury, began to purchase outstanding bonds. In 1886, these purchases amounted to \$50,000,000; in 1887, \$125,000,000; and in 1888, \$130,000,000.

President Cleveland, therefore, in his annual message to the Fiftieth Congress, December 6, 1887, dwelt chiefly on the question of revising the tariff. He called attention to the enormous surplus in the treasury and urged Congress to reduce taxation.†

* Burton, *Sherman*, pp. 337-343. For the various interstate commerce bills introduced see McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1880, pp. 70-72; 1882, pp. 125-129; 1886, pp. 10-26, 136-146, 233, 234; 1888, pp. 7-13.

† Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 580-591; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 91-96; G. F. Parker, *The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, pp. 72-87; J. L. Whittle, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 88-109; Hensel, *Cleveland*, pp. 268-284, 298-320; Stoddard, *Cleveland*, pp. 246-253.

A bill reducing the duties on many articles was therefore prepared and introduced in the House by Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, who called it up for consideration, April 17, 1888. A long debate followed, known as "the great tariff debate of 1888," but nothing of a definite nature was done until after the party conventions for nominating presidential candidates had been held. The debate in Congress then became largely political, for the chief issue in the campaign was the tariff, and speeches were made seemingly for the purpose of prolonging the session without enacting a bill until after the election. This would thus enable the politicians to enact a law in accordance with the issue of the election.

The bill passed the House on July 21, by a vote of 162 to 114, and was referred to the Senate. On October 3 the Senate Committee on Finance reported its revision of the bill, the chief feature of the revision being a reduction of 50 per cent. in the duty on sugar. As the debate in the Senate was not finished at the close of the session, October 19, the Senate Finance Committee took the matter under consideration. In the meantime Harrison was elected President. When Congress again convened the matter was taken up in the Senate and debated nearly every day until January 22, 1889, when the amended bill was adopted as a substitute for the Mills bill by a vote of 32 to 30. The House then again

took up the bill, but nothing further was done by that Congress.*

These years has been years of great prosperity, tested by the usual rules.† Profits averaged well upon a large amount of business; the consumption of iron more than doubled;‡ and after 1885, confidence in railroad enterprises having been restored, capital was freely spent in railroad construction, 12,982 miles of railroad being constructed in 1887.||

But labor troubles had been intermittent and some of them were very formidable. The working classes had combined into unions for the purpose of combatting the power of the great industrial corporations, but the local unions found themselves powerless. A local society, the "Knights of Labor," was then developed into a national organization. This society had only 52,000 members in 1883, but in 1886 the membership had grown to 500,000. The object of this order was to unite all classes and kinds of labor into one large and powerful organization, so that should a corporation or firm oppress its employees, the entire membership of the organization would refuse to buy the products of such

firm or corporation or to deal with those who bought or sold them. Thus the boycott was its principal weapon.*

These boycotts increased in number and effectiveness, but their very effectiveness wrought harm to the labor cause, for the local assemblies, after one or two successes, went beyond the control of the central organization. A system of local dictators sprang up and these "rings" became tyrannical as well as irresponsible, ordering strikes whenever it so suited them, with or without cause, and in consequence business was in a very unsettled state during 1886 and 1887. Strike after strike took place.†

In May, 1886, large labor demonstrations took place in several cities, particularly in Chicago, where about 30,000 men paraded the streets. The principal demand was for a law restricting the hours of labor to eight a day, but this the employers were unwilling to concede. These demonstrations were peaceable at first, but later developed into turbulent mobs.

In Chicago, the McCormick Reaper Works was attacked, but the mob was finally driven off by the police after considerable damage had been done to the property and many people had been injured. The culmination of the

* Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., pp. 226-242; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 423-425; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1004-1010; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 344-348; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 147-166; 1890, pp. 169-185

† For details see David A. Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*, chap. iv.

‡ See *Reports of the American Iron and Steel Association* for April, 1887, and May, 1888.

|| Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 3-4, giving a table showing the construction by States, compiled from Poor's *Manual of Railroads*.

* Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 246 *et seq.*, and the same author's article on the Knights of Labor, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (January 1887). See also Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America*, pp. 75-88.

† See the *Report of the American Iron and Steel Associations* for April 1887. See also Wright's *Industrial Evolution*, p. 297 *et seq.*

agitation was the Haymarket Square Massacre of May 4, 1886, when about 70 policemen and laborers were killed and wounded by a bomb thrown by an anarchist.

A meeting of the unemployed had been called and several speeches had been made, which, though inflammatory, did not violate the law of free speech. But a man by the name of Fielden became so violent in his speech that a squad of police was ordered to the square to quiet the rising storm. Finally Fielden was told to discontinue his speech and the crowd was ordered to disperse. Fielden shouted "To arms!" and at that moment a bomb was thrown into the midst of the police squad. It exploded and caused great consternation. The police fired a volley from their revolvers and a battle ensued with the fatal results above mentioned. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, Neebe, Engel, Ling, Fielden, and Schwab, all of whom were leaders in this affair, were arrested and tried as accessories before the fact. Spies, Fischer, Parsons and Engel were hanged on November 11, 1887; Ling committed suicide in jail; and Fielden and Schwab were sentenced to prison for life and Neebe for a term of fifteen years. In 1893, however, Governor Altgeld, on the petition of many prominent persons, pardoned the last three, as the evidence was insufficient to prove that they were connected with the actual throwing of the bomb.*

The trust question now became prominent in the political platforms, the remedies suggested depending upon the party. These combinations with enormous capital began to stifle competition, using their capital not only to extend and better their own manufacturing plants but to buy off aggressive and successful rivals that they might shut down competing mills.* But even these combinations were not able to stay the trend of the markets. The crop conditions in the West had taken a turn for the worse and the yield was largely reduced. European production on the other hand had enormously expanded and India and the Argentine Republic were shipping 50,000,000 bushels of wheat per year to the foreign market. This competition therefore cut down the grain exports. Beside this the manufacturing industries of this country had also witnessed a similar condition of affairs.† European manufactures, and especially those of England, had reached an unprecedented volume, and this resulted in an aggressive search for

* The principle of the trust—combination for more economic production that prices to the public might be reduced—was good in itself, but its practical operation was otherwise. When competitors were shut off and a monopoly of trade secured—no matter how—the selling prices of merchandise were raised, but the cost of production remained the same, thereby enabling the trusts to pile up enormous amounts of capital for use as they saw fit. For the history of such combinations see Moody's *The Truth about the Trusts*; Luther Conant, Jr., *Industrial Combinations in the United States*.

† See the *Report of the American Iron and Steel Association* for January, 1889.

* Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 139-145.

outside markets. The United States was the market chiefly sought and imports of all kinds began to flow into this country.

The United States was now buying more goods from foreign markets than it could pay for immediately and consequently industrial stocks and bonds were sent to foreign creditors to settle balances. "The net importation of \$33,000,000 in gold during the year 1887 in the face of a balance of more than \$23,000,000 in merchandise exports in favor of the United States also showed * * * that a large amount of our stocks and bonds were being quietly bought by foreign investors in the open markets."*

The imports of merchandise, however, soon outstripped our exports and the excess over exports went bounding upward, thus greatly increasing the revenues of the government from customs receipts. Furthermore, the internal revenues had been largely increased by the greater consumption of domestic products as a result of our expansion in wealth and population. The natural result of these conditions, therefore, was a large increase of the surplus in the treasury which, because the government could find no outlet into the channels of trade, soon threatened to impede the movement of crops and other commercial and financial operations.

A remedy was now sought, but the protectionist majority in the Senate refused to consider the most practical

solution — reducing revenues by lowering tariff duties — and another method of reducing the surplus was employed. As the public debt which was redeemable at par had already been extinguished, Congress was asked by the treasury officials for authority to purchase the government's unmatured bonds at a premium. In April, 1888, such authority was given; during the next two years \$45,000,000 had been paid out in premiums, and by 1890, the total interest-bearing debt of the country had been reduced to \$725,313,110.*

Under these conditions the presidential election of 1888 was fought. The candidates were as follows:

PARTY.	President.	Vice-President.
Republican.....	Benj. Harrison, Ind.	Levi P. Morton, N. Y.
Democratic.....	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Allen G. Thurman, Ohio.
Prohibition.....	Clinton B. Fisk, N. J.	John A. Brooks, Mo.
United Labor.....	Robt. H. Cowdry, Ill.	W. H. T. Wakefield, Kan.
Union Labor.....	Alson J. Streeter, Ill.	Samuel Evans, Tex. s.
American.....	James L. Curtis, N. Y.	James R. Greer, Tenn. †

The Democrats in their platform pledged themselves to repeal unjust and unnecessary taxation laws, as the "money now lying idle in the general treasury amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of sixty millions annually." This surplus, the Democrats charged, was being exhausted by the Republicans "by extravagant appropriations and expenses," and they pledged themselves to "enforce frugality in public

* Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 104-126; Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, p. 13. See also the *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1890*.

† Greer subsequently declined the nomination.

* Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, p. 11.

expense " by reforming the tariff and reducing the revenues. The Republicans, on the other hand, said they were " uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." Continuing they said they " would effect all needed reductions of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco * * * and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people." This of course meant increase, not decrease, but if this were not sufficient the party declared for " entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than the surrender of any part of our protection system." But instead of recommending a reduction in expenditures the party demanded " appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications; * * * for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works

of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interest."

The election resulted in favor of Harrison and Morton, for although they received 100,000 popular votes less than Cleveland and Thurman, they secured an electoral vote of 233 against a vote of 168 for the latter.* Both branches of the next Congress would be Republican by small majorities.

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 413-415, and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 457-485; McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 316-336; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 182-191, 1890, pp. 26-35; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 157-168; Sherman's *Recollections*, vol. ii., pp. 1022-1032; McClure's *Recollections*, pp. 138-142; Hoar's *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 409-415; Lew Wallace, *Benjamin Harrison*, p. 269 *et seq.*; Stoddard's *Cleveland*, pp. 255-263; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 123-128; Porter and Boyle, *Life of William McKinley*, pp. 179-189; Murat Halstead, *Life and Distinguished Services of William McKinley*, pp. 69-72.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Twenty-third President of the United States.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER IV.

1889-1896.

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND FINANCE.

President Harrison inaugurated — His Cabinet — Pan-American Conference — McKinley Tariff Bill — Blaine's efforts to secure reciprocity — Act passed — Result — Silver bill passed — Sherman Anti-Trust Law — Idaho and Wyoming admitted — Oklahoma Territory formed — Unstable condition of financial markets — Change in political conditions — Labor troubles — Presidential elections — Cleveland inaugurated — Panic of 1893 — Repeal of Sherman Silver Law — Destitution among unemployed — Strikes — Agricultural crops fail — Wilson Tariff bill — Efforts to maintain gold reserve — Silver question — Utah admitted — World's Fair at Chicago — Cotton States Exposition.

Harrison and Morton were inaugurated March 4, 1889, and the President appointed the following men as his Cabinet officials: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota, who was succeeded by Charles Foster of Ohio, in 1891; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; Attorney-General, W. H. H. Miller, of Indiana; Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; Secretary of Agriculture, Jere M. Rusk, of Wisconsin.

Immediately after he had been appointed Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine again urged the formation of a closer union with the South American republics.* In pursuance of his plan

he issued an invitation to eighteen countries to send representatives to meet at Washington, October 2, 1889.* Regular sessions were held down to April 19 of the following year. Special committees were appointed and mutual interests discussed. The reports of the committees were in the majority of cases approved, such as that on an intercontinental railway (see *Records of the Conference*, vol. i., pp. 93-102); on an international monetary union (*Ibid*, vol. ii., pp. 624-828); on an international bank (*Ibid*, vol. ii., pp. 829-875); on the adoption of the metrical decimal system (*Ibid*, vol. i., pp. 77-92); and on subsidies to steamship lines plying between the ports of the two divisions of the continent

* For the circular letter of November 29, 1881, see Freeman Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 314-

* The history of the legislative action on this subject is given in the fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the International American Conference*. The countries represented were Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Salvador, Hayti, Nicaragua, Columbia, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chili, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador and the United States.

(*Ibid*, vol. i., pp. 264-342). After a long debate the conference adopted a treaty of arbitration, but this treaty "failed to receive the approval of the governments whose representatives adopted it."*

The subject of reciprocity received considerable attention, but nothing definite was done. The discussion had some effect, however, on the reciprocity clause of the McKinley tariff act which was introduced in Congress April 16.†

Two of the immediate results of this Pan-American conference were the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics for the purpose of disseminating information concerning these countries, and the development of the project for the Pan-American Railroad which is to complete a chain of railroads between the countries of South America and the United States.‡

In accordance with the recommendations of the first congress, delegates to an international monetary conference assembled at Washington January 7, 1891. Delegates from Bolivia, Brazil, Chili, Columbia, Hawaii, Hayti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uru-

guay, Venezuela and the United States were present. But though the meetings extended into the month of April no steps were taken to enforce uniformity.*

President Harrison had been elected upon a platform calling for a revision of the tariff, and his administration, therefore, is primarily memorable for the tariff law known as the McKinley Act. On April 16 William McKinley reported from the House Committee on Ways and Means a bill "to reduce the revenue and equalize duties on imports." It was debated from May 7 to 21 and was passed by the House on the latter date, with various amendments, by a vote of 164 to 142.†

Much of the credit for the introduction of this bill is due to Secretary Blaine, for while the Pan-American Conference was in session the question of reciprocity with other nations had been seriously discussed and this discussion awakened widespread interest in our foreign trade and created a desire to improve the methods to be employed in its expansion. Therefore, when the terms of the tariff bill, introduced by McKinley, increased the duties over those of previous laws, greatly restricting the free list and was silent upon reciprocity, Blaine, though an ardent friend of protection and a strong believer in reciprocity,

* Moore, *American Diplomacy*, p. 127. The text of the proposed agreement is given in Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 323-326. The *Records of the Conference*, vol. ii., pp. 954-1083, gives the proceedings in connection with this agreement in full.

† Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 133-138. (The Baker & Taylor Co.)

‡ Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 677-683; Crawford's *Blaine*, pp. 608-614; Stanwood's *Blaine*, pp. 315-317. See also Intercontinental Railway Commission Reports of surveys, etc.

* Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 173-188.

† Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii. pp. 261-262; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1890, pp. 223-238; Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1890, pp. 191-234. For McKinley's part in framing the bill see Halstead's *McKinley*, pp. 72-83.

immediately began a campaign on behalf of reciprocity. He appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means to advocate reciprocity, and wrote and spoke extensively upon the topic, in one of his speeches saying:

"I wish to declare the opinion that the United States has reached a point where one of its highest duties is to enlarge the area of its foreign trade. * * * I mean expansion of trade with countries where we can find profitable exchanges. * * * I think that we would be unwisely content if we did not seek to engage in what the younger Pitt so well termed 'annexation of trade.'"

In an official document prepared by Blaine and transmitted by the President to Congress he recommended:

"An amendment to the pending tariff bill, authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports free of all national, provincial, state, municipal and other taxes, our flour, corn-meal and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cotton-seed oil, rice and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture, and other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street cars and refined petroleum."†

After the passage of the bill through the Senate he wrote to the *Boston Journal*, September 15, 1890, as follows:

"Finally, there is one fact that should have great weight, especially with protectionists. Every free trader in the Senate voted against the reciprocity provision. The free-trade papers throughout the

country are showing determined hostility to it. * * * They know and feel that, with a system of reciprocity established and growing, their policy of free trade receives a most severe blow. The protectionist who opposes reciprocity in the form in which it is now submitted knocks away one of the strongest supports of the system. The enactment of the reciprocity is the safeguard of protection. The defeat of reciprocity is the opportunity of free trade."

On June 18 the bill was reported in the Senate from the Committee on Finance and shortly after, Senator Hale (Republican) introduced an amendment along the lines suggested by Blaine, but it failed.‡ Another amendment was suggested by Senator Sherman, providing a reciprocity arrangement with Canada for the free admission of coal into both countries, and for a joint commission to negotiate a full reciprocity treaty with that country, but this amendment was also defeated.§ After prolonged debate the bill was passed September 15 in the Senate by a vote of 40 to 29, and sent to the House.|| A conference committee then was appointed. After the committee had reported, it was passed in the House on September 27 by a vote of 152 to 81 and in the Senate on the 30th of that month by a vote of 33 to 27. The act became a law by the President's signature October 1.§

* Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 189-190; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 17, 1890.

† *Record*, pp. 6259, 9510, 9908.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 9454, 9543-44; Laughlin and Willis, pp. 191-206.

§ McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1890, pp. 239-244; 1892, pp. 4-22.

§ Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., p. 262; McPherson, 1892, pp. 22-23; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1081-1087; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 377-381; Porter and Boyle, *McKinley*, pp. 325-341.

* In a speech at Waterville, Me., August 29, 1890, Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, p. 186.

† Laughlin and Willis, p. 189; *Congressional Record*, p. 6257, 51st Congress, 1st session; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., p. 276 et seq.

Under the act generally, coffee, tea, hides, molasses and sugar were put on the free list, but the President was authorized to put them on a dutiable list in retaliation against any country which should, in his judgment, unjustly tax our exports. An impost was placed on eggs at 5 cents a dozen; the tariff on wool and woolen goods, meats, grains, potatoes, butter, tin plate and tin ore was raised; a bounty was granted on all sugar grown in the United States; and the duty on steel rails, bar iron, etc., was reduced.*

But Blaine's efforts did not count for naught, as in the course of a little more than a year reciprocity treaties had been negotiated with Brazil, February 5, 1891; with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico, August 1; with England on behalf of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Guiana and the Leeward and Windward Islands; with Santo Domingo, August 1; Guatemala, May 18, 1892; Salvador, December 31, 1891; Honduras, April 30, 1892; Nicaragua, March 12, 1892; Germany, February 1, 1892; and Austria-Hungary, May 26, 1892.†

But the McKinley tariff had a result

* Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 65-69, 105-206; Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 325-380; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., pp. 263-276; Pierce, *The Tariff and the Trusts*, pp. 289-291.

† Laughlin and Willis, p. 208 *et seq.*; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 438-440; Porter and Boyle, *McKinley*, pp. 407-410; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 683-691; and Crawford's *Blaine*, chap. xxxiv, pp. 631-644, "Mr. Blaine's Reciprocity Policy." For proclamations see Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., p. 302, footnote; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1892, pp. 178-193; Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 381-410.

different, taken in conjunction with the expenditures, from that anticipated by its projectors. President Harrison urged upon Congress in his annual message of December 3, 1889, that large appropriations be made for river and harbor work, for coast defenses, and for pensions. This was an unnecessary suggestion, for Congress, as it was now constituted, was in a mood to spend money without urging. While the framers estimated the total annual reduction in the revenue from the McKinley Act at \$43,000,000, they failed to take into consideration that they had removed the duty on sugar (which in 1889 amounted to \$55,976,228 and was one of the largest items of public revenue), and that to offset this the imports even at the increased rates of the act must remain the same, or higher. Furthermore the increased rates tended to check importations and thus to curtail customs receipts, or the imports might fall off from natural causes. This failure to anticipate every change was brought sharply to the notice of Congress, for during the first fiscal year in which the tariff act was in force the actual decrease in revenue was \$52,200,000; in the next year the revenues had fallen \$45,600,000 further, so that instead of \$43,000,000 reduction the actual amount was nearly \$100,000,000.*

Therefore, as the surplus from the year 1889 was \$105,053,443, the mar-

* Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 131-136.

gin for expenditures was not great, but Congress in its first session under Harrison appropriated \$79,000,000 more than in the preceding session and in the following year increased this amount by \$35,000,000. A season of deficits set in, but in each case the treasury was enabled to struggle along with the aid of a temporary expansion in revenue which followed.

In the meantime Secretary of the Treasury Windom had been working on the problem of currency reform, and as the protectionists needed the votes of the Representatives from the silver-producing States to pass the tariff bill then pending, a concession was made to them in the currency legislation. As the administration was against the free coinage of silver, Secretary Windom undertook to frame a compromise. He proposed to buy up at market price the entire annual silver output of the world and issue notes in payment, storing the silver in the meantime in bulk at Washington. The notes were to be issued "against deposits of silver bullion at the market price of silver when deposited," but redeemed "on demand in such quantities of silver bullion as will equal in value, at the date of presentation, the number of dollars expressed in the face of the notes at the market price of silver, or in gold at the option of the government, or in silver dollars at the option of the holder." Under this plan Secretary Windom estimated that \$37,000,000 worth of bullion would be annually

exchanged for notes.* This plan would entail an enormous loss to the government if the price of silver should drop, for it would take that much more bullion to redeem the outstanding notes. But Windom thought his plan would create a sort of "corner" in the silver market and raise the price.

In pursuance to the Secretary's recommendation, the House passed a bill, introduced by McKinley on June 5, 1890, providing for the purchase of \$4,500,000 of bullion monthly, making the notes issued for the bullion legal-tenders "redeemable, on demand, in coin." But the Senate substituted a free-silver coinage bill by a vote of 42 to 25 and sent it back to the House. Representative Bland then proposed that the Senate substitute be accepted. This was defeated by a vote of 135 to 152,† and the bill went to a conference committee.‡ A compromise was effected there chiefly by the efforts of Senator Sherman;|| and the bill became known as the Sherman Purchase Act, being finally enacted into law (in the Senate July 10, by a vote of 39 to 26 and in the House July 12, by 122 to 90).§ It was approved July 14, 1890. By this act it was declared to be the

* See the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury* for 1889; Hepburn, *The Contest for Sound Money*, pp. 232-234, 314-315.

† Watson, *American Coinage*, pp. 162-165.

‡ *Record*, vol. xxi., pp. 6503-4.

|| See his *Recollections*, vol. ii., p. 1070 *et seq.*; also Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 365-372.

§ *Record*, vol. xxi., p. 7226. For the various votes see McPherson's *Handbook of Politics*, 1890, pp. 143-157.

policy of the United States to maintain a parity between gold and silver at the present rates or such rates as may be provided by law, that silver bullion to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces should be purchased monthly and that of the bullion thus purchased 2,000,000 ounces were to be coined into standard silver dollars monthly till July 1, 1891, after which time the Secretary of the Treasury should have discretionary power as to the amount of dollars to be coined for the redemption of outstanding notes.*

As we have seen, therefore, the tariff bill was then pushed through with the aid of the silver Representatives and the two acts were now given full swing. The tariff act, as already stated, had proven a disappointment and the silver act was now to show an equally unfavorable aspect. The passage of the silver act created a demand for silver bullion and the price rose not only in the United States but all over the world, finally reaching \$1.21 an ounce (September 3, 1890). But the high price had been the result of a large speculative movement upon the stock exchanges, and when the speculators began to take their profits a reaction set in, and by December,

1890, silver had fallen below 98 cents an ounce.*

Secretary Sherman had also, in the previous session of Congress, introduced a bill "to declare unlawful, trusts and combinations in restraint of trade and production," but no action at that time was taken upon it. On December 4, 1889, Sherman again introduced this bill and it was referred to the Committee on Finance, whence it was reported to the Senate February 27, 1890. Many amendments were offered and the bill was finally referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. On April 2, Mr. Edmunds, chairman of that Committee, reported a substitute for the bill which on April 8 was passed by a vote of 52 to 1. The House then passed the bill and after being twice referred to conference committees it became law by the approval of the President, July 2, 1890.† The law, entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," is as follows:

"Section 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract, or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"Section 2. Every person who shall monopolize,

* Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 436-438; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 138-152; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1061-1071; Horace White, *Money and Banking*, pp. 202-204; Watson, *American Coinage*, pp. 157-162; Taussig, *The Silver Situation*, p. 49 et seq.; J. F. Johnson, *Money and Currency*, p. 354 et seq.; Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 16-31; Hepburn, *Contest for Sound Money*, pp. 315-317, 572-574; Dunbar, *Currency, Finance and Banking Laws*, pp. 250-252.

* Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 153-154.

† Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1071-1076; Burton, *Sherman*, pp. 353-364; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1890, pp. 112-119.

or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize, any part of the trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"Section 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such territory and another, or between any such territory or territories and any state or states or the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any state or states or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract, or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"Section 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the attorney-general, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition, and before final decree, the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

"Section 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section four of this act may be pending, that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpoenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

"Section 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to

any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section one of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one state to another, or to a foreign country, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

"Section 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by another or corporation, by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefore in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover therefore the damages by him sustained, and the cost of the suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

"Section 8. That the word 'person,' or 'persons,' wherever used in this act, shall be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the territories, the laws of any state, or the laws of any foreign country."

In 1890 Congress also passed bills admitting Idaho and Wyoming into the Union and organizing the Territory of Oklahoma from the western half of Indian Territory. This session of Congress also passed the Dependent Pension bill, approved June 27, 1890, which nearly doubled the number of pensions. From an expenditure of \$30,000,000 for pensions in 1871, the country was forced by this bill to increase the pension figure to about \$159,000,000 in 1893.

Meanwhile the foreign financial situation had become much confused. The large English banking firms had made a practice of "developing the resources of young foreign communities, taking securities in payment," and much of this capital had been sent to

the Argentine Republic.* The mania for foreign investment also extended to Germany. In 1889, however, the Argentine wheat crop failed; a political revolution followed in July, 1890; and Argentine securities fell so low that London bankers could not realize on them. This embarrassment caused the suspension, on November 15, 1890, of the firm of Baring Brothers of London with over \$100,000,000 of home liabilities.† This failure unsettled the American markets as the English investors had dumped their American securities (which, as said before, were taken in payment of trade balances) upon our market and consequently gold began to make its way to London. Furthermore, the English stopped their purchases of securities in this country and thus there was no prospect of the gold returning immediately. The banks were not in a position at this time to withstand this double strain, and in addition the industrial activity in the West and South had also necessitated the withdrawal of funds from the East. A stringency then set in and the bank reserves fell below legal requirements. The banks were then forced to call into operation their emergency measures of 1873 and 1884, the Clearing House at this time issued \$15,000,000 in loan certificates.‡ But recovery was

rapid in the United States owing to increases in railway and general industrial earnings, the activity of interior trade and the large exports of agriculture crops; and gold, despite the situation in Europe, flowed into our markets.

A change now set in, however, due to the continued frantic efforts of foreign investors to sell their American securities, the high rates of exchange in foreign financial centres, and the heavy import of merchandise during the first half of 1891, and gold wended its way back to Europe. "The year 1891 saw the largest exportation of gold in our history, being upwards of seventy millions in six months, nearly all of which was taken out of the Treasury within one year after the passage of the Sherman act."* "But no such avalanche of specie could move out indefinitely. Already in June, 1891, the gold reserve against the legal-tenders had fallen below the low record of 1884 * * * and below even that of 1885."†

Fortune favored the treasury for the European crops were the shortest since 1879 and reversely the United States produced the largest grain crop in its history.‡ The English financial markets had also recovered and once again began to purchase American securities; consequently nearly \$50,000,000 of gold was sent from Europe to

* On the general situation see Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 35-54; Hyndman, *Commercial Crises*, p. 151 *et seq.*

† Hyndman, *Commercial Crises*, pp. 156-159; Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 59-62.

‡ Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 156-158; Lauck, *op. cit.* pp. 62-72.

* White, *Money and Banking*, p. 205; Taussig, *The Silver Situation*, p. 66.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 163.

‡ Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 79-81; also *Reports of the Secretary of Agriculture*.

pay for our exports and securities and a large part of this went into the treasury in exchange for silver and legal-tender notes. Thus the depleted gold reserve was restored. But for various causes the price of wheat slumped, English investors began to view the condition of the United States treasury and currency with alarm,* and a selling movement in American securities took place, so that in the first six months of 1892 \$41,500,000 was shipped to Europe and for some time averaged two to seven millions weekly. By the close of May, 1892, the reserve had fallen to \$114,231,883 and at the rate of depletion would soon fall below \$100,000,000.†

In 1882 Congress had passed a law providing that the Secretary of the Treasury might "suspend the issue of such [gold] certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the Treasury available for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000."‡ Besides the outflow of gold from the treasury, the revenues were now being paid more

and more in legal-tenders, and the Secretary of the Treasury, taking advantage of the above provision, after the first week in July, 1892, practically abandoned the payment of gold into the New York Clearing House, hoarding as much as possible in the treasury. The year 1892 then passed without much further trouble in financial circles.‡

Political conditions in the country were now changing. The elections which took place in November, 1890, resulted in a decisive Democratic victory. The people were apparently convinced that the McKinley law contained a pernicious principle and the Republican party sustained the most overwhelming defeat in the thirty-six years of its existence. States whose Republicanism had seldom been successfully questioned swung into the Democratic column, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Illinois and Michigan being among the number. The House of Representatives chosen in this year had a Democratic plurality of 149. But the Senate was still Republican and the Democratic majority in the House availed little.

The year 1892, however, was marked by many events in the industrial world which boded little good to the Republicans in the presidential elections. "Prices and cost of living

* The general conditions are given in Lauck, pp. 82-90. He says that the reduced revenues under the McKinley tariff and the extravagance of Congress, in conjunction with the increase of silver certificates which glutted the market had completely upset everything. The English apprehensions were further increased by the fear that we would enact a free coinage silver law.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 166-167; Taussig, *The Silver Situation*, pp. 54-56, 68-69.

‡ *Statutes-at-Large*, chap. 290, sec. 12, 47th Congress, 1st session; White, *Money and Banking*, p. 206.

* "On the other hand the percentage of gold in the customs receipts fell to 60, 40 and during the summer months to 20 and 10 per cent."—Taussig, p. 57.

† Noyes, pp. 168-173.

increased with little compensating advance in wages. The farmers found no improvement in the markets for their products. The price of wheat fell from eighty-four cents a bushel in 1890 to forty-nine cents in 1894. Prices of corn, oats, rye, and barley declined in the same proportion. The woolen manufacturers complained that the protection given them did not offset the enhanced cost of their raw materials.** The workingmen were thus relatively in a worse condition now than they had been before. They therefore went on a strike for higher wages, but the employers resisted their demands. The strikers became surly and began to threaten. The employers became frightened and armed themselves or hired detectives to protect them, and disastrous clashes occurred.

That which roused the strongest feeling was the strike at Homestead, Pa. On June 30 the works of the Carnegie Steel Company were closed because of a disagreement between employers and employees in regard to wages, and non-union men were afterward employed in place of the strikers. A force of Pinkerton men were employed to protect the works and the non-union employees, and on July 5 and 6 these detectives were attacked by the strikers. In the fight which ensued numerous lives were lost, and many on both sides were wounded. The city authorities, being powerless,

now appealed to the governor of the State, who ordered the national guard — 8,500 men — to restore order and enforce obedience to the law.

The troops took possession of the works on the 12th and on the 21st several leaders of the outbreak were arrested. The mills were again put in operation under protection of the militia, and at the close of the month the strike virtually collapsed, though not declared at an end until November 20, 1892.*

The miners in the Coeur d'Alene mining region of Idaho also went on strike and a clash occurred there early in July, when several non-union men were killed. The strikers also dynamited the railroad bridges leading into the region so as to prevent troops from reaching the scene of the outbreak. Military rule, however, was established on the 17th and the leading rioters were placed under arrest.

The switchmen of the Erie and Lehigh Valley Railroad at Buffalo went on strike and on August 14 burned several loaded freight trains. The sheriff of Erie county, being unable to cope with the situation, called upon the governor for aid and the entire national guard of the State was ordered to the scene of conflict. But the strike failed because the other railway unions would not order a sympathetic strike. The militia was

* Coman, *Industrial History*, p. 302 (edition of 1905).

* Wright, *Industrial Evolution*, pp. 309-312; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*, 1892; also the testimony before the Judiciary Committee as to the employment of Pinkerton detectives, *House Misc. Doc. No. 335*, 52d Congress, 1st session.

then withdrawn and order was restored.

With these events still fresh in mind the presidential elections were held. The candidates were as follows:

PARTY.	President.	Vice President.
Republican.....	Benjamin Harrison, Ind.	Whitelaw Reid, N. Y.
Democratic.....	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Adlai L. Stevenson, Ill.
Prohibition.....	John Bidwell, Cal.	J. B. Cranfill, Texas.
Peoples.....	James B. Weaver, Iowa.	James G. Field, Va.
Socialist-Labor.....	Simon Wing, Mass.	Charles H. Matchett, N. Y.

In the Democratic convention there had been a fight on the tariff plank, but as finally adopted it declared that the Constitution did not give the Federal government power to impose and collect tariff duties except for revenue purposes. In this platform the trusts were denounced, and the party promised to enact laws, if the candidates were elected, to prevent and control them. The convention also adopted the following money plank:

"We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall ensure the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par and redeemable in such coin."

The election resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory, Mr. Cleveland carrying Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi,

Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, while Harrison carried only Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming. The Populist candidate, Weaver, carried Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota, and received one of the electoral votes of Oregon. Mr. Cleveland's popular majority over Mr. Harrison was 380,610, and the vote in the electoral college stood: Cleveland, 277; Harrison, 145; Weaver, 22. The Senate and the House were also Democratic.*

Cleveland and Stevenson were inaugurated on March 4, 1893, and the new President appointed the following as the members of his Cabinet: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, who was later succeeded by Attorney-General Richard Olney, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, who upon taking over the portfolio of State, was replaced by Judson Har-

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 456-493, and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 486-518; McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 337-359; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1160-1174; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 134-145; Porter and Boyle's *McKinley*, pp. 217-224.

mon, of Ohio; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, followed by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, in 1895; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton, of Nebraska.

Previous to the election the condition of the treasury had been precarious, and the Secretary made strenuous efforts to maintain the redemption fund above \$100,000,000. In the latter part of 1892 and the early part of 1893 the drain on the reserve had been heavy, but the banks advanced enough gold to the government* so that when the Cleveland administration came in the new Secretary of the Treasury had “\$100,982,410 in the gold reserve and barely \$25,000,000 in other forms of money.”† This condition of affairs unsettled the money market, for it was feared that the government would not be able to redeem the legal-tender notes in gold coin. This, therefore, was the chief cause of the panic of 1893.‡ The utterances of the Secretary of the Treasury did not allay the feelings of apprehension and the public mind was on the verge of panic, ready to be swept into active eruption or com-

placent quiescence as the course of events might decide.

But events were adverse to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. On February 20, 1893, the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, with \$40,000,000 capital and \$125,000,000 debt, went into bankruptcy, followed on May 5 by the National Cordage Company, with \$20,000,000 capital and \$10,000,000 liabilities. As the stocks of these companies were largely dealt in on the exchanges, the failures caused a slump, carrying with them the whole stock market.* On June 26 the government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver and the price of silver dropped from 82 cents to 67 cents per ounce in three days.† Later came the announcements of the failure of the Erie Railroad (July 25), and the suspension of the Milwaukee Bank. Bank depositors became frightened and withdrew their deposits, the strain being particularly violent on the New York banks, the reserves falling below the legal requirements of 25 per cent. on July 8 and continuing so until September 9. The Western banks now began to call their loans placed with New York banks, and to keep these banks from suspending the Eastern banks during July shipped as much as \$11,000,000 in cash each week to the interior.‡

* Taussig, *The Silver Situation*, pp. 57-62.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 184. See also the *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1893*, p. 75; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, p. 132 *et seq.*

‡ This conclusion is reached by Lauck in his *Panic of 1893*, pp. 110-112. He says that “the crisis of 1893 * * * did not arise from any difficulties abroad; * * * it was not due to an extension of mercantile and industrial credits, or to a scarcity of money in the United States,” but was caused “by widespread apprehensions as to the fixity of the gold standard of payments.”

* For the range of prices of stocks see Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, p. 99.

† Horace White, *Money and Banking*, p. 202.

‡ Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 192 *et seq.* Lauck, pp. 100, 101, says that “the deposits of the Clearing House, which were \$431,000,000 in round numbers on June 3, had been reduced by August 29 to \$370,000,000.”

It was obvious that this state of affairs could not continue, and as the greater part of the trouble was charged to the Sherman Purchase law, President Cleveland on June 30 convoked the Fifty-third Congress in special session to assemble on August 7 to enact remedial legislation. Upon assembling Cleveland transmitted a message in which he asked for the repeal of the Sherman silver act.* A bill carrying such a provision was introduced August 11 by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, and passed without amendment by the House, August 28, by a vote of 239 to 108.† The Senate, however, did not act upon the bill for two months, but it was finally passed by that body (October 30 by a vote of 43 to 32 and by the House on November 1 by a vote of 194 to 94).‡ It was signed by the President November 1 and became law.||

But the action of Congress was of no material benefit to the country at this juncture — it had come too late§ though the House by its vote on August 28 helped to restore confidence in the country's financial integrity. "In December, 1893, the comptroller

of the currency announced the failure during the year of 158 national banks, 172 state banks, 177 private banks, 47 savings banks, 13 loan and trust companies and six mortgage companies. Some of these institutions afterward resumed business, but the permanent damage was great. * * * Bank clearings were the lowest since 1885 * * *."

"The production of coal, both anthracite and bituminous, fell off; the output of pig-iron, which had been about 9,157,000 tons in 1892, fell to 6,657,000 tons in 1894; new railway construction almost ceased; in 1894 there were 156 railways, operating a mileage of nearly 39,000 miles, in the hands of receivers * * *. The total capitalization in the hands of receivers was about \$2,500,000,000, or one-fourth of the railway capital of the country. * * * commercial failures increased from 10,344 in 1892, with liabilities of \$114,000,000 to 15,242 in 1893, with liabilities of \$346,000,000."†

"More than two hundred railway companies, representing fifty-six thousand miles of track and one-fourth of the railway capital of the country, went into the hands of receivers between 1892 and 1896."‡

"Commercial failures alone in 1893 were three times as numerous as those of 1873 and the aggregate liabilities

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 401-405; *Record*, vol. xxv., p. 241 *et seq.*

† *Record*, p. 1008; Watson, *American Coinage*, pp. 170-176; J. F. Johnson, *Money and Currency*, p. 356.

‡ *Record*, pp. 2958, 3065.

§ Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 444-446; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 197-199; White, *Money and Banking*, p. 208; Hepburn, *Contest for Sound Money*, pp. 372-373; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1186-1196; Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 386-391; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 158-164.

§ See the Annual Supplement, *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, 1894, p. 2.

* Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 446; *Annual Report of the Comptroller of the Currency*, 1893, p. 80; Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 193 *et seq.*; Lauck, *Panic of 1893*, p. 107.

† Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 446.

‡ Coman, *Industrial History*, p. 321 (edition of 1905).

involved were fully fifty per cent. greater. It was computed that nine commercial houses out of every thousand doing business in the United States failed in 1873; in 1893, the similar reckoning showed thirteen failures in every thousand.”*

The problem of the unemployed became general and many relief committees were organized in the large cities to provide food and other necessities. In several cities there were demonstrations of the unemployed. On April 21, 1894, 130,000 miners throughout the country stopped work. They were afterward joined by 25,000 more. An “industrial army” under J. S. Coxey marched on Washington during the last half of April to demand help from the national government, in the form of an issue of \$500,000,000 in non-interest-bearing notes to be used in the improvement of roads, thus giving work to the unemployed. Railway cars for transporting the army were appropriated and the advance guard reached Washington April 30. On May 1, they attempted a demonstration on the steps of the capitol but the leaders were arrested for “trespassing” on the capitol grounds. The strike ended June 18.

On June 26, 1894, the American Railway Union declared a boycott of Pullman cars, as an expression of sympathy with striking Pullman employees. The strike spread and railway traffic was almost entirely sus-

pended from Chicago to San Francisco. The United States courts in Chicago, July 2, issued sweeping injunctions against the strikers, and General Miles and a detachment of United States troops were ordered to Chicago to see that the mails were not delayed and to suppress rioting.

On the 8th, President Cleveland issued a proclamation calling upon the strikers to disperse and on the following day issued another proclamation against mob violence in California, where United States troops were fired on and a train carrying them wrecked. President Debs and several other officers of the Railway Union were placed under arrest on the 10th. The backbone of the strike was now broken and with military protection railway traffic was gradually resumed. The strike ended July 15.*

Labor troubles, however, continued to exist in many manufacturing towns, strikes occurring at New Bedford, Fall River and New York. In January, 1895, the employees of the Brooklyn electric railway system went on strike and during the following month much rioting occurred. The militia

* Wright, *Industrial Evolution*, pp. 313-317; William H. Carwardine, *The Pullman Strike*; W. F. Burns, *The Pullman Boycott*; E. A. Bancroft, *The Chicago Strike of 1894*; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 7*, 53d Congress, 3d session; Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 330-346; Grover Cleveland, *The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894*, in *The Fortnightly*, N. S. vol. lxxvi., pp. 1-19 (London, 1904), in *McClure's Magazine*, vol. xxiii., pp. 227-240 (New York, 1904), and in *Presidential Problems*, pp. 79-117; Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, pp. 491-509, giving official proclamations and dispatches regarding the use of government troops.

* Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 201; Lanck, *Panic of 1893*, pp. 105-156.

was sent to restore order and the strikers quickly subsided.

In 1895, Carroll D. Wright, in the tenth *Annual Report of the Department of Labor*, made the following statements:

"In that time [1881-1894] there were in the United States 14,380 strikes, in which 69,167 establishments were involved, and the persons thrown out of employment numbered 3,714,406. The loss in wages is estimated to be \$163,807,866 for strikes and \$26,685,516 from lockouts; the loss to employers, \$82,590,386 in strikes, and \$12,235,451 in lockouts. To the losses of wages must be added \$5,262,000 paid to strikers by labor organizations. The strikes were successful in 45 per cent. of the cases, and partly successful in 12 per cent. The effort to raise wages led to 25 per cent. of the strikes; to reduce the hours of daily labor 13 per cent.; to resist reduction of wages to 8 per cent.; both to raise wages and reduce hours to 6 per cent.; 7 per cent. were sympathetic; 4 per cent. to prevent employment of non-union men, and 3 per cent. for recognition of trade unions." *

The year 1894 was also a year of agricultural disaster. A drought ruined the corn crop of Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, so that the yield was only 25 per cent. of what it had been in 1893.† The yield of wheat was large, but the European crops had also been large, and thus as there was no market either abroad or at home, the price of wheat fell until it reached its lowest mark—forty-nine cents per bushel. This was the situation facing the government when the attempt to reform the tariff was being made.

But as the administration was pledged to it the attempt was made. On December 19, 1893, the bill was in-

troduced in the House.* This measure bore the name of William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and it provided for the import, free of duty, of raw sugar, lumber, coal, iron-ore, hides, cotton ties, binding twine, fresh fish and wool, and substantially reduced the duties on many articles listed in the McKinley law.† In January, 1894, a bill imposing a tax of 2 per cent. on incomes over \$4,000 was introduced in the House, and consideration was given to other bills concerning internal revenue, all of which were incorporated in the tariff bill during the subsequent debate. The bill was then passed (February 1, 1894) in the House by a vote of 204 to 140.‡ The Senate, however, under the leadership of A. P. Gorman, of Maryland, radically altered the bill, replacing the duty on iron-ore, coal and sugar,|| and on August 13 forced the House to accept the amended document.§ The bill as thus shaped became the Gorman-Wilson tariff law of 1894, but President Cleveland refused to sign the bill and it became a law without his signature on August 27, 1894.¶

Meanwhile the condition of the treasury was a continued source of

* *Record*, 53d Congress, 2d session, vol. xxvi., p. 415.

† Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., p. 20.

‡ *Record*, p. 1796; Stanwood, pp. 321-326.

|| *Record*, pp. 1804, 3126, 3389-7136, 7188-7195.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 7714, 7930, 8482.

¶ *Ibid*, p. 8666; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., pp. 327-359; Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 443-473; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 455-458; Noyes, *American Finances*, pp. 223-231; F. Pierce,

* See also Coman's *Industrial History*, p. 333 et seq.

† *Annual Reports*. Department of Agriculture, 1893 and 1894.

alarm. Gold continued to flow away, and to make matters worse the revenue from all branches of public revenue fell off, so that by October 19, 1893, the stock of gold had diminished to \$81,551,385 and by January 1, 1894, had reached \$65,000,000.* Therefore, on January 17, 1894 without special legislation but under authority of the Resumption Act of 1875, Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle invited bids on an issue of \$50,000,000 of 5 per cent. ten-year bonds at \$117.223, and the

subsequent sale netted a premium of \$8,660,917 in gold.* But though this issue raised the total of gold up to \$105,000,000, it did not stop the drain on the reserve. By August 7 "the redemption of legal-tender notes for export gold had reduced the treasury's gold reserve to \$52,189,500," and by October "the monthly deficit had risen to thirteen million dollars, the largest of the year."† In November, therefore, another issue of \$50,000,000 of bonds was floated at \$117.077 bringing in \$58,538,500 in gold.‡

In both cases the sale of these bonds had called for subscriptions in gold, but fresh redemptions of notes quickly exhausted the new supplies. As a consequence of the bond sales the volume of gold in the treasury fluctuated as follows:

Date.	Gold in Treasury.
January 31, 1894.....	\$65,650,000
February 10, 1894 (<i>bond issue</i>)..	104,119,000
November 20, 1894.....	59,054,000
November 30, 1894 (<i>bond issue</i>)..	105,424,000
February 9, 1895.....	41,393,000||

An experiment in finance was now tried—that of restoring the gold reserve and preventing the immediate withdrawal of the specie thus obtained through the medium of the international banking houses instead of!

The Tariff and the Trusts, pp. 291-294; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 230-269; Sherman, vol. ii., pp. 1201-1208; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 165-173; F. N. Thorpe, *Constitutional History*, pp. 318-319. Sections 27 to 30 of this act (those providing for the income tax) were subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the case of *Pollock vs. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company* (157 U. S. 429). The case was argued twice—in April, 1895, and in May, 1895. After the first hearing the decision rendered was to the effect that a tax on the rents or income from real estate was a direct tax and that a tax on the interest on municipal bonds was a tax upon the power and means of the State to borrow money and therefore repugnant to the Constitution. But at this first hearing the court did not decide whether or not the tax upon personal property was constitutional, the court being evenly divided (one justice was absent). In May, however, when the cases were reargued before a full court the majority of the court, in an opinion rendered by Chief Justice Fuller (158 U. S. 601), held that in order to be constitutional a direct tax must be apportioned according to representation; that a tax on personal property or the income on personal property was a direct tax; that the tax imposed by the above act was a direct tax; and that as the method of imposing the tax was not according to representation the act was unconstitutional and void. On the internal revenue features of the bill, the income tax and the subsequent decisions see Howe, *Internal Revenue System*, pp. 231-252.

* White, *Money and Banking*, p. 210; Noyes, *American Finance*, pp. 203-205; *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1894.

* Noyes, pp. 210-215; White, p. 210; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, p. 138 *et seq.*

† Noyes, pp. 230, 231.

‡ White, p. 215; Noyes, pp. 216, 231; Cleveland, p. 142.

|| Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 449-453; Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 232; White, *Money and Banking*, p. 211.

through the regular channels. On January 28, 1895, President Cleveland sent a special message to Congress,* recommending that the Secretary of the Treasury be given authority to issue bonds at a low rate of interest to maintain the reserve and redeem the outstanding notes which had been issued for the purchase of silver, but this recommendation did not receive the approval of Congress, the resolution carrying this provision being defeated by a vote of 167 to 120, February 7.†

Secretary Carlisle on February 8 signed a contract with a syndicate of New York bankers for the purchase of 3,500,000 ounces of gold coin. In payment the government was to issue 30-year 4 per cent. bonds on condition that if 3 per cent. bonds should be authorized by Congress, the latter might be substituted for the 4 per cent. bonds within ten days. There was also a condition that one-half of this coin should be purchased in Europe. Secretary Carlisle under this contract received \$65,116,244 in gold for \$62,315,400 in bonds. On June 25 the treasury reserve of \$100,000,000 was again intact and on July 8 it had reached \$107,571,230.‡

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 561-565; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 143-146.

† Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 165-180; White, p. 212.

‡ Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 449-453; Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 235 et seq.; Hepburn, *Contest for Sound Money*, p. 382; White, *Money and Banking*, p. 211. See also Cleveland's message of February 8, 1895, and his annual message of December 2, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 567, 641 et seq.; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 147-160.

On January 6, 1896, Secretary Carlisle was again forced, owing to the continued business depression and the export of gold (the reserve having gone down to \$61,251,710 on that day) to issue a call for bids on an additional \$100,000,000 of the 4 per cent. bonds. The total number of bids submitted was 4,600 and the amount of the subscriptions was several times the sum required. The premium yielded amounted to about \$11,000,000* and the gold reserve was thus increased to \$128,291,327 (April 9, 1896).†

In the meantime the silver question had again come up in Congress, when on February 7, 1894, the House Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures reported a bill directing that the silver held in the treasury vaults must be coined. Congressman Bland, however, introduced a substitute measure providing for the coinage of the seigniorage and this substitute was passed in the House by a vote of 168 to 129 with 56 not voting and in the Senate by a vote of 44 to 31, with 10 not voting. The President vetoed the bill March 29, 1894, and as it failed to pass over his veto it did not become a law.‡

In 1896 the Territory of Utah was admitted to the Union as a State, the President issuing a proclamation to that effect January 4.

In 1893 occurred the World's Co-

* Dewey, pp. 453-455; J. F. Johnson, *Money and Currency*, p. 357 et seq.; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 161-170.

† Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 253.

‡ Noyes, *American Finance*, p. 230; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 483-489.

lumbian Exposition. On April 28, 1890, President Harrison signed a bill entitled: "An act to provide for celebrating the 400th anniversary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures and the products of the soil, mine, and sea, in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois."

Though the exposition itself did not being until May, 1893, the preliminary celebration began in October, 1892. In New York there was a parade of school children, October 10, a naval parade on the 11th, and a military and civic parade and a night pageant on the 12th. In Chicago there was a large parade on the 20th and on the 21st the dedication exercises took place in the manufactures and liberal arts buildings.

The following were the principal buildings with their dimensions and costs:

BUILDINGS.	Size in feet.	Cost.
Administration.....	262 x 262	\$436,500
Agriculture.....	{ 500 x 800	691,500
Anthropology.....	{ 312 x 550.5*	
Art Palace.....	415 x 225	200,000
Dairy.....	320 x 500	
Electricity.....	{ 136 x 200 (2)	670,500
Fisheries.....	{ 94.1 x 199.8*	30,000
Forestry.....	345 x 690	413,500
Horticulture.....	{ 162.1 x 361.1	224,750
Leather and Shoe.....	{ 135 in diameter* (2)	
Machinery.....	208 x 528	90,250
Boiler House.....	250.8 x 997.8	287,000
Manufactures.....	150 x 625	100,000
Mines and Mining.....	{ 494 x 842	1,050,750
Stock Pavilion.....	{ 490 x 551*	
Stock Sheds.....	86 x 103.6	75,000
Terminal.....	787 x 1,687	1,600,750
Transportation.....	350 x 700	266,500
Woman's.....	265 x 960	125,000
Thirty other buildings.....	.....	210,000
	450 x 150	300,000
	{ 256 x 960	369,000
	{ 435 x 850*	
	198.8 x 398	138,000
	.....	738,000
		\$8,017,000
U. S. Government.....	351 x 421	400,000
Battleship "Illinois".....	69 x 348	100,000
State and foreign buildings (approximately).....	.....	2,250,000
Midway Plaisance buildings (approximately).....	.....	1,500,000
Children's Building.....	150 x 90	30,000
		<u>\$12,297,000</u>

*Annex.

The most noted works of art were: the Columbia fountain, in the western section of the court of honor, designed by Frederick McMonnies; the statue of the "Republic," in the eastern section of the court of honor, designed by Daniel C. French, of New York; the peristyle and colonnade, which inclosed the court on the east and south, designed by Charles B. Atwood, of New York; the Columbus quadriga, surmounting the central arch of the peristyle, designed by D. C. French and E. C. Potter, of New York; the statue of Columbus, in front of the administration building, by Mary T. Lawrence; the statue of Benjamin Franklin, in the portal of the electricity building, the work of Carl Rohl-Smith.

In the southern portion of the grand canal, fronting the colonnade, was a magnificent obelisk, surrounded by a group of lions, designed by M. A. Waagen. Adorning the bridges and overlooking the lagoons were the celebrated bulls, by E. C. Potter, the draught horses, by Potter and French, cowboy and pony and Indian and pony, by A. P. Proctor, and the buffaloes, bears, elks and panthers, by Edward Kemeys and A. P. Proctor. There was also a statue of Diana by Augustus St. Gaudens, adorning the dome of the agricultural building, beside hundreds of other groups, designed by such eminent artists as Karl Bitter, Philip Martiny, Lorado Taft, Johann Gelert, Larkin Mead, John J. Boyle and others. There were 21,477,212 paid admissions and 6,052,188

passes, making a total attendance of 27,529,400. The exposition was a financial success.*

The Cotton States and International Exposition was held at Atlanta, Ga., from September 15 to December 31, 1895, its primary purpose being the commercial and industrial advancement of the South. Only two States were represented on the ground by buildings — Georgia and Alabama. Most of the State appropriations were surprisingly small and inadequate. The exhibits from Georgia and Louis-

iana were most complete, and North Carolina made a fine display of minerals. Creditable displays were sent from Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia, Mexico, Costa Rica, Chili and other countries in Central and South America. The chief exhibits were in the government buildings, the mineral and forestry building, the manufactures and liberal arts building, machinery hall, the agricultural building, and the negro building.*

* Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii. Many of the buildings were afterward destroyed by fire.

* Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, p. 751 *et seq.* (Charles Scribner's Sons).

CHAPTER V.

1891-1897.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Italians lynched at New Orleans — Italy demands reparation — Secretary Blaine practically refuses — Relations severed — Indemnity paid and relations resumed — Chilean dispute — War threatened — Chili pays indemnity — Behring Sea controversy with Great Britain — Early history of case — Seizures of British vessels — *Modus vivendi* established — Both nations send commissioners to examine fisheries — Treaty of arbitration signed — The arbitrators — Decision of the court — Restrictions against sealing — Great Britain refuses to change regulations — Retaliation by United States — Joint commission meets, but nothing definitely decided — Chinese immigration question — The various laws and their provisions — The Venezuelan boundary dispute — Its early history — President Cleveland applies the Monroe Doctrine — His famous message to Congress — Commission appointed to examine merits of dispute — Great Britain and Venezuela decide to arbitrate — The arbitration tribunal and its award — The Tin Horn War.

For the past few years the foreign relations of the country had been cordial and no difficulties had arisen of so serious a nature that they could not be easily and satisfactorily settled.

But in 1891 occurred an event which threatened to disrupt our previous

pleasant relations with Italy. In New Orleans a secret oath-bound society, known as the Mafia, had been used by one of two rival stevedoring firms, who were disputing over some shipping contracts, as a means of securing the work. In the struggle several

murders were committed and the chief of police, David C. Hennessey, had been especially active in the search for persons suspected of being guilty of the crimes. The evidence gathered by him pointed to a certain gang of Italians of ill repute and he started to "clean them up." Before his object was attained he was murdered on the night of October 16, 1890.

Eleven Italians supposed to have been in the plot were arrested, but only nine were held for trial. At the trial the jury acquitted six of the nine and disagreed as to the other three. But before the prisoners could be released, the jail was surrounded by a vigilance committee, of which many prominent citizens were members, and on March 14, 1891, the prisoners were seized and lynched. As this was regarded as a flagrant violation of the treaty in existence between the two countries, by the terms of which the United States guaranteed to protect Italian subjects in this country, the Italian government demanded that the persons guilty of the lynching be summarily dealt with and that an indemnity be paid to the families or relatives of the victims.

Secretary of State Blaine replied that the United States would not guarantee to punish the guilty persons, since every one accused of a crime in this country could by law demand "a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime was committed." Therefore, if the jury should acquit the alleged criminals the Federal gov-

ernment had no legal right to act further in the matter. With regard to indemnity the Italian government was assured that the United States was willing to pay an indemnity to such Italian subjects as came under the treaty and had been wronged, but if, after investigation, the Italians who were lynched were found not to be Italian subjects or that they were guilty, then under such circumstances the United States would not pay.

This reply was not satisfactory to the Italian government, and on March 31 the Italian minister, Baron Fava, was recalled by King Humbert. On May 5 the grand jury made its report on the lynching and failed to find indictments, so that the first demand made by Italy could under no circumstances be complied with. Finally, however, the matter was compromised by the payment of \$25,000 to the families of the victims and diplomatic relations were resumed.*

An incident similar to this now occurred in Chili. President Balmaceda of Chili had been overthrown and the revolutionists had established a provisional government. Some sailors from the United States cruiser *Baltimore* who had been landed in Valparaiso October 18, 1891, to guard American citizens and their property, were assaulted by a mob on the charge that they had fought and beaten some Chileans in a drunken brawl. Several casualties resulted. The accusation

* Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century*, vol. ii., pp. 176-184; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 672-675; Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 423-435.

was denied by the sailors and the United States demanded reparation and indemnity. This the Chilean government refused, claiming that the Americans had incited the riot, but the government offered to punish the guilty — and subsequently did punish two. But this did not satisfy the United States and preparations for war were rushed. On January 12, 1892, an ultimatum was sent to Chile demanding an apology and indemnity, and rather than risk a war the Chilean government apologized and paid an indemnity of \$75,000.*

From the time Alaska had been purchased by the United States there had been constant and continual wrangling between our country and Great Britain over the extent of marine jurisdiction possessed by the United States in Alaska, under the cession from Russia. The Behring Sea and its coasts were first visited by Vitus Behring, a Danish navigator, for Peter the Great of Russia, and on July 8, 1799, Czar Paul I. granted to the Russian-American Company "various important rights on the Russian coasts in America, including that of fishing." On September 4, 1821, Czar Alexander endeavored to extend Russia's rights "beginning from Behring's Strait to the fifty-first degree of north latitude, also from the Aleutian Islands to the eastern coast of Siberia, as well

as along the Kurile Islands from Behring's Strait to the South Cape of the island of Urup, viz., to 45° 50' north latitude," and declared the sea a *mare clausum*, but she finally "withdrew the exaggerated claims."†

On April 17, 1824, Russia made a treaty with the United States‡ in which it was agreed:

"* * * that in any part of the Great Ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting parties shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives."

Russia also granted the United States the privilege of frequenting for ten years "without any hindrance whatever the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks upon the coast * * * for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country." The southern limits of Russian territory were defined by this treaty as 54° 40' north latitude. But when the ten year period expired Russia refused to renew the grant, though all the other provisions of the treaty remained in force. The American vessels, however, still continued to navigate the Behring Sea without interference from Russia, who never again "actually asserted the right of *mare clausum* over that body of water."‡

* See President Harrison's messages of December 9, 1891, and January 25 and 28, 1892, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 183-185, 215-226, 227; Theodore S. Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 180-188; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 675-677; Stanwood's *Blaine*, pp. 318-320; Ridpath's *Blaine*, pp. 435-439.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 4-5; Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 292-295; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 472-476; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 98-99; Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific*, p. 33 et seq.

‡ For text see Snow, pp. 132-134.

‡ Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 295-305.

Such was the situation in 1867, and after the transfer of the Russian possessions in America to the United States, the rights of the latter in Behring Sea were not questioned until fur-seals became scarce in other regions and foreign fur-traders began to send their ships to the breeding grounds on the Pribilof Islands. These breeding grounds were under American protection, and according to the generally accepted code of international law, foreign vessels could not kill seals there nor within three miles of the shore. But these foreign vessels hovered just outside the three-mile limit and intercepted large herds of the seals on their way to the shores of the breeding grounds. The value of the fishery was thus imperiled, and as the taxes levied upon the sealing company brought large revenues into the treasury of the United States, our government could not afford to allow foreigners to destroy an industry that was most profitable.* During 1886 several British vessels were seized and condemned by the Alaskan courts to be sold for poaching or taking seals in the conterminous waters over which the United States claimed jurisdiction, but in January, 1887, Secretary Bayard ordered the Alaskan authorities to release these vessels, as he did not wish to bring the Behring Sea dispute into the Canadian fishery dispute which was at that time being brought forward by the United States for adjustment.†

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 9-13.

† For the argument of both sides see Snow,

In order to make provisions for the better protection of the seals Secretary Bayard on August 19, 1887, directed the United States ministers in England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, Norway and Sweden to ask these governments to send representatives to a conference in the United States. All the powers appealed to, except Sweden, acted favorably on the suggestion and the negotiations for international agreement seemed at last to promise a successful issue, but in June, 1888, the Marquis of Salisbury withdrew from the proceedings and the negotiations were unfortunately abandoned.

In March, 1889, the Harrison administration came into power and after several more seizures of British vessels by the American government, Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British minister at Washington, on June 14, 1890, presented a note of protest.* Secretary of State Blaine then engaged in a long controversy with Salisbury in an attempt to settle the dispute.† The correspondence finally resulted in the establishment of a *modus vivendi* on June 15, 1891, by the terms of which each country agreed to prohibit sealing in the disputed area until May, 1892, and agreed to allow offenders to

Treaties and Topics, pp. 477-480; Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 15-18. For text of treaties of 1783 and 1818 see Snow, pp. 62-67, 79-81.

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 492-493.

† See *House Ex. Doc.* No. 450, 51st Congress, 1st session; *House Ex. Doc.* No. 144, 51st Congress, 2d session; *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 55, 52d Congress, 1st session; Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 481-497.

be tried by the courts of the country to which they owed allegiance. Both nations sent vessels to the Behring Sea to enforce the agreement.*

It was also agreed that with a view to submitting the case to arbitration, Great Britain might send representatives to the seal islands to examine and secure data regarding the fisheries. The United States also sent representatives. Sir George Baden-Powell, M. P., and Professor George M. Dawson were sent by Great Britain and Dr. C. Hart Merriam and Professor Mendenhall by the United States.

The diplomatic agents of the two countries then entered upon negotiations in the hope of securing a mutually advantageous treaty and after some disputes over minor terms a treaty was signed at Washington on February 29, 1892. Both countries agreed to submit the dispute to a tribunal of seven arbitrators, two to be appointed by the President of the United States, two by Her Britannic Majesty and one each by the President of the French Republic, the King of Italy and the King of Sweden and Norway. This tribunal was to meet at Paris within a stipulated time.† The settlement, therefore, went over into another administration and President Cleveland had been inaugurated before the arbitrators met. On May 9,

1892, President Harrison issued a proclamation renewing the *modus vivendi* until the dispute was settled.

The arbitrators met at Paris, France, March 23, 1893. Associate Justice John M. Harlan, of the Supreme Court, and Senator John T. Morgan, represented the United States; Baron de Courcel, of the French Senate, represented France; Lord Hannen, and Sir John S. D. Thompson, of Canada, represented England; Marquis Emilio Visconti-Venosti, represented Italy; and Judge Gregers W. W. Gram represented Sweden and Norway. Baron de Courcel, the French representative, was chosen president of the court. Edward J. Phelps, James C. Carter, Frederic R. Conder and Henry W. Blodgett were counsel for the United States; and Great Britain was represented by Sir Charles Russell, Sir Richard Webster and Mr. Christopher Robinson.

The court rendered its decision August 15, 1893, and on the legal points and points of international law it was wholly in favor of Great Britain. The court denied that the United States possessed exclusive jurisdiction in Behring Sea, and decided that the United States could not lay claim to an exclusive right of property in the seals frequenting the Pribilof Islands. It was also decided that as Behring Sea was a part of the high seas it could not be held as a preserve and that as the seals were *feræ naturæ* they might be caught by anyone.*

* Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 659-672; Snow, pp. 497-498; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., p. 146.

† Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 18-31; Snow, pp. 103-105; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1892, pp. 148-151.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*.

But it was unanimously decided that the herds of seals ought to be protected by law, and regulations binding for five years were prescribed (Articles I and II of the award) which prohibited all pelagic sealing within 60 miles of the Pribilof Islands, or from the first of May to the 31st of July in the North Pacific east of the 180th degree of longitude and north of the 35th degree of latitude.* An act was passed by Congress April 5, 1894, to enforce the award as to American citizens and orders in council were enacted on April 18, 1894, by the British Parliament in relation to British subjects.

The United States and Great Britain were to enforce the restrictive provisions of the treaty co-jointly, but the officials in charge of the work were lax and the restrictions became absurdly ineffective. The number of seals caught during the next few seasons was so great that the herds began to show signs of extinction, but Great Britain would not listen to any change in the regulations until the stipulated five years had elapsed.†

The United States, Japan and Russia then agreed to prohibit pelagic sealing if Great Britain would do the same, but the British government re-

fused to do this, laying all the trouble to the abuse of privilege on the part of the North American Company which had had a monopoly of the sealing.

A new administration (McKinley's) had now come into power (March, 1897) and John Sherman was Secretary of State. Congress, thereupon, in order to destroy the market for skins caught by Canadians, prohibited the importation of any sealskins unless accompanied by consular certificates showing that they were not sea-captures, but this did not have the desired effect, as the British government still refused to agree to the provisional treaty. On November 17, 1897, however, a meeting of experts from the United States, Canada and Great Britain was held, and the American claims were unanimously upheld.* On June 14, 1898, Congress appropriated \$473,151.26 to pay for the Canadian vessels that had been seized many years before.†

In August, 1898, a joint American and Canadian commission, which had been authorized by agreement on May 30 preceding, met at Quebec, but it adjourned to meet at Washington in the following November; was then adjourned to February, 1899, and was again postponed until the summer, but it never reassembled. Unfortunately this commission had not decided any of the issues before adjournment and as the Paris regulations had expired

pp. 31-39; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 99-104, 212-213; Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, p. 215.

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 500-509, gives the award in full. See also Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 40-41; Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, p. 216 *et seq.*

† *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 177*, 53d Congress, 2d session; Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 42-46.

* Henderson, pp. 46-57.

† Moore, *American Diplomacy*, p. 104; Henderson, pp. 60-61.

and none had been established to take their place the seals are now entirely unprotected.*

During all these years the Chinese immigration question had been a source of anxiety to the government. After the ratification of the Burlingame treaty of 1868, a strong prejudice against the Chinese sprang up on the Pacific coast, chiefly because of their alleged monopoly of labor at reduced prices, "cheap John" being a popular phrase applied to them. In 1876 a joint committee of both Houses of Congress was sent to the Pacific Coast to investigate the matter. Two reports were submitted—one by Senator Sargent, of California, who, after the death of the chairman, Senator Morton, of Indiana, assumed charge of the investigation, and the minority report consisting of notes prepared by Senator Morton before his death.†

The matter was brought to the attention of Congress,‡ and a bill to restrict Chinese immigration was introduced early in December, 1878, and was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. It was reported to the House January 14, 1879, and on the 29th was passed by a vote of 155 to 72. After prolonged debate in the Senate, that body amended and passed it February 15, by a vote of 39 to 27,

and the House concurred in the amendments on the 22d.* The principal feature of the bill was the prohibiting of any vessel from bringing more than fifteen Chinese passengers to any port of the United States.† President Hayes vetoed this bill on March 1, as being contrary to the Burlingame Treaty, and because by its terms immigration was so restricted that it fell "little short of its absolute exclusion."‡ Congress failed to secure the two-thirds majority necessary to pass the bill over the veto.

Therefore in 1880 a commission was sent to China to negotiate a new treaty.|| This was signed in November, 1880, and ratified by the Senate July 19, 1881. The treaty gave to the United States the right to "regulate, limit or suspend" the further immigration of Chinese laborers, but this country did not have the right to absolutely prohibit it. The treaty also allowed those Chinese then in the country to remain and travel around at their pleasure, and prohibited molestation with Chinese merchants, teachers, students or travelers.§ The commissioners also negotiated a treaty relating to general commercial

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1880, pp. 39-41.

† Foster, *American Diplomacy*, p. 293; Hamilton's *Blaine*, pp. 449-451.

‡ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 514-520.

|| The commissioners were James B. Angell, president of the University of Michigan, John T. Swift, of California, and Wm. H. Trescott, of South Carolina.

§ Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 163-165; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, p. 99 *et seq.*

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 58-62.

† Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 287-293, gives an epitome of the two reports. See also *Senate Report* No. 689, 44th Congress, 2d session; *Miscellaneous Doc.* No. 20, 45th Congress, 2d session.

‡ *Foreign Relations*, 1870, p. 307, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vi., p. 690.

intercourse, particularly the opium trade. This was also ratified by the Senate.*

Under the pretext of executing the treaty of 1880, an act was passed in March 1882, during the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress, suspending Chinese immigration for a period of twenty years, but President Arthur, considering that this act meant absolute prohibition, vetoed it April 4.† In order to meet this objection, Congress passed another bill (approved by the President, May 6, 1882, but amended July 5, 1884)‡ which suspended the immigration for only ten years, but imposed some very severe provisions. The Chinese already here were allowed to remain. Those who were exempted under the act (that is those not laborers), must, if they desire to enter this country, secure certificates of identification from the Chinese government and viséd by the United States consul at the port from which they sailed, also giving rank, occupation or profession, value of business, financial standing, etc. Chinese laborers who departed must take out return certificates, upon presentation of which at the port of entry, they would be allowed to enter again, but if

subject and identification card failed to agree the rejected person must be sent back to the port of departure at the expense of the United States. Heavy penalties were provided for false registry and for forgery; and the masters of vessels who tried to smuggle Chinese into the country or land any who were unauthorized were subject to fine and imprisonment and forfeiture of their vessels.*

On October 1, 1888, the President signed a bill known as the Scott Act (passed by the House September 3, and by the Senate on the 7th) amending the acts of 1882 and 1884. By the terms of the Scott Act the permission given to the Chinese laborer to return was taken away, the issue of return certificates was prohibited and all that had been issued were declared void. This act enraged the Chinese government so greatly that it refused to ratify a treaty then pending by which China would have prohibited the emigration of laborers to the United States.‡

During the first session of the Fifty-second Congress, the question again came up for attention. It was claimed that the provisions of the law of 1882 were being evaded by fraud and forgery, and Senator Dolph, of Oregon,

* Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 295-299; Blaine, vol. ii., pp. 651-656; Hoar, vol. ii., pp. 120-122; *Foreign Relations*, 1881, China; Chester Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*, pp. 281-283.

† Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 112-118; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1882, pp. 92-99.

‡ For these laws see *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xxii., p. 58, vol. xxiii., p. 115; McPherson, 1882, pp. 105-107; 1884, pp. 138-141.

* Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 299-301; A. C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, pp. 327-340; Hoar, vol. ii., pp. 123-125.

† Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 300-301; *Foreign Relations*, 1888, China; see also President Cleveland's message of October 1, 1888, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. viii., pp. 630-635; McPherson, *Hand-book of Politics*, 1890, p. 13. The text of the proposed treaty is given in McPherson, 1888, p. 193.

introduced a bill extending the restriction against "coolies" to all Chinese laborers, and provisions were made to prevent evasion and fraud. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, after careful consideration, then instructed Mr. Dolph to report a bill extending the act of 1882 for five years with amendments providing against fraud. This bill passed the Senate, and went to the House, where on February 18, 1892, a bill to absolutely prohibit the immigration of Chinese was reported and passed April 4. The Senate, however, amended the House bill, and on April 25 the amendment was agreed to by a vote of 43 to 14. As the House refused to ratify the Senate bill it went to a conference committee and after a lengthy debate was passed by both Houses and became a law May 5. Besides extending the act of 1882 for ten years, it provided that the Chinese lawfully in this country must take out a certificate of residence within one year after the passage of the act, naming severe penalties for failure to do so.*

Negotiations were then entered upon which finally resulted in the signing of a treaty March 17, 1894, which was ratified by the Senate August 13, and proclaimed December 8 of that year. This was similar to the treaty of 1888, which had not been ratified.† It extended the former term of restriction for ten years, and this term

was again extended for the same period by the act of April 29, 1902.

In 1895 the United States was on the verge of war with Great Britain because of a dispute between the latter country and Venezuela over a boundary line, the United States claiming the right to interfere under the terms of the Monroe Doctrine.

The early history of the dispute is long and complicated, and only a general summary will be given here. Great Britain claimed that the territory of British Guiana included all the country touched by the estuaries of the Essequibo River, and thus that the boundary line between the two countries should be drawn along the summit of the hills separating the watersheds of the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers. Venezuela disputed this claim, but no settlement was reached and the matter was allowed to drift. In 1840 Sir Robert Schomburgk was commissioned to lay out the boundaries, and according to his survey Great Britain was entitled to the lands in dispute. Venezuela protested against this award also, and after much diplomatic correspondence and negotiation, Lord Aberdeen on behalf of Great Britain receded from his position, ordering the Schomburgk monuments marking the boundary removed.

Other boundaries were from time to time suggested but none decided upon, and finally in 1886 Venezuela renewed her claim for the territory included in the Schomburgk survey. She reso-

* McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1892. pp. 202-206.

† For the text of this treaty. see Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 450-453.

* Foster, pp. 302-305.

lutely adhered to this policy, and the controversy continued until 1894 when Venezuela sent a force into the disputed territory and raised her flag at Yuruan. The British officials, however, soon afterward removed the flag but they were arrested for the act. Great Britain then demanded an apology and reparation. The British officials were released but the dispute still continued.*

In his annual message to Congress on December 3, 1894, President Cleveland called attention to the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, and expressed his belief that "its early settlement * * * is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond the sea," at the same time announcing his intention to renew his efforts to induce the disputants to submit their claims to arbitration.† A few weeks later (February 22, 1895) Congress passed a joint resolution recommending that "the President's suggestion * * * that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundaries to friendly arbitration, be earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of both parties in interest"‡

Secretary Olney then prepared a lengthy and exhaustive paper, sent on July 20, 1895, in the form of a letter

of instruction to Ambassador Bayard,* reviewing the history of the dispute and of the efforts of the United States to settle it, and stating that the basis of the present intervention was the Monroe Doctrine. Olney declared that "any permanent political union between a European and an American State was unnatural and inexpedient"; that European interests "are irreconcilably diverse from those of America"; that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."‡ He also asked for a definite answer as to whether the British government would or would not submit the Venezuela matter in its entirety to arbitration. Lord Salisbury replied November 26, 1895. He denied the contention that the Monroe Doctrine gave this country the right to interfere in the boundary dispute and refused to arbitrate the matter unless upon the terms already stated by Great Britain. He gave a complete history of the dispute with Venezuela and again upheld the righteousness of the British claim.‡

On December 17, 1895, President Cleveland sent to Congress his celebrated message and with it submitted

* For the early history see Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 411-417; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 173-227.

† Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., p. 526.

‡ *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xxviii., p. 971; Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, p. 251.

* *House Ex. Doc.* No. 1, 54th Congress, 1st session; Henderson, pp. 417-433, where the text of the despatch is given in full; Cleveland, p. 259 *et seq.*

† A. B. Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, pp. 221-222 (The Macmillan Co.); Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 253-254.

‡ For text see Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 434-440. See also Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 262-269.

the correspondence between Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury.* He vigorously supported Mr. Olney in the attitude assumed and asked that Congress authorize him to appoint a commission to determine the merits of the dispute. President Cleveland said that if the commission found that the disputed territory belonged to Venezuela, the United States should "resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

The message created intense excitement throughout Europe and America and there was much talk of war. A bill appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of the commission was introduced in Congress, was passed by the House December 18, by the Senate December 20, and was approved by the President on the 21st.† President Cleveland then selected the following commission: David J. Brewer, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Richard H. Alvey, chief justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, formerly United States minister to Russia; F. R. Coudert, of New

York, and Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland, president of Johns Hopkins University. Judge Brewer was selected as president of the Commission, and was soon hard at work.*

After much diplomatic correspondence the terms of arbitration were agreed upon, and at the Lord Mayor's dinner at London in November, 1896, Lord Salisbury announced that the dispute had been amicably settled, the American claims being substantially conceded. The commission continued its sittings until February 27, 1897, but before it had completed its task, the two disputants decided to arbitrate. The terms of arbitration were accepted by Venezuela, after protesting against certain portions of the stipulations, and on February 2, 1897, she concluded a treaty with Great Britain for the settlement of the boundary dispute before an arbitration tribunal to hold its meetings in Paris.‡ In accordance with the terms of this treaty four arbitrators were appointed: Melville W. Fuller, chief justice and David J. Brewer, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the part of the United States; and Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord chief justice of England and Sir Richard Collins, Lord justice of appeals, on the part of Great Britain. The treaty provided that the fifth jurist should be selected by the four nominated therein; and the

* *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 31, 54th Congress, 1st session. Woolsey severely criticizes the President's conception of the Monroe Doctrine in his *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 223-238. See also Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 655-658; Cleveland, pp. 269-272.

† *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xxix., p. 1.

* An interesting account of the work of the commission is given in Andrew D. White's *Autobiography*, vol. ii., pp. 117-126.

‡ Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, pp. 274-276.

tribunal was completed by the selection of Professor F. Martens, professor of international law in the University of St. Petersburg, on the part of Russia. Ex-President Harrison, Benjamin F. Tracy, Secretary of the Navy in Harrison's Cabinet, the Marquis de Rajas and Severo Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of Cleveland's boundary commission of 1896, were the counsel for Venezuela; and Great Britain was represented by Attorney-General Sir Richard Webster, Sir Robert Reid and others.

The sessions of this tribunal did not take place until 1899. Professor Martens, the Russian member of the tribunal, was chosen president, and M. Martin, an official in the French Foreign Office, was made permanent secretary. After more than three months of labor, the verdict, which was a compromise on the points of dispute, was rendered on October 3, Great Britain being awarded five-sixths of the territory in question and Venezuela the remaining one-sixth. The territory awarded Great Britain included the gold district, while Venezuela secured the territory embracing the mouth of the Orinoco River, but it was decided that the mouth of the Orinoco and both banks of a part of the Cuyuni should be kept open for the use of the British. The British practically secured the old Schomburgk line with the exception of Barima Point at the mouth of the Orinoco and a small strip of territory

situated between the Cuyuni and Wenamu Rivers.*

While this dispute with England was in course of adjustment, events were occurring along the southern borders which required the attention of United States troops and which threatened for a time to involve us with Mexico. These border outbreaks, popularly known as the "Tin Horn War," were the last troubles of importance with which the United States had to deal prior to the War with Spain and the later insurrection of the Philippine Islanders. The "Tin Horn War" was in reality a series of outbreaks against the Mexican government, beginning in the autumn of 1891, and continuing intermittently into the early part of 1894. In each of these outbreaks the insurgents operated along the Rio Grande, and evidently relied on the contiguity of the United States for safety in case of defeat. Catarino Garza, who had conducted a number of periodicals opposed to the administration of President Diaz, inaugurated the first of this series of troubles in September of 1891. He was at that time living on his cattle ranch in Texas, near Palito Blanco, at which place he collected his band of revolutionists. Issuing a manifesto, in which he proclaimed the overthrow of Diaz, he crossed the Rio

* Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, pp. 467-476; Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, pp. 103-106; Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 441-446; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 153-157; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia* for 1895 and 1896.

Grande with less than 100 men, who were reinforced from time to time by sympathizers in the movement. There were many brushes with the Mexican troops, and, little by little, the insurrectionary spirit extended. The fact that the insurgents took refuge on American soil when worsted made it necessary for the United States authorities to act, and two companies of infantry, with two of cavalry, did effective work in preventing the violation of American neutrality. The Mexican government sent a strong force to the scene of trouble and the fighting degenerated into guerilla warfare. During the latter part of 1892 there was another gathering of insurgents, under leaders named Pacheco and Perez, the scene of operation

being several hundred miles above that of Garza's war. The rebels captured Ascension and Coralitos, driving out the American settlers who crossed the Rio Grande into New Mexico. The Indians along the Yaqui River joined in this uprising, while another band of rebels, under the leadership of a man named Amalla, added to the complications. During this period General McCook had maintained a force on the American side of the Rio Grande and it was largely through his efforts that, in 1893, the insurgents were dispersed. The last outbreak occurred in January of 1894, when two filibusters named Ochoa and Lugan attempted to revive the insurrection. They were unsuccessful, however, being dispersed after two sharp engagements.

CHAPTER VI.

1896-1898.

ELECTION OF MCKINLEY: SAMOA: HAWAII: CUBA.

Party candidates — Platforms — McKinley and Hobart elected — President inaugurated — His Cabinet — Dingley Tariff bill passed — Reciprocity treaties — Criticism of act — Samoan affairs again under discussion — Their final settlement — Annexation of Tutuila — The Hawaiian Dispute — Its early history — Protectorate established — Disavowed — Commissioners sent to determine justice of various claims — Flag ordered down by President Cleveland's commissioner — McKinley's administration reverses Cleveland's action — Hawaii annexed — Cuba's struggle against Spain — Progress of insurrection — Efforts to grant rights of belligerents to Cubans — Filibustering expeditions — Appalling conditions in Cuba — Representations to Spain — De Lome episode — Destruction of the *Maine* — Wild excitement and demands for war — President McKinley calm and conservative — Court of Inquiry — Its report.

While the events mentioned in the preceding chapter were in course of progress the political complexion of the country had undergone a change.

In 1894 New York elected a Republican governor — Levi P. Morton. In 1895 Kentucky, Maryland, and New Jersey also swung into the Republican column and the Democratic party seemed to be demoralized. In the national campaign of 1896 the same state of affairs existed. Both parties contained an element in favor of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, but whereas the Republicans repudiated this doctrine the Democrats adopted it and this was the chief cause of their defeat.

The candidates were as follows:

PARTY.	President.	Vice-President.
Republican.	William McKinley, Ohio.	Garret A. Hobart, N. J.
Democratic.	William J. Bryan, Neb.	Arthur Sewall, Maine.
Gold Democratic.	John M. Palmer, Ill.	Simon B. Buckner, Ky.
People's.	W. J. Bryan, Ill.	Thomas E. Watson, Ga.
Prohibition.	Joshua Levering, Md.	Hale Johnson, Ill.
Silver Prohibition.	Charles E. Bentley, Neb.	James A. Southgate, N. C.
Socialist-Laborer.	Charles H. Matchett, N. Y.	Matthew Maguire, N. J.

The Republican platform was long. It declared that in their control of the government the Democratic party had made a "record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster." It emphasized "Our allegiance to the policy of protection"; denounced the Democratic tariff "as sectional, injurious to the public credit and destructive of business enterprise," and demanded "a right settlement of the tariff." It called for renewal and extension of reciprocity treaties with the nations with which this country trades, protection and reciprocity being "twin measures of Republican policy." The financial plank was as follows:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then, every dollar has been as good as gold.

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

The platform also condemned the Democratic administration of the pension bureau, declared for a vigorous and dignified foreign policy, the control of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, demanded that the Nicaragua canal be "built, owned and operated by the United States," and that the Danish Isles be purchased for a naval station in the West Indies. The platform declared that the United States should exercise all proper influence to bring the Armenian atrocities to an end. The Monroe Doctrine was reaffirmed with a declaration that "we have not interfered, and shall not interfere, with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully took forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, to the ultimate union of all the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants."



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WILLIAM MCKINLEY.
Twenty-fifth President of the United States.



Sympathy was expressed with the "heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression," and it was declared that "the government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island."

The money question was treated by the Democrats as follows:

"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract."

"We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the government of redeeming such obligations in either silver or gold coin."

"We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at enormous profits to themselves, supply the Federal treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism."

"Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We, therefore, denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin."

The tariff plank was as follows:

"We hold that tariff duties shall be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted

as to operate equally throughout the country, and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the government, honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets."

"Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expense of the government."

After a most remarkable campaign the elections were held and resulted in the success of McKinley and Hobart, who received 271 electoral votes. Mr. Bryan received 176 electoral votes but the votes for Vice-President were divided, Mr. Sewell receiving 149 and Mr. Watson 27.*

* Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 494-520, and *History of the Presidency*, pp. 519-569; McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, pp. 361-394; Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, pp. 773-787; W. J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896*; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 233-240; Halstead's *McKinley*, p. 373 *et seq.*; Porter and Boyle's *McKinley*, pp. 513-578.

McKinley and Hobart were inaugurated March 4, 1897. The President selected for his Cabinet the following persons: Secretary of State, John Sherman, of Ohio, who was succeeded on April 27, 1898, by William R. Day, of Ohio, who in his turn gave place to John Hay, also of Ohio, in 1898; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, of Massachusetts; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, who was replaced by Elihu Root, of New York, in 1899; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, who in 1899 was followed by Ethan A. Hitchcock, of Missouri; Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland, followed by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, in 1898; Attorney-General, Joseph McKenna, of California, who was succeeded by J. W. Griggs, of New Jersey, in the same year; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa.

In his inaugural address President McKinley spoke in favor of protection for American industries, of the establishment of international bimetallism, the appointment of a currency and finance commission, of civil service reform, and of the restriction of immigration.*

Although the money question was the chief issue in the campaign in 1896 still one of the first of the new President's official acts was to call an extra session of Congress on March 15

to revise the tariff.* Both Senate and House were strongly Republican in the Fifty-fifth Congress. Thomas B. Reed was Speaker of the House, and Nelson Dingley, of Maine, was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

A bill had already been unofficially prepared before the House was organized, and on March 19 the Dingley bill, formed along protection lines, was introduced (H. R. 397). The House did not give that consideration to the bill which a measure of this importance would seem to require, but accepted the schedules of the Committee and within two weeks passed the bill (March 31) by a strictly party vote (205 to 122), and turned it over to the consideration of the Senate.† The Senate committee discussed the bill for a month and reported it with many amendments. A prolonged discussion then took place,‡ particularly with regard to the reciprocity measures the bill contained, but after nearly 900 amendments had been made in the original schedules the bill passed the Senate (July 7, 1897, by a vote of 38 to 28) and was turned over to the consideration of a conference committee from both Houses.|| An agreement was speedily reached by

* Porter and Boyle, pp. 594-597.

† Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, vol. li., pp. 379-384; *Record*, pp. 53, 72, 120-519, 557-559, 55th Congress, 1st session.

‡ *Record*, pp. 907-2447; Stanwood, pp. 384-388.

|| The House appointed Dingley, Payne, Dalzell, Grosvenor, McMillan, Bailey, Hopkins and Joseph Wheeler; the Senate appointed Aldrich, Allison, Burroughs, Platt, of Connecticut, Vest, Jones, of Nevada, White, and Jones, of Arkansas.

* Porter and Boyle's *McKinley*, pp. 582-593.

this committee and the bill was enacted into law, the conference report being accepted by the House July 19 by a vote of 187 to 116 and by the Senate July 24 by a vote of 40 to 30. On the same day the President signed the bill.

Dewey makes the following remarks concerning the bill:

"The measure was thoroughly protective in its provisions, but when it is remembered that the Wilson tariff of 1894 was also of the same general character, an analysis of the new tariff will not disclose many points of interest. On some commodities the duties of 1890 were restored; on others compromises between the rates of 1890 and 1894 were accepted and in a few instances the lower rates of the Wilson tariff were allowed to stand. Duties were reimposed on wool, increased on flax, cotton-bagging, woolens, silks, and linens, and on certain manufactures of iron and steel. On coal there was a compromise; on iron and steel duties were left practically unchanged. On sugar, which plays a more important part from a fiscal point of view, there was a radical revision; in place of an ad valorem rate of 40 per cent. on raw sugar, the duty was increased and made specific. The policy of free raw sugar adopted by the Republican party in 1890 was definitely abandoned, for the need of revenue was urgent, and the slowly developing beet sugar industry demanded protection."*

The provisions of the McKinley act with regard to reciprocity were practically retained. Under the provisions of this clause the President was given the right to negotiate reciprocity treaties with any country that would make satisfactory concessions to our goods, permitting free importation of the following articles: paintings and statuary, champagnes and other sparkling wines, crude brandies or any other spirits that were distilled or

manufactured from grain or other materials, still wines and vermouth, and argols or crude tartar or wine lees. The President further had the power to compel if possible the imposition of equal and reasonable tariffs by foreign countries on our agricultural or manufactured products by suspending the free importation of tea, coffee, tonquin, tonqua, or tonka beans, and vanilla beans. The act also gave the President, in order that reciprocal trade might be secured with foreign countries, power to enter into treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and with the approval of Congress" for a period not to exceed five years. This stipulation covered all products and allowed a reduction of not more than 20 per cent. on the duties imposed by the Dingley Act.*

Upon the passage of this act, therefore, President McKinley made plans for the reënactment of the treaties which had been abrogated by the Wilson bill of 1894 and which had not been reëstablished from that time. He appointed John A. Kasson, of Iowa, to conduct the negotiations with foreign countries, with the result that in 1899 and 1900 treaties had been concluded with Argentine, Ecuador, Nicaragua, France, with Denmark for the Danish West Indies, with the Dominican Republic and with Great Britain for British Guiana, Bermuda, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Turks and Caicos Islands. President McKinley

* Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 464-465. For text see Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 501-564.

* Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 270-302.

then submitted these treaties to the Senate with the recommendation that they be ratified, but owing to the opposition of that body no action was then nor has since been taken on them so the President's efforts availed nothing.*

The Dingley Act provided also that the President could negotiate and directly proclaim treaties with European countries "founded upon concessions to them in argols or crude tartar or wine lees, brandies, still wines, paintings, statuary and one or two other articles." President McKinley then negotiated treaties with France, proclaimed May 30, 1898;† Germany, July 13, 1900;‡ Portugal, June 12, 1900;|| and with Italy, July 18, 1900.§ In return France gave us concessions on canned meats, fresh and dried fruits, common lumber, lard and a few other commodities. Germany granted us "certain advantages under the conventional tariff of the country." Portugal lowered the duties on all flour (except wheat flour), mineral oils, pitch, agricultural implements and general machinery. Italy granted free admission to turpentine, natural fertilizers, hides and skins and reduced the duties on agricultural machinery, sewing

machines, electrical machines, and scientific instruments, and upon cotton-seed oil and preserved fish. Switzerland also claimed recognition under the reciprocity clause of the Dingley Act. A commercial treaty had been signed November 25, 1850, which entitled her products to the same rates as those enjoyed by France, and Switzerland now demanded the rates given to France by the treaty of May 30, 1898. The Secretary of State acknowledged the claim and issued a ruling in accordance to the customs officers. But in March, 1900, these clauses of the treaty of 1850 were renounced by the United States and the duties on Swiss products were made the same as those of other countries.*

But the Dingley tariff met with much criticism from the anti-trust agitators in that it served to promote industrial combinations. In this connection Coman says:

"It is asserted that the representatives of various trusts brought the influence of vast wealth to bear upon the Congressional deliberations. The tin plate combination, for example, secured a renewal of the rates of the McKinley Act. The sugar trust extorted a differential of three-fourths of a cent a pound * * *. Even the protection intended to advantage the farmers and other raw material producers has accrued to the centralized industries. The enhanced value of American hides enriches the beef packers; the duty on lumber insures monopoly of the domestic market to great timber companies * * *. The conflict of interest between manufacturer and producer of raw material has induced further criticism. The woolen manufacturers protest the high duties on wool; the shoe manufacturers oppose the tax on hides; the paper manufacturers

* Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 302, 311-350, 509-528; see also *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 225, 56th Congress, 1st session; Kasson, *The Demand for Reciprocity*, in *National Magazine* (December, 1901).

† *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xxx., pp. 1775-76.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. xxxi., pp. 1978-79.

|| *Ibid*, pp. 1974-75.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 1979-80; and for text of all, Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 504-509.

* Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 303-306.

demand free bleaching powder * * *. On the whole, however, the Dingley tariff has proved highly beneficial to the protected industries * * *. But the prosperity of the manufacturer has been promoted at the expense of the consumer. The prices of all the essentials that enter into the cost of living—food, clothing, fuel, building materials, house furnishings, etc., have risen steadily since 1897.”*

Meanwhile affairs in Samoa had again assumed an ominous aspect. In 1889, after the hurricane had spent its fury, the war clouds had gradually dispersed and peace reigned. Malietoa had been restored, but upon his return to power he found that his prestige had been transferred to his old ally and kinsman, Mataafa, who was now the native hero. The latter was deeply chagrined at the restoration of Malietoa to his former station and soon rebelled against the reigning king.† He was subdued, however, and in 1893 was exiled to the Marshall Islands, where he was maintained at the expense of the three powers concerned—Germany, England and the United States. In 1898, however, he was pardoned and returned to Samoa. Shortly after his arrival, King Malietoa died, and a contest for the kingship ensued between Mataafa, Malietoa Tanu, son of the dead king, and Tamasese, the former vice-king. Though at the native elections on November 14, 1898, Mataafa received a majority of the votes, still under the sixth section of the third article of the

Berlin Act, the choosing of a king rested with the supreme court of the islands. William L. Chambers, an American, was chief justice, and the responsibility of the appointment rested with him.

Chambers declared (December 31, 1898) that Tanu was the duly elected king and Tamasese by the same decision was created vice-king. War between the factions ensued and Mataafa gained control, with some pomp crowning himself king. The German consul then entered into a dispute with the English and American consuls; Mataafa with a force of several thousand warriors held Mulinu, the royal seat, and bade defiance to all who would dislodge him; in Apia a reign of terror was inaugurated; and “throughout the island a season of riot and pillage began.” Secretary Hay thereupon despatched the U. S. S. *Philadelphia*, Admiral Kautz in command, to Apia, where she arrived March 9, 1899. Kautz, after an investigation, upheld Judge Chambers’ decree, ordered the native warriors to cease fighting, and threatened to use force to compel obedience.

The German consul-general, Rose, issued a counter proclamation and called Kautz’s proclamation false. Instead of dispersing, the Mataafa party thereupon became more bold and defiant, but true to his word, Kautz, together with two English vessels, the *Porpoise* and *Royalist*, on March 15 began a systematic though undoubtedly unpardonable bombardment of the native villages along the

* Coman, *Industrial History*, pp. 304-305 (edition of 1905).

† For events leading up to the rebellion see Robert Louis Stevenson, *Footnote to History*, pp. 268-322.

coast. Mataafa was soon obliged to retire from Mulimu and on March 23 Tanu was crowned king.

The German government then proposed to England and the United States that a joint high commission should be appointed which should proceed to Samoa, settle the dispute, and make recommendations to their home governments for future legislation. Upon the acceptance of this proposal, the three commissioners were appointed — Judge Bartlett Tripp, of South Dakota, for the United States (elected chairman); Sir Charles Eliot, second secretary of the British embassy at Washington, for Great Britain; and Baron Speck von Sternberg, first secretary of the German embassy at Washington, for Germany. They sailed from San Francisco, April 25, 1899, arriving at Apia May 15. The commission vindicated Admiral Kantz and Judge Chambers by declaring the decision of the latter appointing Tanu king to be the “law of Samoa, and all who refused obedience to it violated not the decision alone but the treaty upon which it was based.”

But Tanu abdicated and the kingship was thereupon abolished. In October, 1899, negotiations were instituted to definitely settle the whole dispute, and in November an understanding was reached, by which it was decided to partition the group among the three powers. But the interests of Germany and Great Britain were found to be so complex as to necessitate the complete withdrawal of one or the other. As the German interests

were considered paramount England withdrew. Therefore by the Anglo-German treaty, signed November 14, 1899, “Germany retained full possession of all the islands of the Samoan group west of longitude 171° W. This included the entire group with the exception of Tutuila and some nearby smaller islands of little or no importance. As compensation for her abandonment of all Samoan claims, Great Britain accepted from Germany the latter’s right in the Tongan Islands, a group lying several hundred miles south of Samoa; England also received the German islands of Choiseul and San Isobel, of the Solomon group. Germany also made certain other concessions to England in Africa.”* The United States retained possession of Tutuila and all other islands of the Samoan group east of longitude 171° W.

Accordingly a treaty was signed December 2, 1899, which, after reciting the desire to amicably adjust the questions in dispute, reads as follows:

“Article 1.—The general act concluded and signed by the aforesaid powers at Berlin on the 14th day of June, A. D. 1889, and all previous treaties, conventions and agreements relating to Samoa are annulled.

“Article 2.—Germany renounces in favor of the United States of America all her rights and claims over and in respect to the Island of Tutuila, and all other islands of the Samoan group east of longitude 171° west of Greenwich. Great Britain in like manner renounces in favor of the United States of America all her rights and claims over and in respect to the island of Tutuila, and all other islands of the Samoan group east of longitude 171° west of Greenwich.

* Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, p. 282; Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 396–397.

Reciprocally the United States of America renounces in favor of Germany all their rights and claims over and in respect to the Islands of Upolu and Savaii and all other islands of the Samoan group west of longitude 171° west of Greenwich.

"Article 3.—It is understood and agreed that each of the three signatory powers shall continue to enjoy in respect to their commerce and commercial vessels in all the islands of the Samoan group privileges equal to those enjoyed by the sovereign power in all ports which may be open to the commerce of either of them.

"Article 4.—The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible, and shall come into force immediately after the exchange of ratifications.

"In faith whereof, etc.

JOHN HAY,
HOLLEBEN,
PAUNCEFOTE."

The treaty was ratified by the Senate January 16, 1900, and proclaimed February 16.*

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States had been under discussion since 1850 and the subject now began to assume definite form, owing to the political unrest and turmoil which had been prevalent in the islands for the past few years.†

As early as 1842 an embassy, composed of William Richards, Sir George

Simpson, and Timoteo Haalilio, was appointed to visit England, France and the United States for the purpose of obtaining a formal recognition of Hawaiian independence.‡ Simpson left for England by way of Alaska and Richards and Haalilio came to the United States. Secretary of State Webster on December 19, 1842, informed this embassy that "the United States have regarded the existing authorities * * * as a government suited to the condition of the people: * * * that the interests of all the commercial nations require that the government should not be interfered with by foreign powers; * * * that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in the matters of commerce." But he said that "the President does not see any present necessity for the negotiation of a formal treaty."‡ The Hawaiian agents also secured

* For details of the events leading up to the treaty see Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 257-286; Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 239-241; Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific*, pp. 145-148; *Foreign Relations*, 1899, pp. 604-673. For text of treaty see *Foreign Relations*, 1899, p. 667; Foster, pp. 466-467.

† As the testimony regarding all phases of the Hawaiian dispute is so conflicting, the bibliographical references are made without attempt at evaluation, it being left to the reader to form an opinion after perusal of the works mentioned. The author simply states what seems to him to be the consensus of opinion, but includes references on both sides of the question so that further research may be made if desired.

* "Notwithstanding the trade relations of the United States were established almost immediately after the discovery of the islands, that fact did not deter other powers from repeated efforts to secure their possession. Their commanding situation in the Pacific was a constant temptation to the greed of colonizing nations." — Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 111.

‡ Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, p. 361; W. D. Alexander, *A Short History of the Hawaiian People*, pp. 236-238; E. J. Carpenter, *America in Hawaii: A History of the United States' Influence in the Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 71-76 (Small, Maynard & Co.)

recognition of independence from England and France.*

In February, 1843, British mariners, at the request of the consul, Mr. Charlton, seized the islands, but the home government disavowed the act and in the following July, Rear-Admiral Thomas of the Royal Navy restored the king to power. A diplomatic agent was then appointed by the United States.† On December 20, 1849, a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation including also the extradition of criminals was concluded between Hawaii and the United States. This was ratified by the Senate, February 4, 1850; exchanges of ratifications were made August 24; and the treaty was proclaimed November 9, 1850.‡ The Hawaiians had become embroiled with France chiefly because of the alleged persecution of French Catholic missionaries, and finally France sent an ultimatum to the Hawaiian king.|| But to avoid any possibility of conquest by France, Hawaii deeded the islands to the United States March 10, 1851. Secretary of State Webster returned the deed, but in a letter dated July 14, 1851, promised to keep sufficient naval force in the Pacific to preserve "the

honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of the Hawaiian Islands."** In 1854, during Pierce's administration, another treaty of annexation was negotiated with Hawaii, but before ratification the Hawaiian king died (December 15, 1854) and his successor withdrew the treaty, and nothing further was done till July 20, 1855, when Secretary of State Marcy and Chief Justice Lee, the Hawaiian commissioner, concluded a treaty of reciprocity. This, however, was not ratified by the Senate.†

On July 30, 1867, another reciprocity treaty was completed and ratified by the President and the Hawaiian government and submitted to the Senate. Nothing was done about it at that time‡ and in his annual message of December 9, 1868, President Johnson called attention to the fact, saying: "A reciprocity treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guarantee of the good will and forbearance of all nations until the people of the islands shall of themselves * * * voluntarily apply for admission into the Union."|| But after a long delay

* Alexander, pp. 239-240, 252-254; Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 121-124.

† *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., pp. 9, 45-60; Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific*, p. 117 et seq.; Carpenter, pp. 77-85; Alexander, pp. 241-251.

‡ *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., pp. 12, 13, 69, 79; Carpenter, pp. 106-107.

|| Alexander, pp. 233-234, 265-269; Foster, pp. 129-130.

* Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 91-105; Alexander, *Hawaii*, pp. 269-271.

† Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 362-363; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, p. 72; Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 365-367; Alexander, pp. 277-281; Carpenter, pp. 41, 107-119.

‡ Carpenter, pp. 41-44, 120-129.

|| Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vi., pp. 651-654. See also Johnson's message of February 6, 1867, communicating the report on reciprocity by Secretary of the Treasury McCulloch, *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 20*, 39th Congress, 2d session.

the treaty was rejected on June 1, 1870.*

The situation remained thus until 1874. The reigning king died February 3, 1874, leaving no appointed successor, but David Kalakaua was elected† and on January 30, 1875, concluded a treaty at Washington which was ratified by both governments and proclaimed June 3, 1875. Its provisions went into operation September 9, 1876.‡ This treaty, which was to remain in force for seven years after ratification, provided that the chief products of the islands (especially sugar) were to be admitted into the United States free of duty and that the articles most needed by the Hawaiians (such as agricultural instruments, iron and steel and manufactures thereof and wood and manufactures of wood, etc.) were to be admitted into the islands free of duty. This treaty very greatly developed the commercial and other relations of the two communities; "public and private enterprises were stimulated and an unexampled era of prosperity followed."|| This treaty practically

put an end to the agitation for annexation for some years — until 1890 when the McKinley tariff removed the import duty on raw sugar. In 1884 the treaty of 1875 was extended for a period of seven years by the convention of December 6 (though ratifications were not exchanged until November 9, 1887), and at the same time a coaling and repair station at Pearl River harbor on the island of Oahu was also granted.*

In 1887 a new constitution was adopted by the Hawaiians which deprived the ruler of much of the power exercised under the constitution of 1864.† As the McKinley tariff of 1890 removed the duty on raw sugar, the Hawaiians saw that they must soon negotiate a new treaty in their favor — and permanent if possible — as the extension of the treaty of 1875 would expire in 1891. But as this seemed impossible,‡ the sentiment in favor of annexation again gained headway. In the meantime King Kalakaua died (January 20, 1891), and was succeeded by his sister, Liliuokalani,

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 364-368; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 73-74.

† Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, pp. 35-51. This book is an autobiography of the queen and defends her conduct in the affairs of 1893.

‡ Alexander, *Hawaii*, pp. 301-303; Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 47-49, 133-142; Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific*, pp. 125-127. For text of treaty see Snow, pp. 165-168; Proctor, *Tariff Acts*, pp. 269-271; and for general discussion Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 75-82. For Grant's proclamation see Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 394-395.

|| Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 369-371;

Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 83-89. For the various public improvements and other developments see Alexander's *Hawaii*, pp. 303-311; A. H. Allen's report, *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 45*, 52d Congress, 2d session.

* Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 51-22, 146-157; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 91-98; Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies*, vol. ii., pp. 192-194. See also President Cleveland's annual message of December 6, 1886, to the 2d session of the 49th Congress; McPherson, *Handbook of Politics*, 1888, pp. 3-7, 105-106.

† Lucien Young, *The Real Hawaii*, pp. 15-17; Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 158-162; Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 177-184.

‡ For a discussion of the reasons see Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, pp. 98-104.

who was also dissatisfied with the constitution of 1887.* Minister John L. Stevens on February 8, 1892, wrote:

"There are increasing indications that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men as well as with the less responsible of the foreign and native population of the islands. The present political situation is feverish, and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise until these islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain."

In the latter part of 1892 the queen and the majority of the native legislature became involved in a dispute† and Minister Stevens favored the latter faction which represented the American party. On January 14, 1893, the queen prorogued the legislature in order to secure the adoption of a new constitution,‡ but her cabinet refused to sign it and she was forced to abandon her project.|| The opposition party then secretly formed a committee of public safety of thirteen members and on January 17 formed a provisional government, backed by a force of marines landed from the United States warship *Boston* at the request of Stevens. The queen and her cabinet were removed from office, and the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended and martial law proclaimed throughout the island of Oahu. An executive council of four members

(Sanford B. Dole, James A. King, Peter C. Jones, and William O. Smith) was instituted to administer the executive department and an advisory council of fourteen members was also established.*

On January 17, 1893, the queen published a protest against the establishment of this provisional government and also sent a protest to President Harrison,† But Stevens "promptly recognized the provisional government as the *de facto* government of the Hawaiian Islands," and on January 28 Secretary of State Foster wrote his approval of the action.‡ Stevens had also declared a protectorate of the United States over the islands and placed the American flag upon the government building.|| When news of this reached the President he dis-

* Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 181-186; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 34-35, 174-207; *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., p. 777 *et seq.*, Stevens' account being given on p. 207 *et seq.*

† Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 378-381; Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 387-389.

‡ "What was the attitude of the United States toward it? Was its traditional usage observed? On the contrary, amid the conflicting statements of facts, we can at least make sure of this: before the people of Oahu had a chance to pronounce upon their desire for the change, before the other islands could even hear of it, before the new régime could demonstrate its capacity for fulfilling the obligations of the state, before it had gained possession of all the government buildings and proved its power, its recognition was granted by the United States. This action was premature; it was contrary to our usage in similar cases; it was in the highest degree improper * * *. If it [the hasty recognition of the provisional government] was a sequel of a conspiracy hatched by Mr. Stevens, it would be no more than wrong—more scandalous, it is true, but in nature similar."—Theodore S. Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 118-119.

|| Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 208-224.

* Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 17-19; *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., p. 645 *et seq.*; Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 185-209.

† Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 163-168, 173-175; Young, pp. 20-34.

‡ "Disfranchising the nonnaturalized whites and retransferring to the crown the power of making nobles."—E. B. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, p. 702.

|| Young, pp. 160-173; Carpenter, pp. 177-180; Liliuokalani, pp. 226-242.

avowed the act and Secretary Foster telegraphed Stevens to that effect, among other things saying:

"So far as your course accords to the *de facto* Government, the material coöperation of the United States for the maintenance of good order and the protection of life and property from apprehended disorders it is commended; but so far as it may appear to overstep that limit by setting the authority of the United States above that of the Hawaiian Government in the capacity of protector, or to impair the independent sovereignty of that Government by substituting the flag and power of the United States, it is disavowed."

But Stevens evidently wilfully mistook the meaning of the Secretary's despatch of disavowal, for he allowed the flag to remain over the government house.*

In the meantime the provisional government sent commissioners to the United States for the purpose of broaching the subject of annexation. On February 14, 1893, shortly after their arrival, they concluded a treaty which was submitted by the President on the 15th to the Senate for ratification.† But the Senate did not act upon the treaty during Harrison's term of office and when Cleveland became President he withdrew the treaty from the Senate (March 9) in order that he might "cause an accurate, full and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii, and the instalment in its place of the Provisional Government."‡

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 381-385; Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 198-200.

† Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 348-349; *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., p. 197 *et seq.*; Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 196-198.

‡ Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 243-244.

He then appointed James H. Blount, formerly Congressman from Georgia, a special commissioner to make the investigation, giving him paramount authority "in all matters touching the relations of this government to the existing or other government of the islands."* Stevens was requested to conduct the regular business of the legation but as Blount, shortly after his arrival (March 29, 1893) ordered the American flag lowered on April 1 and the debarkation of the troops,† Stevens resigned on March 7 and transferred the legation to Blount. Blount was then appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Hawaii but promptly resigned and asked that his successor be appointed as soon as possible.

He then proceeded to investigate the manner in which the queen's government had been overthrown and after much labor submitted a report to the President which condemned the action of Stevens.‡ Mr. Albert S. Willis, who succeeded Mr. Blount, was therefore ordered on October 18, 1893, to continue Blount's work, the instructions further saying:

"After a patient examination of Mr. Blount's report the President is satisfied that the move-

* For text of Secretary Gresham's instructions to Blount see Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 384-386.

† Young, pp. 245-247.

‡ Young says that Blount took testimony only from those who were favorably disposed toward the ex-queen and would not listen to the opposition, pp. 249-259. Liliuokalani says both sides were heard. For Blount's report see *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., pp. 467-1150. Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 376-393, gives extracts of her own statement to Blount.

ment against the Queen, if not initiated, was encouraged and supported by the representative of this Government at Honolulu; that he promised in advance to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian Government and set up by force a new Government in its place and that he kept these promises by causing a detachment of troops to be landed from the *Boston* on Jan. 16, and by recognizing the provisional Government the next day * * *.

"On your arrival you will take advantage of the earliest opportunity to inform the Queen of this. Make known to her the President's position regarding the reprehensible conduct of the American Minister and the presence on land of the United States forces. Advise her of the desire of this Government to do justice and to undo this wrong. You will, however, at the same time inform the Queen that the President expects that she will extend amnesty to all who were against her * * * depriving them of no right or privilege. Having secured the Queen's agreement * * * you will advise the Executive of the Provisional Government and his Ministers * * * that they are expected to restore her constitutional authority * * *."

Mr. Willis on November 13 interviewed the queen but she would not fully agree to the President's terms, claiming that the offenders should at least be banished and their property confiscated. But President Cleveland threatened to withdraw his influence altogether and the queen on December 18 signed an agreement that if restored to power she would extend complete amnesty to all her enemies, abide by the constitution of 1887 and assume all the obligations incurred by the provisional government.† Willis then attempted to procure the abdication of the provisional government, but President Dole refused "to entertain the

proposition of the President of the United States," denying "the right of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of a *de facto* independent government, whose sovereignty they had recognized by twice accrediting ministers to it, and with which they had negotiated a treaty,"* and "respectfully and unhesitatingly" refused "to surrender its authority to the ex-queen."

President Cleveland on December 18, 1893, submitted to Congress the report of Willis's first interview together with all the other papers in the case asking its coöperation.† The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, after an exhaustive investigation, on February 26, 1894, submitted three separate reports. The majority report‡ approved of nearly everything that had been done with the exception of the acts of Stevens in declaring the protectorate and raising the flag. The four Republican Senators submitted a minority report censuring the appointment of Blount and the actions of Blount and Willis. The other Democratic members of the Committee || presented a minority re-

* Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 216-224; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 270-271; Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 243-251. This was all right at this time but the policy of "hands off" should have been pursued in the first place according to former usage and the terms of our treaties.—Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 119-129.

† Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 460-472; *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., pp. 267, 445, 1193, 1241, 1285; Carpenter, pp. 206-208.

‡ Signed by Senator Morgan, Democrat, chairman of the Committee, and Senators Sherman, Fry, Dolph, and Davis, Republicans.

|| Butler, Turpie, Daniel and Gray.

* For complete text see Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 388-389.

† On the subject of the queen's restoration see *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., 1189-1292. See also Snow, pp. 391-392; Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 208-216; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 260-270.

port censuring all the actions of Stevens.* No further action was taken in the matter at this time.

Order had now been restored in the islands and in July, 1894, the United States naval force was withdrawn by order of President Cleveland. Convinced that annexation was now only a matter of time and of partisan politics,† the Hawaiians formed a permanent government and proclaimed themselves a republic, July 4, 1894, with Sanford B. Dole as president.‡ But the adherents of the queen did not quietly accede to the new order of things, and on January 6, 1895, a revolt broke out which was quickly suppressed. The queen was imprisoned on the 16th and on the 24th abdicated.¶ On February 27 she was sentenced to a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for five years at hard labor, but the sentence was never executed, the confinement in prison lasting for eight months only, she being released on parole September 6. The naval force

which had been withdrawn was thereupon reestablished. In October, 1896, the queen was pardoned and then took up her residence in Washington that she might more closely watch and oppose legislation for annexation.

The Republican party in its platform of 1896 declared that "the Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them." Consequently upon the election of McKinley, the application for annexation was renewed. A treaty was then drawn up and signed by Secretary Sherman on June 16, 1897, its provisions being similar to the treaty of 1893 withdrawn from the Senate by Cleveland, but this treaty did not provide for any compensation or annuities to ex-Queen Liliuokalani and the heir-apparent.* President McKinley submitted this treaty to the Senate on June 16, 1897,† and a long debate ensued. Finding that the two-thirds majority necessary to ratification could not be obtained in the Senate, a joint resolution, which would only require a majority vote, was introduced in both branches of Congress.‡

In the meantime war had broken out between Spain and the United States

* Snow, *Treaties and Topics*, pp. 392-394; Whittle's *Cleveland*, pp. 186-198; Carpenter, p. 232 *et seq.*

† Lucien Young, in the preface of his *The Real Hawaii*, says that he submitted the manuscript of his book to Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy for inspection in compliance with the rules of the navy department but "was forbidden to publish it." John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy under McKinley, when the Republicans came into power, gave the necessary permission, as it was a defense of Stevens and Wiltse, whom the Republicans favored. As a piece of partisan politics, this conduct was on a plane with Long's acquiescence in the attack on Schley in Maclay's *History of the United States Navy*.

‡ *Foreign Relations*, 1894, app. ii., pp. 1311-1319, 1350.

¶ Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 230-232; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 273-280; Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 262-299.

* *Senate Report*, No. 681, p. 96 *et seq.*, 55th Congress, 2d session. See also Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 396-398.

† For Liliuokalani's protest against it see *Hawaii's Story*, pp. 354-356. See also Burton's *Sherman*, pp. 409-410.

‡ Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 243-244; *Statutes-at-Large*, p. 750; Foster, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 463-465; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 298-301.

and as the Hawaiian Islands were considered a strategic base of supplies for the United States forces, added importance was given to the subject of annexation.* Consequently the House passed the joint resolution by a large majority and on July 6, 1898, the Senate, after some difficulty, also succeeded in passing it.† President McKinley then signed the bill on the 7th and the annexation was an accomplished fact, the formal transfer taking place at Honolulu August 12, 1898,‡ Commissioners were then appointed to investigate conditions and suggest legislation. On June 14, 1900, the islands were organized into a regularly constituted territory of the United States under authority of an act of Congress approved April 30. The elective franchise was conferred upon all Hawaiian citizens who by the treaty became citizens of the United States. The territory was constituted a customs district of the United States and sends one delegate to Congress.¶

For several years prior to the election of McKinley affairs in Cuba had gradually gone from bad to worse and the sympathetic attitude and friendly speeches and acts of American citizens had threatened to involve the United States in a war with Spain. In 1868

Spain had refused to institute some very necessary reforms in Cuba and thereupon occurred a bloody but indecisive war of ten years duration which was only ended after Spain had promised to carry out these reforms. She failed to keep her promises and from that time the island was in a state of ferment, only awaiting the proper time for a general uprising to expel the Spaniards and establish an independent republic.*

The active insurrection began February 24, 1895, when the Cubans declared their independence, though the formal proclamation was not issued until September 19, when the government was organized and a constitution promulgated.† At first the Cuban forces were unorganized and they had no concerted line of action, but as time went on and discipline began to be established a better condition of affairs prevailed.

By the beginning of October the insurgents had about 30,000 men available while the Spaniards, under Martinez Campos, though numbering 76,000, only had about 30,000 men fit for action. Spain's finances, moreover, were in a desperate condition and this militated heavily against her, but she succeeded in borrowing 125,000,000 francs with which the war was prosecuted. Many engagements were fought, and before the end of the year more than one-half of the island, con-

* Young, *Real Hawaii*, chap. xviii.

† For debates see *Record*, vol. xxxi., pp. 5770-5973, 6140-6693.

‡ Carpenter, *America in Hawaii*, pp. 244-251; Young, *Real Hawaii*, pp. 297-304. William Elliot Griffiths, in his *America in the East*, gives some of the characteristics and social customs of the native Hawaiians.

¶ *Statutes-at-Large*, vol. xxxi., p. 141.

* For the international aspects of this war see Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, pp. 364-452.

† Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle Against Spain*, pp. 82-84.

sisting of the provinces of Santiago de Cuba, Puerto Principe and half of Santa Clara, had fallen into the possession of the Cubans.*

The progress of the insurrection was watched with great interest by the people of the United States, not only because the constant struggle through many years by the Cuban patriots had aroused their sympathy, but because it was apprehended that the vast commercial and industrial interests held by American citizens would become involved and possibly ruined in the course of the strife. Approximately \$50,000,000 of American money had been invested in Cuban plantations, mines and railroads and the annual commerce was valued at about \$100,000,000.†

The United States maintained a position of strict neutrality, though the executive branch of the government was severely criticized in and out of Congress. Several resolutions favoring recognition were introduced in both Houses. On June 30, 1895, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations presented a majority report, asking the President to "use in a friendly spirit the good offices of this government, to the end that Spain shall be requested to accord to the armies with which it is engaged in war the rights of belligerents." The minority offered this resolution:

"That the President is hereby requested to use his friendly offices with the Spanish government, for the recognition of the independence of Cuba."

On February 5, 1896, the Senate recommended direct recognition of the belligerent rights of the insurgents, with a declaration of the neutrality of the government.* These resolutions were warmly debated in the Senate. The House amended them and they went to a conference committee, in their final form being adopted in the House on April 6, by a vote of 245 to 27.‡ "In his annual message of December 7, 1896, President Cleveland declared that, when Spain's inability to suppress the insurrection had become manifest, and the struggle had degenerated into a hopeless strife involving useless sacrifice of life and the destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation would be presented in which the obligation to recognize the sovereignty of Spain would be superseded by higher obligations."§

In the meantime the United States government had experienced much difficulty in preventing filibustering expeditions from leaving American ports in aid of the insurgents. Under the provisions of international law the United States, while at peace with Spain, was obliged to prohibit and

* Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, pp. 122-128; Charles Morris, *The War with Spain*, pp. 69-72.

† A. C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, pp. 121-133. See also President Cleveland's message of December 7, 1896. Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. ix., pp. 716-722.

* On the rights of belligerents and the consequences under such action see Theodore S. Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 25-34.

‡ Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, p. 163.

§ Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 140-141. See also Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi., pp. 56-239; Lee and Wheeler, pp. 164-170; Morris, *War with Spain*, p. 105 *et seq.*; Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 470.

prevent the use of American ports to Cubans and their sympathizers for the purpose of fitting out these armed expeditions but while the government faithfully observed its obligations of neutrality and arrested several of the promoters of these schemes, still some successfully eluded the authorities and landed men and arms in Cuba.*

The Cubans were almost uniformly successful in their engagements with the Spaniards, and although large reinforcements had been sent from Spain, the Spanish authorities in the island had not even, with 200,000 men, been able to make headway against the insurgents. On December 4, 1896, the Cubans suffered a severe loss in the death of Antonio Maceo, but they became more determined than ever. By the end of 1897 the island was completely desolated, for canefields were burned and plantation buildings destroyed in a strenuous attempt to render the island absolutely valueless to Spain and unable even to support her troops quartered there.†

General Campos had been superseded February 10, 1896, by a more cruel and energetic captain-general, Valeriano Weyler, who at once proceeded to promulgate some brutal and tyrannical measures which soon brought his name into reproach and caused him to be generally execrated throughout the island. In 1896 Weyler issued a decree requiring the rural

population to abandon their homes and concentrate themselves in the fortified towns.* The Spanish authorities then began a war of extermination on the *pacíficos*, or Cuban non-combatants, on the pretext that they had not obeyed the terms of this decree, though the time allowed for the removal was insufficient and though many of them had not the slightest knowledge of the issuance of the decree.

Those who had escaped — *reconcentrados* they were called — and had settled in the fortified towns received a treatment which beggars description. The Spanish authorities were not even able to feed their own troops and much less the newly-acquired population; cultivation of farm lands outside the towns practically ceased and consequently no crops came to the town markets; and the people were forced to depend upon foreign countries even for the barest necessities of life. As a consequence an appalling state of destitution, starvation and death soon became general, and sickening and almost incredible reports of outrage, starvation, imprisonment, massacre and death were sent to the United States by American newspaper correspondents.† Even American citizens were not exempt, as shown by the consular reports of Consul-General Lee and others,‡ but suffered arrest, imprisonment without trial, and death from exposure, starvation and disease in Weyler's *reconcentrado* camps.

* Morris, *War with Spain*, p. 103 *et seq.*; Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 475. See also Woolsey, *America's Foreign Policy*, pp. 37-49.

† Morris, pp. 72-80.

* Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, p. 92.

† Morris, *War with Spain*, p. 92 *et seq.*

‡ Senate Doc. No. 405, 55th Congress, 2d session.



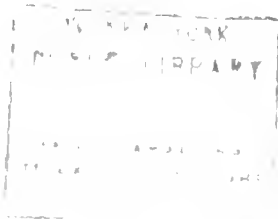
By courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*.

1. WAITING FOR FOOD AT HAVANA.

2. RECONCENTRADOS AT MATANZAS; THOMAS' ESTRADA PALMAS HOUSE IN DISTANCE.

4. REFUGEES FROM EL CANEY.

3. SICK RECONCENTRADOS AT MATANZAS.



These reports soon aroused the fury of the American people who demanded that some definite action be taken to suppress the awful spectacle and to protect the rights, property and the lives of American citizens in Cuba. On May 17, 1897, President McKinley asked Congress for an appropriation of \$50,000 to relieve destitute and suffering American citizens in Cuba,* and both Houses of Congress granted his request, the bill being signed by the President May 24. The food, clothing and medicine distributed by Consul-General Lee and other American consuls for a time greatly alleviated the distress existing among the Americans, but during the summer the state of affairs gradually became worse and the United States government felt called upon to insist that the Spanish authorities increase their efforts or pursue some method by which normal conditions might be restored.

The American minister to Spain at Madrid was instructed in September, 1897, to inform the Spanish government that the situation in Cuba had become so dreadful that the United States authorities could not promise to maintain strict neutrality permanently and that something must be done to stop the enormous injury to American industrial and commercial interests which the war in Cuba was inflicting. But this communication received scant notice by the Conservative ministry then holding the reins of

government in Spain, and it was not until a Liberal ministry headed by Señor Sagasta came into power in October, 1897, that the Cuban situation received the attention it deserved. Shortly after assuming the premiership Sagasta announced that a law had been signed by the Queen Regent granting autonomy to Cuba under Spanish suzerainty.* As an indication of good faith, Captain-General Weyler was recalled on October 9 and Marshal Blanco sent in his place, reaching Havana October 30.

But this did not suit either party in Cuba, for the Spanish people there thought the measures were too lenient and granted too much, while on the other hand the Cubans would not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence, and so opposed the measures as granting too little.†

President McKinley was inclined to give Spain every possible chance to redeem her promises of reforms and still adhered to the policy outlined in his annual message to Congress on December 6, 1897,‡ when he said that Spain "should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stands irrevocably committed."

Blanco's administration, however, was no improvement upon that of his

* Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 476.

† Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 478 *et seq.*

‡ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. x., pp. 127-136; Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, pp. 177-188.

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. x., p. 127.

predecessor, and reports from American consuls only confirmed the newspaper publications that the *reconcentrados* were dying by the thousand. Opposition to Blanco on the part of the Spanish party in Cuba resulted in serious military riots in Havana in January, 1898, and thereupon some of the most formidable ships of the navy were dispatched to Cuban waters to be prepared for any emergency. But the riots continued and in order to protect the interests and lives of American citizens the battleship *Maine*, under Captain Sigsbee, was sent to Havana.

About this time (December 25, 1897) the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, wrote a letter to Señor Canalejas (published February 9, 1898) in which he alluded to President McKinley as "a low politician," and intimated that he catered to the "jingo" mobs in order to increase his popularity.* Because of this indiscretion the minister's recall was demanded and the Spanish government at once complied, appointing Señor Polo y Bernabé to the post. Spain, also, at the time of the *Maine's* procedure to Havana, sent one of her most powerful cruisers the *Vizcaya*, under Captain Eulate, on a visit to New York with the permission of the United States authorities.

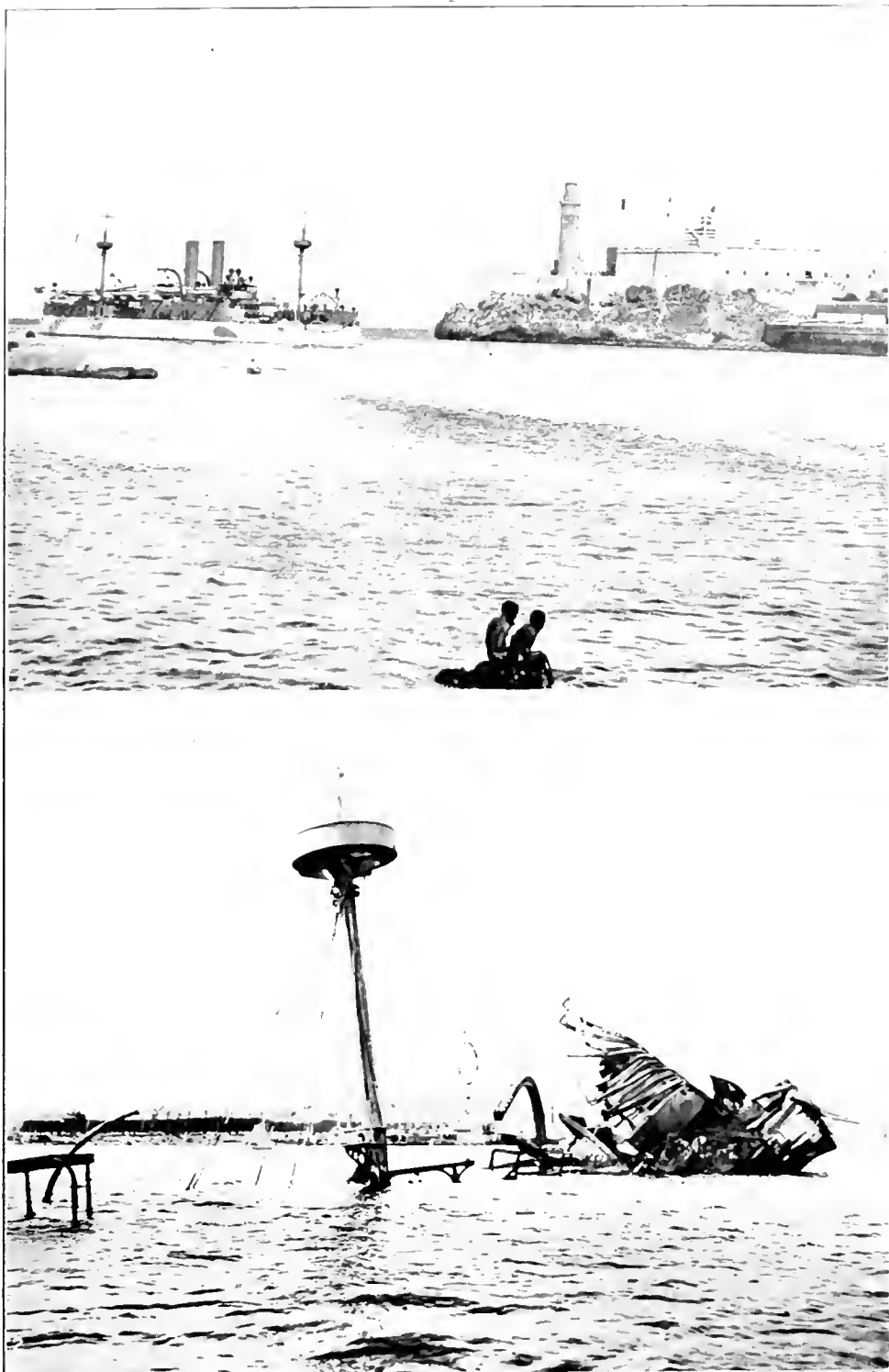
Upon the arrival of the *Maine* at Havana she was assigned an anchorage by the Spanish officials, but her presence greatly offended them and

the fact that she completely dominated the city from her anchorage was regarded as a threat. President McKinley had received an enormous number of consular reports giving all the details of the Cuban situation from every standpoint and was on the point of submitting them to Congress for consideration when the world was startled and horrified by the news that the *Maine*, while peacefully lying at anchor, had been destroyed by an explosion on the night of February 15, 1898, and that two of her officers and 264 of her crew had been killed.

The destruction of the *Maine* was naturally considered by the American public to be the work of the Spanish, and the excitement and indignation aroused by this catastrophe, combined with the previous distrust of and ill-feeling for the Spaniards, made war only a matter of applying the match to the powder.* Sensational journals called for swift vengeance and feeling was at high tension. The President therefore determined to withhold the transmission of the consular reports to Congress until the excitement among the public had subsided sufficiently to allow them to receive the

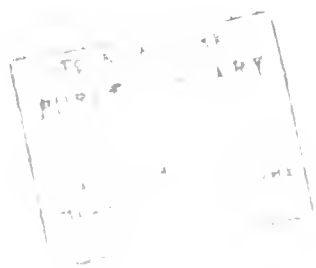
* For text see Marrion Wilcox, *The War with Spain*, pp. 31-34.

* "Superficial reasoners have wished to treat the destruction of the *Maine* as the justification and the cause of the intervention of the United States. The government of the United States, however, did not itself take that ground. It is true that the case of the *Maine* is mentioned in the preamble to the joint resolution of Congress, by which the intervention of the United States was authorized; but it is recited merely as the culmination of 'abhorrent conditions,' which had existed for more than three years. * * * The government of the United States never charged * * * that the catastrophe was to be at-



Upper photo by courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*. Lower by James Burton.

1. THE MAINE ENTERING HAVANA HARBOR, MORRO CASTLE TO THE RIGHT.
2. THE WRECK OF THE MAINE.



reports calmly. He also feared that the pressure on Congress would be so great, should the actual conditions become known, that taken in conjunction with the *Maine* disaster, the national legislature would at once declare war against Spain and thereby endanger the lives of all the American consuls and citizens in the island.

He therefore appointed a court of inquiry* to investigate the cause of the disaster. After sitting for six weeks and making an exhaustive investigation, the Court rendered a report† which, summarized in a few words, simply stated that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to the explosion of an exterior mine. Chadwick says:

"This finding was chiefly based upon the extraordinary manner in which the keel was forced up at the center of the explosive effort, thirty-four feet above its normal position. As the ship settled but from four to six feet before touching bottom, it would seem impossible that any launching forward of the after body could have produced such an effect. Two other considerations added weight to the board's findings: the first, that the only ship of the American navy ever so destroyed had to wait to arrive in an unfriendly port before the catastrophe should be accomplished; the second, the wholly different effects of the explosion of the forward magazine of the *Oquendo* after the Santiago action. The finding of the board in no way implicated the Spanish government, and the writer, as a member of the board, can state explicitly that no member of the board held such a view."[‡]

tributed to 'the direct act of a Spanish official.' Its intervention rested upon the ground that there existed in Cuba conditions so injurious to the United States, as a neighboring nation, that they could no longer be endured. Its action was analogous to what is known in private law as the abatement of a nuisance."—Moore, *American Diplomacy*, p. 142. See also Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, pp. 133-138.

* Consisting of Captain William T. Sampson, president, Captain French E. Chadwick and Lieutenant-Commander William P. Potter.

† Transmitted to Congress March 28.

Under great provocation and in the face of a storm of protests against further delay, President McKinley displayed remarkable courage in resisting the attempts to declare war immediately. He exhausted all means whereby the problem might be peacefully solved, but he was ultimately compelled to yield to the inevitable. Reluctant though he might be to plunge the nation into the frightful fatalities and consequences of war, still, when the die had been cast, he felt that equal energy should be used to make the war short and conclusive but withal tempered with as much mercy and kindness as circumstances would permit. He had hoped, though vainly, as events subsequently proved, that the sense of justice in Spain would defer the awful reckoning until peaceful measures had removed any possible reason for a declaration of war. But Spain, with dim recollections of past grandeur and with exalted visions of vast dominions and undisputed power in the future, stalked blindly on toward humiliation, entirely unmindful of the lessons to be learned on every page of the world's history, and apparently scarcely heeding the warnings of danger in further opposing the "just and righteous anger of a nation scorned."

‡ F. E. Chadwick, *The War with Spain*, article 42 under *United States History* in *Encyclopedia Americana*. See also President McKinley's message of March 28, 1898, transmitting the report, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. x., pp. 136-139; Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, pp. 198-201, also pp. 623-636, giving Wainwright's description of the disaster; Wilcox, *War with Spain*, pp. 51-57; Henry Cabot Lodge, *The War with Spain*, p. 31 *et seq.*

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I.

1898.

THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES.

President McKinley disinclined to resort to extreme measures—The patient wait of the American people for the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry on the wreck of the *Maine*—The report of the same—Debates and acts of Congress—Passage of the resolution declaring for intervention—Rupture of diplomatic relations—Hostilities prior to declaration of war—Comparison of armies and navies of the two powers—How the revenue was provided.

“I HAVE exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs at our doors.” The absolute sincerity of these words in the message of President McKinley to Congress cannot be questioned.* The President was essentially a man of peace; and, in addition, his experience as a young private in the Civil War had been of such a nature as to discourage any activity on his part that would hasten or produce the terrible fact of war. It may have been, that if the *Maine* had been allowed to swing unscathed at her anchor in the harbor

of Havana, his counsels for peace would have prevailed, and the Spanish régime in Cuba would have persisted. But the destiny of a nation is controlled by forces outside of the will of one man or group of men, and it was ordained that the story of the last revolt of the Cubans was to be other than a repetition of previous attempts toward Cuban independence. From the moment that the news of the destruction of the American battleship was flashed over the world, it was clear in the minds of the President and the people of the United States that the end of an intolerable situation had come indeed. Whether or not the guilty persons who set off the

* For the text of the message see Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. x., pp. 139-150. See also messages to 55th Congress, 3d session, in *Messages and Documents*, 1898-9, 6-10.

mine would be apprehended was a point of minor importance; the crime was the result of a condition that had long existed as a menace to the peace and welfare of American republics, and it was now the imperative duty of the nation so signally wronged to take steps necessary to prevent the recurrence of such injuries. The monstrous stroke in the dark that hurled 266 American sailors to death was likewise the death blow to the forces that had so long conspired against any endeavors toward releasing Cuba from the grip of Spain. The opposition of the centres of finance, the hysterical fears of the sea-coast cities, and the pleas of those who desired peace at any cost, were drowned in the tremendous wave of indignation that swept over the land. As President McKinley had voiced it, all methods of solving the problem had been tried save the one that now appeared inevitable: the fearful expedient of war.

It is not strange that at first the policy of the administration was one of delay and of caution. For a period of 50 years the United States had been at peace with other nations. The treaty of Guadalupe, ratified in 1848, marked the close of the struggle with Mexico, the last collision with a foreign foe. It is true that relations with European powers, notably France and England, had been somewhat strained at times during the interim, but in general the United States had been looked upon by other powers as an unknown but not very menacing factor in world politics. Even the tremen-

dous conflict between the States had failed to impress Europe with a sense of the inherent power of America. But now forces and conditions apparently beyond control were conspiring to destroy her isolation and force her in spite of herself to revise the policy regarding international affairs; in fact to negative some of the fundamental provisions of her organic law.

Notwithstanding the outcries of the sensational press, the members of Congress and the public in general took counsel from the executive and waited in patience for the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry, appointed by the President to determine the cause of the catastrophe. The pause that followed the destruction of the *Maine* was so remarkable that some foreign critics found in it evidence of national fear, and rashly prophesied the breakdown of the Republic. Those, however, who knew the true temper of the American people were not deceived by this appearance of calm. To them the situation was ominous to a degree; they saw in it the sullen moment that presaged the breaking of the storm, and to the more prophetic souls it meant the beginning of a struggle between the Old World and the New, the consequences of which but dimly could be surmised.

So from February 17, when the Naval Board of Inquiry was appointed, until March 28, when President McKinley submitted its report to Congress,* few and guarded were the

* Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, vol. x., pp. 136-139.

references made in the halls of Congress or by the members of the administration to the question so sternly before the American public. Yet those who conceived that the result would be nothing more than a repetition of the *Virginus* affair, were destined, as was Spain herself, to be sadly disabused. As soon as the President's message and the accompanying report of the Naval Board of Inquiry were received by Congress, a parliamentary struggle ensued that clearly indicated to the Spanish government the desperate state of the relations between the two powers. The report, too, of the Spanish Court of Inquiry, which was also received by Congress on March 28, served as a further source of irritation, for in its findings, the suggestion was made, after a most casual examination of the wreck, that the explosion was due to the carelessness of its own officers.

The debate in Congress was well calculated to give Spain uneasiness.* In it the question of Spanish sovereignty was hardly considered at all, intervention being accepted as a foregone conclusion, and the whole discussion turned on the wisdom of recognizing the Cuban republic. When the Spanish authorities grasped the full significance of this attitude on the part of the two houses, they endeavored by every means possible to

delay, or to avoid the rapidly approaching collision. Although they refused to consider President McKinley's note calling for a cessation of the war in Cuba, nevertheless the good offices of the Pope and the ambassadors of the greater European powers were influenced to appeal to the President for peace. General Blanco was ordered to organize Cuban administration according to the principles set forth in the decree of autonomy signed by the Queen, November 26, 1897. In addition the sum of \$600,000 was voted by the Cortes for the benefit of the starving *reconcentrados*. The offer of autonomy,† however, was a timeworn subterfuge of Spain, and the Cuban insurgents, learned in the school of bitter experience, simply ignored General Blanco's proclamation of an armistice and his proposals for constitutional reform. All of these hasty concessions were forgotten in the pressure of mighty events soon to follow.

Had there been any other means of solving the Cuban problem than that of armed intervention,‡ President McKinley would undoubtedly have seized upon it, and he believed up to the last minute that Spain would finally agree to the terms he proposed. It was doubtless with some such hope in mind that he delayed the message to Con-

* Lodge, *The War with Spain*, contains full account of legislative proceedings. Chap. ii., pp. 31-44. See also: *Congressional Record*, vol. xxxi., 1898; *War Legislation of the Senate* by Senator John W. Daniel in *American-Spanish War*, pp. 297-325.

* "The death blow to autonomy was given on March 9 in the appropriation by Congress, without a dissentient vote, of \$50,000,000." Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*.

† For an exhaustive discussion of intervention in Cuba from the standpoint of international law see Moore's *Digest of International Law*, vol. vi., pp. 56-239.

gress in which he appealed for an act enabling him to meet the exigencies of the situation. The independence of the island of Cuba was the price that Spain must pay for her misdeeds, and it was impressed upon him at last that nothing short of war could persuade her to relinquish its sovereignty. Assured of this fact he commanded that the consulate at Havana be closed, and after Consul-General Lee and other Americans had departed, he issued his able message of April 11. In this he reviewed the story of Cuba's three generations of suffering; referred to the destruction of the *Maine* as an evidence of Spain's inability to preserve order, and finally based the right of the United States to intervene on the following specific grounds:

"First, In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties in the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. * * * Second, We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection—and indefinitely—for life and property which no government there can or will afford. * * * Third, The right to intervene may be justified by the serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people. * * * Fourth, And which is of the utmost importance, the present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this Government enormous expense * * *."

The aggressive element was strongly in the ascendancy in Congress, and to the leaders of that group the wording of the message came as a distinct disappointment. They looked in vain for the recommendation that the Cuban republic be recognized, with the result that for six days there was a deadlock. The supporters of the Cuban insur-

gents were determined that a clause recognizing the independence of Cuba should be incorporated. This failed, however, in the House (yeas, 150; nays, 191) and the resolution that finally passed merely declared in favor of intervention (yeas, 334; nays, 19), containing only the following clause regarding Cuban independence: "The people of the island of Cuba of right ought to be free and independent."

When the House resolutions were presented for adoption by the Senate, the latter saw fit to substitute for them a set of resolutions that had been formulated by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was appended a special report from the minority members of the Committee favoring immediate recognition of the Republic of Cuba. The debate on the question of Cuban recognition was even more bitter in the Senate than in the House, resulting finally in the passage of the minority, or co-called Foraker resolutions by a vote of 51 to 37. In addition, an amendment offered by Senator Teller of Colorado was adopted which, in effect, declared that the United States had no intention of asserting dominion over the island of Cuba. It was thought by many that the House would concur in these resolutions, but a motion was made to strike out all references to recognition, which was carried by a majority of 22. The effect of this amendment was to necessitate the appointment of a conference committee of both Houses with the result that on April 19, by a vote of 42 to 35 in the Senate, and 311 to 6

in the House of Representatives, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"*First*, That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"*Second*, That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"*Third*, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"*Fourth*, That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

The passage of this resolution was tantamount to a declaration of war, and was accepted as such by the Spanish nation. It was signed by the President on April 20, and on the 21st, the Spanish minister, Señor Polo y Bernarbé asked for his passports. General Stewart L. Woodford, United States minister at the court of Spain, was notified by Secretary of State Sherman of the passage of the resolution, and requested to deliver the ultimatum of the government of the United States to Premier Sagasta and the Spanish ministry. It was never destined to be delivered, however, for the Spanish authorities notified him of the rupture of relations before he could present the resolutions of Con-

gress. He accordingly asked for his passports and departed for Paris, suffering no little molestation on the journey through Spain from the angry people of that country. Thus without actual declaration, a *de facto* state of war between the two nations was existent.*

As a result of these developments in the United States, the Spanish people were wrought up to an almost hysterical degree. The proclamations and pronouncements issued by officials in Porto Rico, the Philippines, and in the Spanish cities were in striking contrast with those that emanated from American sources. The temper of the people was reflected, too, in the action of the Spanish Cortes, which, after an impassioned address by the Queen-Regent, Maria Christina, voted that they would go to any extreme to defend the honor of Spain.

On April 22 the President issued orders to Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson directing him to institute a blockade of the Cuban ports. The existence of this blockade and of the state of war between the United States and Spain was also announced in a proclamation given forth on the same date. Neutral vessels lying at any of the Cuban ports were allowed thirty days for departure. The same day the blockade was instituted, the first shot of the war was fired by the gunboat *Nashville*, which captured the

* Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vii., p. 171: "It is universally admitted that a formal declaration is not necessary to constitute a state of war." See also Sargent, *Campaign of Santiago*, vol. i., p. 34.

Spanish merchantman *Buena Ventura*; a significant name for it may be rendered into our English phrase "Good luck."

At the outbreak of the war, the army of the United States was far inferior to that of Spain in number; its maximum strength being 28,000, at which time it fell short by approximately 5,000 men. These were trained and seasoned soldiers, but totally unprepared to meet the 80,000 men Spain was known to have sent to Cuba. In the matter of war vessels, Spain was thought to have slightly the advantage. While she possessed only one battleship, of the first class, the *Pelayo*, as against the four American battle-

ships, the *Massachusetts*, *Indiana*, *Iowa*, and the *Oregon*, and one second-class, the *Texas*, nevertheless Spain was known to have a powerful fleet of fast armored cruisers, of which six were considered superior to the vessels of the same class in the American navy. In addition, Spain had a fleet of 27 torpedo boats, and six torpedo boat destroyers, the latter an instrument of war comparatively untried and vastly dreaded. The Spanish navy, on paper, at least, totaled 88 to 86 in the American fleet, manned by 23,460 to 16,441 officers and men in the Spanish and American fleets, respectively.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH NAVIES.

Compiled from *Brassey's Naval Annual*, 1898.

UNITED STATES.

NAME OF SHIP.*	Displacement (metric tons).	Speed (knots).	Armament (large guns).
<i>Armored ships.</i>			
Ajax.....	2,100	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Amphitrite.....	3,990	10.5	4 10-in.; 2 4-in.
Brooklyn.....	9,215	21.9	8 8-in.; 12 5-in. q. f.
Canonicus.....	2,100	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Catskill.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Comanche.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Indiana.....	10,288	15.5	4 13-in.; 8 8-in.; 4 6-in.
Iowa.....	11,410	17	4 12-in.; 8 8-in.; 6 4-in. q. f.
Jason.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Katahdin.....	2,155	16	Secondary battery only.
Lehigh.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Mahopae.....	2,100	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Manhattan.....	2,100	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Massachusetts.....	10,288	16.2	4 13-in.; 8 8-in.; 4 6-in.
Miantonomoh.....	3,990	10.5	4 10-in.
Monadnock.....	3,990	12	4 10-in.; 2 4-in. q. f.
Montauk.....	1,875	5.5	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Monterey.....	4,084	13.6	2 12-in.; 2 10-in.
Nahant.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Nantucket.....	1,875	5.6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
New York.....	8,200	21	6 8-in.; 12 4-in. q. f.
Oregon.....	10,288	16.7	4 13-in.; 8 8-in.; 4 6-in.
Passaic.....	1,875	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.

* The battleships in the new United States navy are named after the States; the cruisers after cities.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH NAVIES — *Continued.*

NAME OF SHIP.*	Displacement (metric tons).	Speed (knots).	Armament (large guns).
<i>Armored ships.—Concluded.</i>			
Puritan.....	6,060	12.4	4 12-in.; 6 4-in. q. f.
Terror.....	3,990	10	4 10-in.
Texas.....	6,315	17.8	2 12-in.; 6 6-in.
Wisconsin.....	11,525	16	4 13-in.; 14 6-in. q. f.
Wyandotte.....	2,100	6	2 15-in. smooth bores.
Total..... 28			
<i>Cruisers.</i>			
Annapolis.....	1,000	13.1	6 4-in. q. f.
Atlanta.....	3,000	15.6	2 8-in.; 6 6-in. q. f.
Baltimore.....	4,413	20	4 8-in.; 6 6-in.
Bancroft.....	838	14.37	4 4-in. q. f.
Bennington.....	1,710	17.5	6 6-in.
Boston.....	3,000	15.6	2 8-in.; 6 6-in.
Castine.....	1,177	15.2	8 4-in. q. f.
Charleston.....	3,730	18.2	2 8-in.; 6 6-in.
Chicago.....	4,500	18	4 8-in.; 14 5-in. q. f.
Cincinnati.....	3,213	19	1 6-in.; 10 5-in. q. f.
Columbia.....	7,375	22.8	1 8-in.; 2 6-in.; 8 4-in. q. f.
Concord.....	1,710	16.8	6 6-in.
Detroit.....	2,089	18.71	10 5-in. q. f.
Dolphin.....	1,485	15.5	2 4-in. q. f.
Helena.....	1,392	15.7	8 4-in. q. f.
Machias.....	1,177	15.46	8 4-in. q. f.
Marblehead.....	2,089	18.4	10 5-in. q. f.
Marietta.....	1,200	13.2	6 4-in. q. f.
Minneapolis.....	7,375	23	1 8-in.; 2 6-in.; 8 4-in. q. f.
Montgomery.....	2,089	19	10 5-in. q. f.
Nashville.....	1,371	16.7	8 4-in. q. f.
Newark.....	4,098	19	12 6-in. q. f.
Newport.....	1,000	12.2	6 4-in. q. f.
Olympia.....	5,800	21.69	4 8-in.; 10 5-in. q. f.
Petrel.....	892	11.7	4 6-in.
Philadelphia.....	4,324	19.68	12 6-in.
Princeton.....	1,000	12	6 4-in. q. f.
Raleigh.....	3,213	19	1 6-in.; 10 5-in. q. f.
San Francisco.....	4,098	19.5	12 6-in.
Vesuvius (dynamite guns).....	930	21.4	3 15-in. pneumatic guns.
Vicksburg.....	1,000	12.7	6 4-in. q. f.
Wheeling.....	1,200	12.8	6 4-in. q. f.
Wilmington.....	1,392	15	8 4-in. q. f.
Yorktown.....	1,710	16.1	6 6-in.
Total..... 34			
<i>Torpedo boats.</i>			
Destroyers.....	7		
Sea-going.....	10		
Third-class.....	5		
Submarines.....	2		
Total..... 24			

Total vessels in the United States navy..... 86

Total guns (over 4-in.)..... 463

*The battleships in the new United States navy are named after the States; the cruisers after cities.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH NAVIES — *Continued.*

SPAIN.

NAME OF SHIP.	Displacement (metric tons).	Speed (knots).	Armament (large guns).
<i>Armored ships.*</i>			
<i>Almirante Oquendo</i>	7,000	20	2 11-in.; 10 5.5-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Cardenal Cisneros</i>	7,000	20	2 11-in.; 10 5.5-in. q. f.
<i>Catalina</i>	7,000	20	2 11-in.; 10 5.5-in. q. f.
<i>Cristobal Colon</i>	6,840	20	2 10-in.; 10 6-in. q. f.; 6 4.7-in.
<i>Emperador Carlos V.</i>	9,235	20	2 11-in.; 8 5.5 in. q. f.; 4 3.9-in.
<i>Infanta Maria Teresa</i>	7,000	20.25	2 11-in.; 10 5.5 in.
<i>Numancia</i>	7,305	8	8 10-in. (Armstrong); 6 6.2-in. q. f.; 6 4.7-in.
<i>Pelayo</i>	9,900	16	2 12.5-in.; 2 11-in.; 9 5.5-in. q. f.
<i>Pedro d'Aragon</i>	6,840	20	2 10-in.; 10 6-in. q. f.; 6 4.7-in.
<i>Princesa de Asturias</i>	7,000	20	2 11-in.; 10 5.5-in. q. f.
<i>Puig-cerda</i> (monitor).....	553	8	1 6.2-in.; 2 4.7-in. smooth bore
<i>Vizcaya</i>	7,000	21	2 11-in.; 10 5.5-in. q. f.
<i>Vitoria</i>	7,250	11	8 9-in.; 3 8-in.
Total.....	13		

Average knots..... 16.4
Total guns..... 163

<i>Cruisers and smaller vessels.</i>			
<i>Alfonso XII</i>	3,090	17.5	6 6.2-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Alfonso XIII</i>	5,000	20	4 7.8-in. (Hontoria); 6 4.7-in.
<i>Aragon</i>	3,342	14	6 6.2-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Castilla</i>	3,342	14	4 5.9-in. (Krupp); 2 4.7-in.
<i>General Concha</i>	542	11.5	3 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Conde de Venadito</i>	1,130	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Don Alvaro de Bazan</i>	823	20	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Don Antonio de Ulloa</i>	1,130	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Don Juan de Austria</i>	1,130	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Dona Maria de Molina</i>	823	20	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria) q. f.
<i>Destructor</i>	458	22.56	1 3.5-in.
<i>Elecano</i>	524	11.5	3 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Fernando el Catolico</i> (training).....	500	10	1 6.2-in. M. L. R. (Palliser); 2 4.7-in. smooth bores.
<i>Filipinas</i>	750	20	2 4.7-in. q. f.
<i>Galicia</i>	571	19	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>General Lezo</i>	524	11	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Infanta Isabel</i>	1,130	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Isabel 2.</i>	1,130	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria); 2 7.7-in.
<i>Isabel la Catolica</i>	3,500	14	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria); 2 7.7-in.
<i>Isla de Cuba</i>	1,030	16	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Isla de Luzon</i>	1,030	16	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Jorge Juan</i>	935	13	3 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Lepanto</i>	4,826	20	4 7.8-in. (Hontoria); 6 4.7-in. q. f.
<i>Magellanes</i>	524	11	3 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Marques de la Victoria</i>	823	20	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria) q. f.
<i>Marques de la Ensenada</i>	1,030	10	4 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Marques del Duero</i>	500	10	1 6.2-in. M. L. R. (Palliser); 2 4.7-in. smooth bores.
<i>Marques de Molins</i>	571	19	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Martin Alonso Pinzon</i>	571	19	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Navarra</i>	3,342	14	4 5.9-in.; 2 4.7-in.
<i>Nueva Espana</i>	630	18	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Quiros</i>	315	11.5	Light battery.
<i>Rapido</i>	570	18	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Reina Christina</i>	3,520	17.5	6 6.2-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Reina Regente</i>	5,000	20	6 6.2-in. (Hontoria).

* Names of ships given in italics were destroyed or captured by the American fleet.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH NAVIES — *Concluded.*

NAME OF SHIP.	Displacement (metric tons).	Speed (knots).	Armament (large guns).
<i>Cruisers and smaller vessels*—Concluded.</i>			
<i>Reina Mercedes</i>	3,090	17.5	6 6.2-in. (Hontoria).
Rio de la Plata.....	1,800	20	2 5.5-in. q. f.; 4 3.9-in.
Temerario.....	570	20.5	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria).
<i>Velasco</i>	1,152	14.3	3 5.9-in. 4-ton (Armstrong).
Velo.....	750	20	2 5.9-in. (Hontoria).
Vincente Yanez Pinzon.....	571	19	2 4.7-in. (Hontoria)
Villalobos.....	315	11.5	Light battery.
Total..... 42			
Average knots.....		16.15	
Total guns.....		156	
<i>Torpedo boats.</i>			
Destroyers..... 6	.....	.....
First-class..... 20	.....	.....
Second-class..... 3	.....	.....
Other..... 4	.....	.....
Total..... 33			
Total vessels in the Spanish navy.....			88
Average knots.....		16.27	
Total guns (over 4-in.).....		339	

*Names of ships given in italics were destroyed or captured by the American fleet.

To offset any disparity that might exist between the two fleets, the administration at Washington sought to purchase ships in whatever market was available. Two auxiliary vessels were secured for Commodore Dewey in Asiatic waters; three ships were purchased from Brazil, and two torpedo boats obtained in Germany. In addition the merchant marine was levied upon, and eleven ocean liners were transformed into swift, light armed cruisers. Of these the American line supplied four: the *St. Louis*, *St. Paul*, *New York* and *Paris*, the latter two being rechristened the *Yale* and *Harvard* respectively. Four others were supplied by the Morgan line, and were renamed the *Yankee*,

Dixie, *Prairie*, and *Yosemite*. A number of private yachts were also chartered and transformed into gunboats; one of them, J. P. Morgan's splendid yacht, the *Corsair*, proving very efficient in the battle of Santiago, under its new name, the *Gloucester*.

From the outset, the problem of providing for the purchase of ships, the mobilizing of an army, and all the extraordinary expenses connected with a war became the concern of Congress. It was estimated that the monthly expenses would amount to \$50,000,000, and the means of raising this additional revenue was the issue before the House of Representatives and the Senate from the declaration of war, April 25, to the final passage of the

war revenue act on June 13. Already on March 8, the sum of \$50,000,000 had been appropriated "for national defence," which was for the exclusive purpose of strengthening shore defenses and the fortifications near great cities. Hence it was imperative to inaugurate legislation enabling the administration to carry on the war.* This was provided for in the War Revenue Act of July 13, 1898.

"The bill as reported, provided for additional internal taxes, estimated to yield about \$90,000,000 per annum, of which \$33,000,000, it was estimated, would come from doubling the tax of \$1 per barrel on fermented liquors, \$15,000,000 from doubling the 6 cents per pound tax on tobacco, and increasing the tax on cigars and cigarettes, \$5,000,000 from the imposition of a special tax on dealers in tobacco and cigars, \$2,000,000 from an increase in

the tax on the tonnage in the foreign trade, and \$38,000,000 from a documentary and proprietary stamp tax, based substantially on the stamp-tax acts enacted near the close of the War of the Rebellion."* The bill also carried a provision authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow on the credit of the United States any sum up to \$500,000,000, to be secured by 3 per cent. bonds. Under the provisions of this act these bonds were placed on sale by popular subscription June 13 to July 14, and demand for them proved one of the startling episodes of the war. The fact that \$1,400,000,000 worth of the bonds were subscribed for, seven times the amount of the subscription bonds offered, is one of the many evidences revealed during the stress of the conflict of the faith the average American has in his country.

Thus after thirty years of peace the nation found itself in the throes of preparation for war. During these years the interests and energies of the people were concerned wholly with the problems of its own development; the victories were the victories of peace. The ancient policy of the nation with regard to entangling alliances or interference with international affairs was still so consistently observed that to the majority of the foreign powers the United States of America was an unknown quantity. Yet all at once, and as the result of

* War appropriations:	
For national defense, act March 9, 1898	\$50,117,000 00
Army and navy deficiencies, act May 4	34,625,725 71
Naval appropriation act, May 4.	23,095,549 49
Fortifications act, May 7	5,232,582 00
Naval auxiliary act, May 26	3,000,000 00
Additional clerical force, war department	227,976 45
Life-saving service	70,000 00
Army and navy deficiencies, act June 8	18,015,000 00
Appropriations in war revenue act, June 13	600,000 00
War expenses for six months, beginning July	226,604,261 46
Bringing home remains of soldiers	200,000 00
Total	\$361,788,095 11

Taken from account of the *Work of the Treasury Department* by Hon. Lyman J. Gage, in *The Spanish-American War*, p. 381.

* Nelson Dingley in *The American-Spanish War*, pp. 325-338. See also Lyman J. Gage in *The American-Spanish War*, pp. 367-391.

conditions apparently beyond control, the nation found itself swept onto the stage of international affairs, and forced to play a new and untried part — that of aiding an oppressed and rebellious colony in gaining its independence from the mother country. What had happened at the end of the

Eighteenth century thus found its reproduction in the Nineteenth, with this notable difference, however, that the aid rendered to the Colonies was for France the beginning of democracy; the aid rendered to Cuba by the United States was the beginning of empire.

CHAPTER II.

1898.

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

The President proclaims the adherence of the United States to the terms of the Treaty of Paris — The rendezvous of the Pacific fleet at Hong Kong — Proclamation of neutrality by Great Britain — Departure of the fleet for the Philippines — Dewey's plan for the attack — The Spanish line of battle — The battle — The Spanish fleet destroyed.

During the first few days after the establishment of belligerent relations between Spain and the United States, President McKinley issued three proclamations under his name. The first, dated April 22, proclaimed a blockade of the northern and southern coasts of Cuba; the second, dated April 23, issued a call for 125,000 two year volunteers; the third, outlined the policy to be followed by the United States in the matter of the international law of war. Just what this policy would be was a thing of no little concern to the other nations, as the United States had refused to sign the international compact known as the Declaration of Paris, which had defined and enlarged the rights of neutral nations, especially with regard to maritime commerce. This agreement had definitely

abrogated the right of belligerent powers to issue letters of marque or permit privateering, and as the United States was not a signatory power, it was feared that the administration would resort to a method of warfare that would menace the maritime trade of the world. Nevertheless, since its promulgation in 1856, the United States had considered itself morally bound by the Declaration, and, in fact, had adhered closely to its provisions during the Civil War. If there was any doubt with regard to the matter it was dispelled by the third proclamation which was issued on April 26. In it the President stated specifically that the "war should be conducted upon principles in harmony with the present views of nations and sanctioned by their recent practice, it

has already been announced that the policy of this government will be not to resort to privateering, but to adhere to the rules of the Declaration of Paris.”

The two proclamations addressed to neutral nations had the effect of closing all foreign ports, save under exceptional conditions, and for very short periods of time to the war vessels of the belligerent powers. At the outbreak of the war, the American fleet was divided into three squadrons: two on the Atlantic coast under Acting Rear Admiral W. T. Sampson and Commodore W. S. Schley respectively, the third station at the port of Hong Kong, on the far-away coast of China, under command of Commodore George Dewey.

Great Britain declared neutrality April 23, which forced Commodore Dewey to withdraw his fleet from British waters. The latter was accordingly confronted by a problem that had two solutions: to leave Hong Kong and sail for the coast of California, or to seek the Philippines and batter out a berth for his ships in the territory of the enemy. That the former alternative did not occur to him or to the administration at Washington is very evident. In fact, the Pacific fleet had been gathered at Hong Kong for a specific purpose, and events were now hastening toward its fulfillment. The closing of the neutral harbor to the American fleet was but the first move in the tremendous game which was to destroy the sea power of Spain in the Pacific, and marked the be-

ginning of the end of a once majestic empire.

Early in January, 1898, when the relations between the two nations were evidently becoming more and more strained, it was evident that the slightest mistake on the part of either would result in a rupture. Recognizing this fact, Secretary of the Navy Long* ordered the captains of the various ships to fill the bunkers with the best coal to be obtained, to re-enlist the members of the crews whose terms had expired, and to keep the ships fit and ready for any contingency that might present itself. No one dreamed, however, in carrying out these commands how soon that rupture was to come, and in what a tragic manner.

On February 25, ten days after the destruction of the *Maine*, Commodore Dewey received the following message

* “The commander in chief of the Asiatic Station and the commander in chief of the North Atlantic station had been engaged in thoroughly preparing the units of their commands for the test of war. The squadrons, ships, officers, and crews were in admirable condition and training, had been for months engaged in tactical maneuvers and gunnery practice, and were strengthened by the addition of the auxiliary vessels as rapidly as converted. The bureaus of the Department had, by wise forethought, prepared them with every facility in the way of men, supplies, ammunition, information, and drills, and as early as April 15, four weeks before Admiral Cervera's fleet reached Cuban waters, the Navy of the United States was ready for the outbreak of hostilities. The North Atlantic fleet at Key West covered Cuba; the Flying Squadron at Hampton Roads stood ready to defend our own coast, or threaten that of Spain, and the Asiatic Squadron at Hong Kong only awaited information of the outbreak of hostilities.” Report of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, November 15, 1898, in *Messages and Documents*, 1898-1899.

from Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt:

"Secret and confidential. Order the squadron, except the *Monocacy* to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war, Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in the Philippine Islands. Keep *Olympia* until further orders."

On April 4 another message came ordering the landing at Hong Kong of "all woodwork, stores, etc., not considered necessary for operations."

Commodore Dewey had at this time under his command the protected cruisers *Olympia*, *Boston*, *Raleigh*, the gunboats *Concord* and the *Petrel*, and an old sidewheel steamer, the *Monocacy*, which was rejected as inefficient. The powerful dispatch-boat, the *McCulloch*, joined the fleet on April 18. The fleet, however, was decidedly in need of colliers and storeships, and in obedience to instructions from Washington, Dewey purchased an English collier, the *Nanshan*, with 3,000 tons of coal aboard, and later, the *Zaphiro*, with 600 tons. These he manned with the officers and sailors of the deserted *Monocacy*. On the 22d the *Baltimore* arrived after a long voyage from Honolulu, bringing with her a welcome supply of ammunition. Immediately upon arrival she was treated to her war coat of slate grey paint, the other ships having been repainted several days previously.

On Saturday, April 23, as the result of President McKinley's proclamation to neutral nations of the existence of a state of war between the United States and Spain, the governor-gen-

eral of Hong Kong notified Commodore Dewey that the American fleet must withdraw from the harbor before 4 o'clock p. m., April 25. Without waiting for the expiration of the time designated, the fleet anchored the next day in the Chinese harbor, Mirs Bay. On the day of his departure from Hong Kong came the following dispatch from Secretary Long:

"War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. Commence operations at once, particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors. Long."

Thus in five terse sentences did the government place its destiny in the eastern seas in the hands of one man. What he should do, and how he should do it were not too clearly defined; haste and thoroughness only were the sole requirements. Dewey, however, did not obey this order to the letter, deeming it wiser to delay his departure until the United States consul, Williams, had arrived from Manila. His delay was wholly justified by events, for the latter was able to supply information of great value. The fleet weighed anchor in Mirs Bay at 2 p. m., April 27, and in less than three days had traversed the 600 mile stretch across the Yellow Sea, arriving off Bolinao Point on the morning of April 30. Here additional preparations for the forthcoming collision were made; everything that could be the least in the way, or could endanger life by splintering or catching on fire, was thrown without a thought into the waves. Reports had been received to

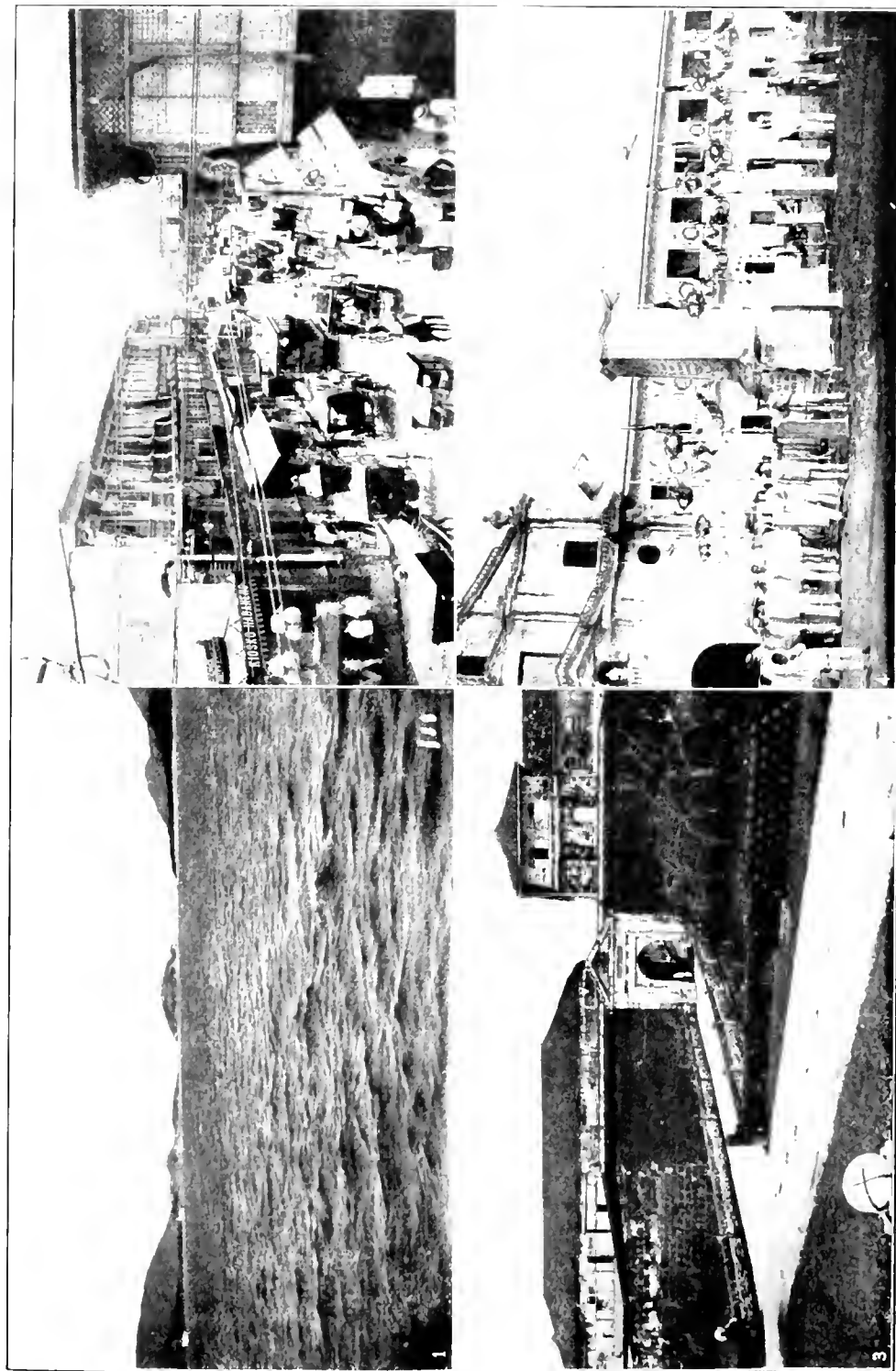
the effect that Admiral Montojo had planned to meet the American squadron in Subig Bay, an extensive harbor some 50 miles from Manila, and it was therefore possible that a few hours would bring the opposing fleets together. The *Boston*, the *Concord*; and later the *Baltimore*, were sent ahead to reconnoiter, but rejoined their comrade vessels with the information that none of the enemy was to be found in Subig Bay. The dispatches of Admiral Montojo later revealed that he had, indeed, planned to give battle in Subig Bay, but that the defenses of the same were so worthless that he returned with his ships to Manila.*

On the return of the scouting cruisers, Commodore Dewey called a conference of the captains, and placed before them his plan for entering Manila harbor at night with screened lights, and giving battle to the Spaniards on the following morning. According to the speed of the ships was modified so as to bring the fleet at the entrance of Manila Bay at midnight, and so well was their progress timed that at 11 o'clock the fleet was entering Boca Grande, the southernmost of the three available channels lead-

ing into the bay. In a single line, with the flagship in the lead, each ship guided by a tiny light set in a box at the stern of the preceding vessel, the fleet moved silently past the fortresses and over waters reputed to be protected by mines of tremendous power. Yet in spite of the fact that the arrival of the American fleet in the Philippine waters had been reported to Montojo, apparently no endeavor was made to guard against just such an enterprise as the American fleet was making. Perhaps they had not dreamed that Commodore Dewey would undertake so daring a thing as an attempt to enter Manila harbor at night, but whatever be the explanation of Spanish inactivity, the American ships were well into the harbor before an alarm was given. Even then the discovery was due to an accident; incautious stoking of the *McCulloch* revealing the presence of the fleet. Signal rockets were sent up from the forts, and a few fruitless shots fired from the guns on El fraile, the island nearest to the mainland. The *McCulloch*, *Concord* and the *Raleigh* opened fire in return, but soon desisted at a signal from the flagship.

Manila possesses one of the most magnificent harbors in the world, and is capable of being strongly protected. Its shape, roughly, is that of a flask, the mouth of which, ten miles in width, is guarded by a group of three islands, Corregidor, Caballo and El fraile. Beyond these islands the body of the flask is gained, 21 miles long and 32 miles

*—The guns which should have been mounted on that island were delayed a month and a half. This surprised me, as the shore batteries that the navy had installed (with very little difficulty) at the entrance of the bay of Manila, under the intelligent direction of colonel of naval artillery, Señor Garces, and Lieutenant Beneavente, were ready to fight twenty-four days after the commencement of the work. I was no less disgusted that they confided in the few torpedoes which they had found feasible to put there." Report of Admiral Montojo on the battle of Manila.



1. ENTRANCE TO MANILA BAY, SHOWING BOCHITA GRANDE AT THE RIGHT THROUGH WHICH DEWAL'S LITTLE PASSED, CORRAJEDER ISLAND IN THE DISTANCE.
 2. VIEW OF THE ESCOLTA (THE BROADWAY) OF MANILA IN 1898. 3. THE PARIAN GATE, THE PRINCIPAL GATE OF THE OLD WALLED CITY OF MANILA. 4. MONU-
 MENT ERECTED AT SAN FERNANDO BY FILIPINOS IN MEMORY OF MARTYRS OF THE REVOLT OF 1896 AGAINST SPAIN.

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wide, the waters within being little less in depth than the ocean. The city is situated on the southeastern shore of the bay, directly at the point of its greatest width. Founded by the Spanish adventurer Legaspi in 1571, it still retains many vestiges of its age, notably its old wall and moat, the cathedral and other ancient buildings, many of which have been sadly mutilated by earthquakes.

When the fleet had approached to a point about ten miles from the city, a detour was made in order to drop the supply ships, the *McCulloch* being left as convoy. At five o'clock the light in the east was sufficient to reveal the position of the fleet to the waiting enemy, and a few minutes later the great guns of the shore batteries sounded the challenge. Their aim, however, was so poor that the American ships made no reply, but steamed coolly, as if in a peace manœuver, toward the city of Manila. To its people, these grey messengers sent terror to the thousands of people who thronged the walls and the housetops. They expected nothing less than that the guns of the fleet would be turned upon their city, an expectation that the proclamation* of Governor-General Augusti, in which he stigmatized the Americans as "social exereescenees, guilty of outrages against the laws of nations and international conventions," had tended to foster. Nevertheless, in spite of the furious firing from the fortresses near Manila no

reply was made, and soon the watchers in the city beheld the fleet turn back on its course and steam toward Cavité, where the Spanish fleet was drawn up in battle order.

There were worse dangers for Dewey's ships, however, than shells from the shore batteries, for as the flag-ship bore down upon Sangley Point, behind which the Spanish ships were huddled, there was a sudden shock, an upheaval of the water, followed immediately by another; sufficient proof that the vaunted torpedoes of the harbor were, after all, not a myth. It is true that they were too far away to do any injury, yet too near to be comfortable, and ominously suggestive of more to follow. Yet there was no hesitation; silently and inexorably, the American warships swept unscathed toward the Spanish fleet.

Cavité, the arsenal of the Spanish forces in the Philippines is situated on the southern extension of a double-pronged peninsula, extending some five miles into Manila Bay. The two prongs at the end and the long strip of land itself form two bays, Cañacao and Bacoor. The Spanish admiral had anchored his ships across Cañacao, stationing the weaker vessels in the shallower waters of Bacoor. His fleet consisted of seven cruisers and three smaller gunboats, aggregating 13,351 tons displacement, and 110 guns (against which were opposed the 19,098 tons and 137 guns of the American fleet), and was arranged in line of battle as follows: *Reina Chris-*

* See Halstead, *Spanish-American War* for full translation, p. 99.

*tina, Castilla, Don Juan de Austria, Don Antonio de Ulloa, Isla de Luzon, Isla de Cuba, Marques del Duero, El Cano, Velasco, and General Lezo.**

It was a half hour after the Spanish guns had opened upon their opponents that the order was given to return their fire. Throughout the battle Commodore Dewey stood on the forward bridge of the *Olympia* and by his side its captain, Gridley. He perceived that the strain of waiting, intensified by the terrific heat of the Philippine May morning, was beginning to tell on the men, so when a range of about three miles had been attained, he called to the captain of the flagship: "If you are ready, Gridley, you may fire." At his word one of the 8-inch guns in the forward turret roared forth its salute of death to the Spanish fleet. At the sound of the great gun, it is said that the shout "Remember the Maine" rang out on all of the ships, and soon the guns of the whole fleet were in play. The firing from both fleets became more and more furious as the distance between them lessened; the American ships steaming back and forth in front of the Spanish line, delivering terrific broadsides now from the port, and again from the starboard batteries.

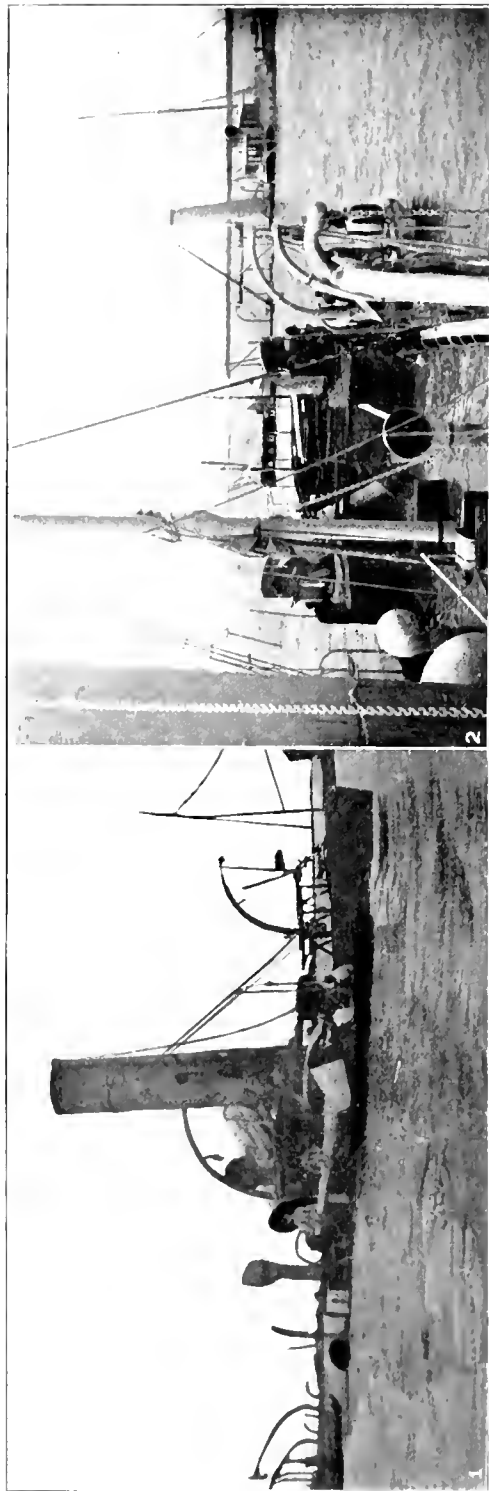
At 7 o'clock, in apparent desperation, the Spanish flag-ship, the *Christina*, slipped her cables, and with splendid audacity, steamed out toward the American vessels. She became, immediately, the target for

every available gun of the fleet, and soon the effects of the fearful punishment she was receiving became apparent. For a while she staggered forward, the escaping steam from her injured machinery and the clouds of smoke from her hatches revealing how desperately wounded she was. At last aware of the folly of further effort, and in immediate danger of sinking, the ship was put about and made for the shallow water as fast as the crippled engines could propel her. Even in her death struggle, she was not to go unseathed, for before the survivors could escape, an 8-inch shell from the *Olympia* exploded in the engine-room, making havoc of the already ruined vessel, killing wounded and unwounded, and starting a fire that was soon beyond control. Orders were given to sink her, and the other ships closed around to pick up the survivors, among them Admiral Montojo, who was severely wounded.

While the attention of the fleet was held by the daring but foolhardy maneuver of the *Christina*, two small launches put out from Cavité, purposing, apparently, to attack the *Olympia* with torpedoes.* But the fate of the great cruiser was theirs also. They became in a few moments centres of a perfect storm of shells from the secondary batteries of the ships, one being sunk, and the other driven to the shore.

* Maclay, *History of the United States Navy*, vol. iii., pp. 205-206.

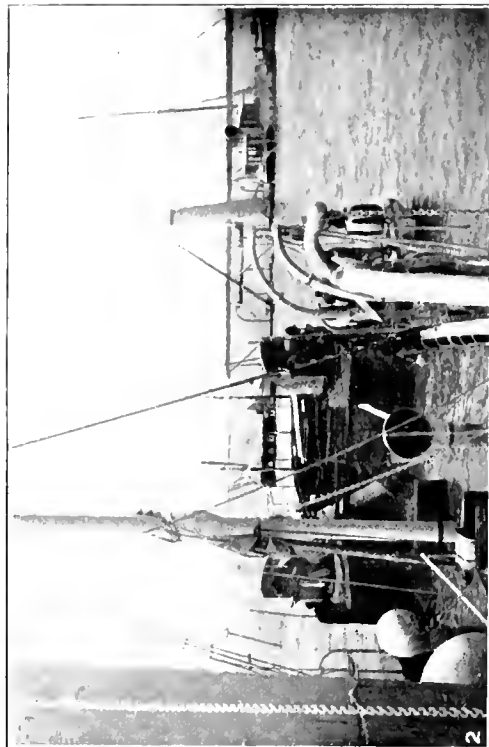
* Dewey, Official report of the battle of Manila. Maclay in his *History of the United States Navy* maintains that these torpedo-boat attacks were mythical. See vol. iii., pp. 177-178.



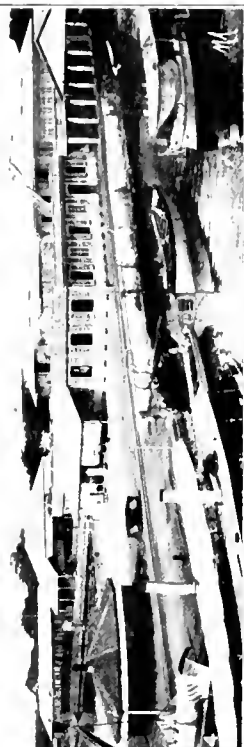
1. WRECK OF THE ISLA DE CUBA.



2. WRECKS OF THE ISLA DE LUZON AND DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA.



3. SUNK BY DEWEY.



4. THE ARSENAL AND SHIPYARD AT CAVITE.

Five times the American fleet had steamed back and forth in front of the Spanish line of battle, and as yet there was no evidence of great damage having been done to the opposing squadron. The *Reina Christina* had been destroyed, and others of the ships had been on fire several times, but so had one of the American ships, and the enemy's firing was still as vigorous as at the beginning of the action. At 7:35 o'clock, the *Olympia* displayed the signal: "Cease firing, and follow the flag-ship." In obedience to this command, the fleet silenced its guns and withdrew out of range. This movement so astonished the Spaniards that they immediately cabled to Madrid the defeat of the American fleet. The cause of the withdrawal was a matter no less serious than a report from the ships that the ammunition was running low. When the ships were beyond the danger zone, orders were given to pipe the men to breakfast, much to the disgust of the gun-crews who grumbled and expressed the sentiment, "To hell with breakfast!" The order, however, brought a blessed relief to the engineers, stokers, and magazine attendants, who had been working for two hours in a temperature ranging from 110° to 160°.

A conference of the captains was called by Commodore Dewey, and when their reports were brought in, to the delight of all it was learned that the ships were practically uninjured. In addition there had been no loss of life, and the rumor that the ammunition was growing short was proved to be

erroneous. The moment of gloom was dispelled in a twinkling, and at once all were eager to complete the work. That it could be done no one had the slightest doubt.

During this interim, Commodore Dewey sent a flag of truce to the batteries at Manila announcing that if they did not cease firing he would shell the city. This had the desired effect and the batteries were silent during the remainder of the action.

After a rest of three hours, the fleet again steamed down in battle order, the *Baltimore* this time in the lead. It was then perceived that the work of destruction was almost complete, the Spanish ships showing clearly the fearful effect of the American guns. Only one of them, the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, was able to make effective resistance, and its guns were soon silenced. The shore batteries, however, were still active, and two shots from them did considerable damage to the *Baltimore*, wounding two officers and six men.

Steaming up to a distance of less than two thousand yards, the American fleet in obedience to its order to capture or destroy, completed its work, and soon the Spanish fleet was but a tragic array of battered hulks, whose exploding magazines continued the devastation begun by the American shells. The ships directed to destroy the arsenal and the batteries at Cavité were no less thorough; the battle virtually ceasing when a well-aimed shot blew up the powder magazine of the arsenal. At 12:40 the guns

of the enemy no longer made reply, white flags of surrender were flying at Cavité and other points, so the signal to cease firing and anchor at will was displayed, and the battle of Manila Bay was at an end.

In his report of the battle, Commodore Dewey, referring to Commander Wood, of the *Petrel*, who was detailed to destroy the small gunboats behind the point of Cavité, says: "This duty was performed in the most thorough

and complete manner possible." These words might be taken from their context and applied to work of the American fleet as a whole. The battle of Manila in its far-reaching results, in the perfection of the method adopted by Commodore Dewey, in the insignificant loss of life experienced by the victors, and in the absolute thoroughness with which the task was performed, was one of the decisive naval battles of the world's history.

CHAPTER III.

1898.

CREATING AN ARMY.

Difficulties in the mobilization of a large army—The navy better prepared than army—Size of army on a peace basis—Reply to call for volunteers—Need for care in subjecting men to tropical conditions—Organization and training camps.

Owing to the fact that Commodore Dewey was not permitted to make use of the cables running from Manila to Hong Kong, authoritative information regarding the battle did not reach the United States until May 7. In the meanwhile public attention was occupied by the events taking place in the Gulf of Mexico. At the outbreak of the war rash statements had been made to the effect that 50,000 soldiers could be poured into Cuba within a fortnight, and the Spanish army put to flight within thirty days. It was soon discovered, however, that mobilizing an army was no less a problem in 1898 than it was in the days pre-

ceding the disaster at Bull Run. It was found that the entire organization of the war department was incapable of bearing up under the strain arising from the conditions of war, and the readjustments found imperative and experiments that were made during the first days of the war resulted in delays and perhaps disasters.

In comparison with the navy, the army presented to the public a very shabby and discreditable spectacle. And yet the people, in a way, were responsible for the condition as it existed. Soon or late, Congress always gives the people what they want, and as yet there had been no insistent de-

mand for an increased or more efficient army. Pressure of circumstances and popular opinion had been responsible for the building of the new American navy, but there had been no call for an army capable of doing more than protect the country during the internal dissensions that might arise during times of peace.

It was evident from the beginning that the regular army of 28,143 men would serve merely as the nucleus for an army such as would be required in the conflict now imminent, and the States were accordingly called upon for their quota of volunteers. On April 23, two days after the opening of hostilities, the President issued the proclamation calling for 125,000 two year volunteers. The reply was a revelation to those who conceived that the martial spirit of America was passing, for instead of thousands, hundred of thousands offered to go to the front, and it was only by the most rigid examination in order to eliminate every one in the least physically or otherwise unfit that the number was reduced to the required point. The weak, the underweighted, the hollow-chested, and the puny were left out. The examinations were as severe as those conducted in time of peace, and the result was the selection of none but those fittest for the task. It was the fittest, alone, who would survive, for these volunteers were to contend with foes quite as merciless and far more insidious than the Spaniards: with heat, malaria, yellow fever, and all the other evils of the tropics. Of these volun-

teers many were raw boys, scarcely out of school, some were negroes, not a few were battle-scarred veterans who had worn the blue and the gray during the '60's, whose eagerness to fight side by side in this conflict with a foreign foe revealed how truly was the nation a unity at last. A month later (May 25) the President issued another call for volunteers, and again the reply was as enthusiastic as before. Several hundred thousand responded when only 75,000 were desired. The same caution, however, was exercised in this case as in the first, and the final result was an army of 200,000 recruits, raw, and mainly untrained in the elements of military science, but material out of which an invincible army could be shaped in a comparatively short space of time.

The following table shows the volunteer army as organized, with the number of men supplied by each State:

	Officers	Men
General officers and staff...	1,010	1,329
Alabama	141	3,061
Arkansas	91	1,934
California	186	4,441
Colorado	49	1,076
Connecticut	100	2,136
Delaware	47	969
District of Columbia	49	922
Florida	48	956
Georgia	142	3,389
Idaho	32	644
Illinois	489	10,453
Indiana	260	5,564
Iowa	206	3,354
Kansas	167	3,735
Kentucky	186	4,559
Louisiana	101	2,255
Maine	61	1,444
Maryland	91	1,979
Massachusetts	277	5,515
Michigan	233	5,185

	Officers	Men
Minnesota	196	4,222
Mississippi	108	2,512
Missouri	271	6,234
Montana	48	976
Nebraska	137	3,232
Nevada	15	481
New Hampshire	47	952
New Jersey	184	4,163
New York	705	15,924
North Carolina	145	2,840
North Dakota	27	658
Ohio	485	9,557
Oregon	56	1,182
Pennsylvania	619	11,606
Rhode Island	54	1,170
South Carolina	90	2,060
South Dakota	46	983
Tennessee	187	4,148
Texas	231	5,054
Utah	15	429
Vermont	48	980
Virginia	164	3,709
Washington	60	1,379
West Virginia	88	2,245
Wisconsin	198	4,293
Wyoming	17	446
United States Volunteers (at large).	763	16,992
Appointments and enlistments after first calls.	1,047	39,501
Total	10,017	223,235

The well-equipped Spanish soldiers stationed in Cuba numbered 180,000, yet 214,000 had originally answered the roll-call of the army. The remaining 34,000 were there, indeed, but they were under and not on top of Cuban soil. Yellow fever, malaria and the ravages of the humid climate had sounded taps for them long before Shafter's men had disembarked, or Roosevelt charged up San Juan Hill. It was a terrible, silent warning — and one which the Secretary of War and the President heeded. Congress authorized them to recruit a number of specially qualified men, and accord-

ingly three cavalry regiments, a volunteer brigade of engineers and a volunteer force of about 10,000 enlisted men were all selected because of their immunity to tropical diseases.

The first move was to place all these raw recruits in training camps where contact with the regular soldiers would effect their breaking in more quickly and thoroughly than months of less strenuous training in their own States. Another important point was to partially acclimatize these men, thus breaking the rude shock of sudden transmission into torrid heat. To accomplish this the camps were all located in the South, and near enough also to Cuba to have the men ready to be transported at the call of emergency.

The regular army was mobilized on April 15, and camps for the organization and training of the volunteer army were established at Chickamauga, New Orleans, Mobile and Tampa. Major-General Brooke, Brigadier-Generals Coppinger and Wade, and Major-General Shafter were assigned command of these encampments, and immediately set themselves at work on the tremendous task of creating an efficient army out of the horde of green recruits. The two weeks passed, and as yet only 10,000 men were ready to go to the front, and these most inadequately equipped, and in no way fit for a summer campaign in the tropics. In addition the rations supplied by the commissariat was of such inferior quality that a good share

of such supplies had to be destroyed.* Most of the volunteers had to be supplied with Springfield rifles and old style smoky powder. Many lacked uniforms; some had never fired a gun, and some had never slept overnight in the open. Yet in seven weeks after the first call for volunteers, a great body of soldiers were transported from Florida to Cuba, equipped, well-generated and well-trained. What sounds like a miracle was in reality

* See Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, pp. 6-28; 376-454. Also, *Hearings before the Commission on the Conduct of the War*.

the result of seven weeks of the hardest work ever done by a harassed Secretary of War, a painstaking Major-General and a corps of splendid officers. Tardy Congress at last made the needful appropriations, factories worked day and night, some even putting in new plants for the purpose, gun factories turned out hundreds per day where they had formerly made but fifty, and in short, the whole army world awoke from its enforced apathy like the mythical castle from its hundred years' sleep.

CHAPTER IV.

1898.

THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA.

Early problems of war, naval—Hypotheses regarding Spanish fleets—The blockading fleet—The commanders—Why Havana was not bombarded—The Cardenas affair—Cutting the cables at Cienfuegos—Communications with Cuban army.

It was a very fortunate thing, indeed, that our army could not do as the visionaries and enthusiasts would have had it and attempt a triumphant progress across Cuba. It was not until the army sat around Santiago that the problem of land war in Cuba was grasped in an adequate way. Then it was that those who had grown satirical respecting General Miles's counsels for cautious progress and his carefully worked out plans for carrying on the land campaign understood how nearly correct he was. The early

problems of the war, however, were not for the army to solve at all. As long as Spain had three powerful fleets free to act there could be no question of a land campaign in Cuba, and even the guns of Dewey did far more damage to the prestige of Spain than they did to her navy. The eleven vessels he destroyed were none of a higher rating than cruisers, and the majority of them only gun-boats. In the matter of tonnage alone Dewey's six outweighed the eleven of Montojo. On paper, at least, Spain had a navy

that still outranked that of the United States, and as long as it remained a menace, it was for the navy to act and not the army.*

At the outbreak of the war the Spanish Atlantic fleet had been divided into two squadrons: the heavy reserve fleet under command of Admiral Camara being stationed at Cadiz, the flying squadron under Admiral Cervera being ordered to the Cape Verde Islands. Just as the declaration of neutrality by Great Britain had the effect of closing the harbor of Hong Kong, so did Portugal's declaration of neutrality close the harbor of St. Vincent to Cervera's fleet. Notwithstanding this fact, under the pretext of making repairs to his ships, he tarried for a week longer finally sailing on April 30 with destination unknown. The cities of the Atlantic coast began to have visions of rapidly approaching destruction, and from Boston to Savannah came frantic calls for ships and guns.

Nor were their fears wholly groundless. With this swift and powerful fleet at large on the high seas, almost any theory with respect to the purpose it might have in view could be justified. The information that was abroad regarding the ships of Cervera's fleet justified the belief that their sphere of action was very extended, hence a swift blow struck at New York or Boston was not at all im-

possible. Various guesses were made as to the destination of the fleet: one hypothesis being that it would return to Spain, another that it would endeavor to intercept and destroy the *Oregon*, then on her remarkable voyage around South America. The generally accepted theory, however, and the one acted upon by the administration, was that Cervera would come to the rescue of Havana. To both countries this city seemed to be the key to the situation, hence the first blow was directed against it by the establishment of the blockade, planned, even before the outbreak of hostilities. Admiral Sampson's fleet was accordingly dispatched from Key West on April 22, the first day of the war.

The American fleet was an exceedingly heterogeneous collection of vessels, and contained examples of every type of American war-ships from the fast battleships like the *Iowa* to the antiquated monitors, the *Terror* and the *Amphitrite*. A fleet is like the proverbial chain, and is no faster than its slowest ships, hence the efficiency of the blockading squadron was greatly lowered by the relative weakness of many of its units. In order to gain the services of an officer recognized as an authority on modern ships and guns, Captain William T. Sampson was given command of the blockading squadron, with the rank of Acting Rear-Admiral. To give him this post, he was summarily promoted over twenty officers, including six rear-admirals: an action that resulted in no little criticism and heart burnings, and

* For fuller discussion of strategical points see Wilson, *The Downfall of Spain*, chaps. iii., v.; Sargent, *Campaign of Santiago*, vol. i., pp. 65-78.

in the end doubtless made his task more difficult than it would otherwise have been. Nevertheless his training and peculiar fitness justified the irregularity of the appointment. The command of the Atlantic coast squadron was given to Commodore Winfield S. Schley, whose gallant rescue of the survivors of the Greely Arctic expedition had brought him prominently before the public.

The blockade had the effect of frightening the citizens of Havana thoroughly, but did little else as far as the city itself was concerned. There was no intention in the minds of the leaders of the administration of taking a step so desperate, and one so productive of needless suffering as the bombardment of a city of the size of Havana. Nevertheless it became more and more evident as the blockade progressed that nothing short of such an attack would cause the capitulation of the city. The blockade itself was strictly kept, and a number of vessels bringing cargoes to Havana were captured, yet it appeared that the resources of the city had been underestimated, and were sufficient for an indefinite defense against such a mild form of attack.

A more active policy was accordingly adopted, and while Havana was still permitted to go unscathed, attacks were made on three of the towns that in a sense formed the outer line of the capital city's defenses. The first of these, and, indeed, the first real collision of the war, took place at Matanzas, a town of 35,000 inhabitants, 50 miles

east of Havana. It was reported that the Spanish forces were strengthening the fortifications at Point Rubelcava, three miles from the entrance to Matanzas harbor. Accordingly the flag-ship *New York*, the *Puritan*, and the *Cincinnati* appeared before that port on May 27. As soon as the little fleet approached within range, they were challenged by a shell from one of the forts. The American ships replied immediately, and so effective was their gunnery that the fortifications were destroyed in a few minutes. It cannot be questioned but that there was loss of life on the part of the defenders, but from the reports sent forth by the Spanish authorities it was claimed that the net result of the action was the death of an army mule. Thus, officially, the Matanzas mule was the first victim of the war, becoming thereby a figure of historical and international interest, and above all a godsend to the periodical humorist.

Another incident that narrowly escaped being humorous was a duel that took place during the early days of the war between the *New York* and a troop of Spanish cavalry which was patrolling the shore near Mariel, a small town a few miles to the west of Havana. With an audacity that was either sublime or insane, the troopers attacked the warship with their rifles, attracting thereby a shower of shrapnel from the rapid firing guns that soon hurried them to cover.

The news of Dewey's victory arrived on May 7, a week after the battle, and aroused the country to a pitch

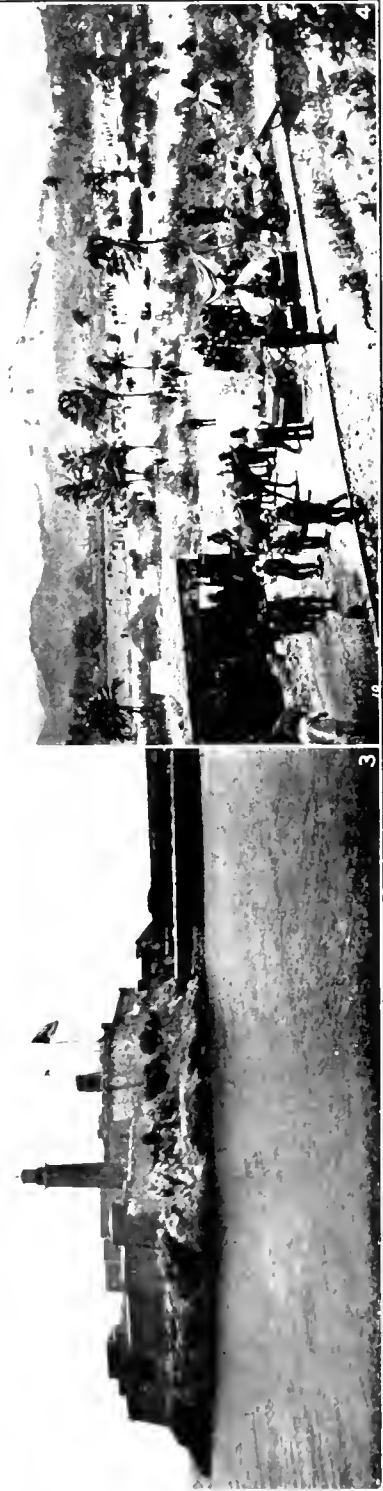
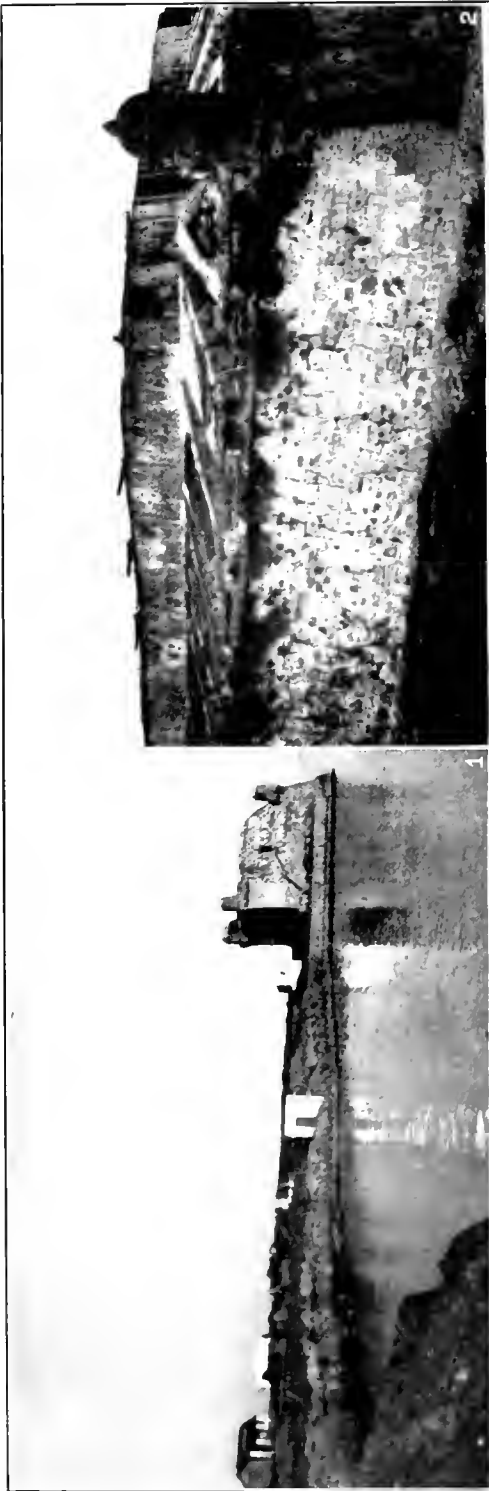
of enthusiasm seldom experienced in its history. It seemed to be the signal, too, for increased activity in the West. The slow patrol of the ships along the northern and southern coasts, marked by nothing more exciting than the occasional capture of a blockade runner, gave place to a series of significant events that followed fast upon one another. This activity was initiated by two skirmishes that took place on May 11, as the result of which American lives were lost—the first blood to be shed by Spanish bullets. The scene of the first of these was Cardenas, a town some 60 miles to the east of Havana. Three days before, the torpedo boat *Winslow* endeavored by a ruse to draw three Spanish gunboats within the harbor away from the protection of the batteries, but failed in its efforts to do so. The second attempt, made on the 11th, however, was productive of quite unexpected results. Instead of entrapping the Spaniards, the *Winslow* itself was snared, and found itself far into the harbor and in the midst of anchored buoys that marked the range for the guns of the vessels and the batteries on the shore. When the little craft reached these she immediately became the target for a furious attack. A shell fired early in the engagement wounded Lieutenant Bernadou, the commanding officer and wrecked the steering gear. The gunboats *Wilmington* and the *Machias*, and the cutter *Hudson* came to the rescue of the disabled boat, the latter making a heroic effort to tow the *Winslow* to

safety and ultimately succeeding in getting her out of danger by lashing alongside. Nevertheless assistance came too late to prevent the most disastrous incident of the action. Ensign Worth Bagley, the executive officer of the *Winslow*, who was detailed to direct the vessel, found it necessary, after the injury to the steering-gear, to make trips back and forth from the machine-room to the deck. While standing on the deck near Lieutenant Bernadou, after one of these trips, a Spanish shell exploded close by, instantly killing him and four others, and in addition wounding six more. It was only by almost superhuman efforts that the boats succeeded in escaping from the zone of danger.* The Spanish forces, however, paid still more dearly for their temporary victory, for the *Wilmington* and the *Machias* avenged the disaster by shelling the harbor and the city, destroying two of the ships, the *Antonio Lopez* and the *Ligera*, reducing the batteries, and burning the houses along the water-front.

On the same day another collision occurred at Cienfuegos on the southern coast.† This city, next to Santiago, is perhaps the most important station of the Atlantic and Gulf cables, five lines entering at this point. In order to render the blockade more efficient, and to isolate Cuba as thoroughly as possible, it was

* Bernadou, *The "Winslow" at Cardenas in Century Magazine* (March, 1899).

† Winslow, *Cable-cutting at Cienfuegos in Century Magazine* (March, 1899).



Nos. 1, 2 and 3 by courtesy of *Carter's Weekly*.

1. THE OLD HISTORIC FORT AT COLIMAR, JUST EAST OF HAVANA. 2. NORTH WALL OF THE FORT AT CABANAS. 3. MORRO CASTLE, HAVANA. 4. DAQUERRA, WHERE THE FIRST TROOPS WERE LANDED.

deemed advisable to cut these cables.* The task was both difficult and dangerous, for it would be necessary to approach almost to the shore in light boats in order to grapple for the cables. Every volunteer knew that the chances were that hardly a man could escape injury, yet this knowledge caused no hesitation on their part. As soon as the call was issued, volunteers came from the *Nashville*, the *Marblehead*, and the *Windom*, from whom a squad of picked men was finally selected. Under Lieutenants Winslow and Anderson the party manned four launches and set out on their perilous enterprise. The *Nashville* and the *Marblehead* endeavored to protect the men at work by shelling the bushes along the shores, but in

spite of this the Spanish rifles kept up a continuous fusillade; the firing at the range of 200 yards becoming at last so furious that the boats were forced to retire before all of the cables were cut. Five men were killed and four wounded in this affair, which, like the one at Cardenas, was distinctly a failure.

Yet in a large sense, neither enterprise was a failure. They revealed that the spirit of the American soldier and sailor was still alive and potent whether in victory or defeat. The first few weeks of the war demonstrated to an expectant world that the younger generation who were now making history possessed in the fullest measure that quality of hardihood and dauntlessness that their fathers and grandfathers had shown at Yorktown, Lake Erie or Gettysburg. The age of heroic achievement had not yet passed.

Cases of individual daring and initiative were not lacking; the necessity for getting in touch with the Cuban army, in particular, calling for those traits. Among those who distinguished themselves in the efforts to bring assistance to the Cubans were Captain Dorst, who commanded several expeditions of the kind, and Lieutenant Rowan, of the 19th Infantry, who made a most hazardous journey to the interior of the island where he conferred with General Gomez, formulating plans for the co-operation of the two armies during the forthcoming campaign.

* "The precedents as to such action prior to the war with Spain, were not numerous, since communication by cables is a comparatively recent thing. On the outbreak of the war, the Government of the United States considered 'the advantage of declaring telegraph cables neutral,' and to that end directed the naval forces in Cuban waters to refrain from interfering with them till further orders. This inhibition, evidently, was soon revoked. Early in May, 1898, two out of three cables were cut near Cienfuegos, with a view to sever connection with Havana. On May 16, an unsuccessful effort was made to cut the Santiago-Jamaica cables; and two days later one of them was severed 1.3 miles off Morro Castle. May 20, the cable connecting Cuba and Hayti was broken outside the marine league off Mole St. Nicholas. July 11, the cable connecting Santa Cruz del Sur, Trinidad, Cienfuegos, and Havana, with Manzanillo and the east of Cuba, was cut; as was also, five days later, the line connecting Santa Cruz and Jucaro."—Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. vii., p. 369. See also Wilson, *Submarine Telegraph Cables in their International Relations*, Naval War College pubs (August, 1901).

CHAPTER V.

1898.

THE QUEST OF CERVERA.

Theories regarding destination of the Spanish Flying Squadron—Sampson decides in favor of San Juan, Porto Rico, and proceeds against the same—The bombardment of San Juan—The Spanish fleet reported at Martinique and Curacao—The voyage of the *Oregon*.

It was not until after peace was declared that the American people were permitted to obtain a glimpse of the desperate straits in which the Spanish navy found itself at the outbreak of the war. Had they known then that Admiral Cervera, a brave and kindly man, and an able commander, was forced to leave St. Vincent unprepared and desponding,* there would have been less agitation on the sea-coast of the United States. Yet this they could not know, and hence it became imperative to form some conclusions regarding the fleet's destination. All of the problems of the war centered on this one point, for until the Cape Verde fleet was eliminated all other activities must of necessity be subordinated. Four theories were proposed: first, that the Philippine Islands were the objective point; second, that Cervera was bound for

Cienfuegos, as it was reported that he had munitions of war for Havana; third, that he was bound for Santiago de Cuba; and fourth, that San Juan, Porto Rico, was the probable destination of the fleet. The first hypothesis was dismissed as being untenable, leaving the other three to be acted upon. Admiral Sampson, alone, conceived that Santiago would be selected by the Spanish admiral, but considered Cienfuegos, the southern port of supply for Havana, or San Juan, the Porto Rican capital, more logical from a strategical point of view.

With the purpose, therefore of settling the question as far as San Juan was concerned,* he detached the *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *New York*, *Detroit*, *Amphitrite*, *Wompatuck*, and the *Montgomery* from the blockading fleet and proceeded with them to Porto Rico. The ships arrived opposite the harbor of San Juan just as dawn was breaking on May 11. As soon as it became light

* "I send to-day the official letter which I announced yesterday. Its conclusions are indeed conflicting; but can we afford to cherish illusions? Do we not owe to our country not only our lives, if necessary, but the exposition of our beliefs? I am very uneasy about this. I ask myself if it is right for me to keep silent, and thereby make myself an accomplice in adventures which shall surely cause the ruin of Spain." Admiral Cervera, Official correspondence, February 26, 1898.

* "Undoubtedly, at the time of leaving the Cape Verde Islands, Cervera knew the disposition of our vessels, and would be deterred from coming to our Northern coast by the presence of these powerful ships. Should he attempt this, it must be done in the face of great difficulties. He must approach our coast short of coal, always a much dreaded misfortune. Then he would be

enough to permit of accurate aiming, the order to begin firing was given. At the word the great guns from the turrets of the *Iowa* opened upon Morro Castle. The other ships followed suit and soon the whole fleet was hurling tons of steel-clad explosives against the Spanish fortifications. So rapid was the firing that the ships in a short time became enveloped in the pall of smoke belched from their guns, which at last became so dense that the command was given to silence the secondary batteries in order that the shore might be seen. The error of judgment that caused the retention of the antiquated black powder was never more emphasized than at the bombardment of San Juan. To this fact was due the low standard shown by the gunnery on this occasion. It is true that a heavy sea was running, and that the fortresses were situated upon points so elevated that aiming was difficult, yet these facts alone could not explain or justify the number of shots that missed or went wild. Indeed, not a few shells passed entirely over Morro and exploded in

the city, giving rise to the complaint on the part of Spain that the United States was following the policy of bombarding cities without notification to the inhabitants, a thing not sanctioned by the modern usages of international law.

The bombardment was continued for three hours, the last shot being fired by the *Terror* at 8:15, after which the fleet withdrew. The damage received by both sides was inconsiderable in view of the immense amount of ammunition used. The *New York*, the *Iowa*, and the *Amphitrite* were struck by large shells, but their injuries were relatively unimportant. One man was killed and four wounded on the *New York*, three wounded on the *Iowa*, and a gunner's mate suffocated by the appalling heat in the turret of the *Amphitrite*.

The bombardment of San Juan was little more than a reconnoissance in force, the main object in view being the discovery of the position of the Spanish fleet. It was clear, after the first few minutes, that the vessels of Cervera were not here, so the American fleet did not delay, but headed immediately towards the west, leaving the Spanish garrison possessed of the hallucination that it had repulsed the enemy.

In the meantime the fast converted cruisers, the *Harvard*, *Yale*, *St. Louis* and *St. Paul*, were scouting among the islands and passages of the Antilles hoping to intercept the Spanish fleet should it take its course to some port other than San Juan. It was from

likely to have breakdowns; and where could he make repairs, either before or after fighting? The disabling of one of his ships meant delay to all the others, and, in an encounter, meant, besides, the loss of the disabled ship, almost without a blow. Any or all of these things might happen, and I believed he would think the risks too great. So, all things considered, it seemed to me most probable that he would try for San Juan. There he would be at home; only there he could hope to make repairs and there he could be sure of more coal, so necessary to enable him to reach a port in Cuba. Our part was plainly to meet him before he could reach San Juan."—Admiral Sampson, in *Century Magazine* (April, 1899).

Captain Cotton of the *Harvard* that the information came that Cervera had touched at St. Pierre, the principal port of the French island of Martinique, and two days later (May 14) came the news from Willemstad, Curacao, that the Spanish fleet had obtained a small supply of coal for its torpedo boats at that point. Therefore, when Admiral Sampson anchored his vessels in the harbor of Cape Haytien (May 15), he received the information not vouchsafed by the guns of his fleet at San Juan. The same cable line that flashed this to Sampson was also the medium by which the Spanish admiral learned of the assault on San Juan, and he accordingly changed his plans.* To go to that port under the circumstances, as he cabled to Minister Bermejo, "would be madness." That the Spanish ministry was aware of his desperate straits is furthermore evidenced by the message received by him from Bermejo while at Martinique to the effect that he could return to Spain if he found it necessary. Nevertheless, in spite of misgivings, he continued toward the coast of Cuba, finally reaching Santiago on May 19.

To the Spaniards in Cuba the only

hope of saving the island lay in succor from the Mother Country. They well knew that the naval and military forces already available could hold out but a short time against the well-nigh unlimited resources of the United States. Any illusions they may have had were wholly dispelled by the coming of Cervera's fleet. Instead of a dozen battleships and a flotilla of lesser craft, here were only six vessels in all, some of them clearly crippled by the voyage across the Atlantic. The fleet, instead of proving a savior, soon proved to be an incubus, only adding heavier burdens to the beleaguered city. The additional 2,000 mouths to feed hastened the famine already imminent, and, furthermore the coming of Admiral Cervera, himself, soon resulted in a collision of authority between him and General Blanco that in the end proved disastrous to the plans of both.

For one week Cervera was unmolested in the harbor of Santiago, and if he had hunted throughout the harbors of the world he could not have found a more secure hiding-place. It was so secure, indeed, that once within, the problem would be to get out. Under favorable conditions the city could hold out against almost any force, military or naval, for nature has done everything to render it impregnable. The entire line of the coast of the southern extension of Cuba is marked by mountains of heights varying from less than a thousand to 8,000 feet. These in many places rise sheer from the waters of

* "I have received your cipher telegram advising me of pitiful condition of your naval forces. Believe no more can come from Spain, as none were available except *Carlos V*, *Alfonso XIII*, and a few destroyers and torpedo boats. *Pelayo* has not, I believe, her secondary battery installed. Possibly some of the trans-Atlantics purchased may come with stores. I believe there are four; speed good. *My coming here has been somewhat accidental; according to instructions I was to go to Porto Rico.*"—Admiral Cervera to the commandant-general of navy yard at Havana (Manterola), Santiago, May 22, 1898.

the sea, which, not far from the coast, assumes a depth of 6,000 feet. Here and there along this natural barricade are bays and inlets, which run back into the mountains. The largest of these are Guantanamo and Santiago. It is almost impossible for a person unwarned of its presence to discover the entrance to the latter, so narrow is it and so beset with mountains. The channel, though less than 200 yards in width, is of sufficient depth, and is feasible to the largest battleships. Guarding this entrance is the ancient Morro Castle, the largest and most interesting of the three in Cuba and Porto Rico. It has all the characteristics of a medieval castle, and though it appears impregnable on its frowning height, 200 feet above the sea, it would be but poor protection against modern gun-fire. Santiago is at the head of the bay, four miles from Morro. Founded by Velasquez, the conqueror of Cuba (1514), it is perhaps the oldest city established by Europeans, and still retains many vestiges of its ancient origin.

The week following the departure of Cervera from Curacao was a busy one for the American navy. It was assumed that he was bound for a Cuban port, for it was announced at Willemstad that San Juan was the objective point, and familiarity with Spanish diplomatic methods was not calculated to inspire faith in a statement made under such circumstances. As a consequence San Juan was largely ignored for the time being. It was decided to envelop the island of Cuba

with the entire naval force, and in furtherance of this plan Commodore Schley was ordered to proceed with the Atlantic flying squadron to Cienfuegos by the way of Yucatan Channel, thus sweeping the western end of the island in order to intercept Cervera should he attempt to reach Havana by that route. As Sampson's fleet was guarding the eastern end, the latter conceived that the escape of the Spanish fleet would be an impossibility.

Schley proceeded to Cienfuegos without discovering any traces of the foe, and finally stationed himself at that port, acting with such deliberation that he drew upon his head the ire of Secretary Long and Admiral Sampson, which resulted in the issuance of orders placing his squadron under command of Sampson. He was ordered to leave Cienfuegos on May 25 and proceed to Santiago de Cuba, but delayed his departure, acting on the assumption that Cervera was in the former port. His reports also contain a number of references to lack of fuel, and the difficulty of coal-ing off the Cuban coast. He arrived, however, at Santiago May 28, and immediately threw the navy department into a panic by threatening to return to Key West for supplies.* Impera-

* We have no desire to enter into the unfortunate controversy that arose as a result of Admiral Schley's actions in the Santiago affair. The facts given are taken substantially from the documents themselves, and, although the Court of Inquiry requested by Schley himself decided (Admiral Dewey dissenting) that he had failed in his duty from the strictest point of view, yet

tive orders to remain at his post came from Secretary Long, which, however, were unnecessary, for in the meanwhile messages came from Schley to the effect that the Spanish fleet had been seen in the Santiago harbor.

During the course of all of the events at Manila and about Cuba, an American battleship was undergoing a test of a wholly different nature, but equally severe. It was decided before the outbreak of the war to transfer the battleship *Oregon*, called by the sailors "the bull-dog of the navy," from her station on the Pacific coast, where, indeed, she had been built, to Cuban waters. In a sense this tremendous voyage of more than 14,000 miles was a crowning test of the modern armored battleship. Indeed, save inadequately in the few unequal battles of the Chino-Japanese war, the ships of the new navies of the world had as yet not been thoroughly tried out. The terrible disaster that had deprived the British navy of the *Victoria*, one of its most magnificent armor-clads, had caused grave doubts as to their efficiency when the real stress came. As the problems of the present struggle were primarily naval, it was anticipated that the modern ship of war would be subjected to the ordeal that would establish or set aside the principles upon

which it was constructed. The naval expert of the time of Nelson, or of Ericsson even, could not have conceived, even in his wildest dreams, the battleship in its final state of evolution. Indeed it can hardly be called a ship at all, but a floating fortress, an aggregate of machinery, the most massive and the most delicate, to control which requires unusual skill and special knowledge. The lore of shrouds and knots has given place to that of range-finders, torpedo-tubes, dynamos, and all of the complicated electrical and other appliances that enter in the make-up of a modern ship of war.

When the orders came to make ready for its voyage, the *Oregon* was stationed at Bremerton, Washington. Its commander, Captain B. J. McCormick, was informed on March 7 that relations between the United States and Spain were fast assuming a critical aspect, in view of which fact he should go to San Francisco, and there lay in supplies and ammunition. When that point was reached, Captain McCormick, for reason of physical disabilities, was superseded by Captain C. E. Clark, who was ordered to proceed to Callao, Peru, the first stage of the *Oregon's* long voyage around the continent of South America. Here the gunboat *Marietta*, which had been stationed at Panama, having laid in a supply of fuel for the *Oregon*, left for Valparaiso, Chile, March 31, from which point she departed for Punta Arenas (Sandy Point), Patagonia, where more supplies were to be pro-

there is every reason for believing that he thought he was taking the course of wisdom. He made the mistake of assuming that the Spaniards would do the logical and advisable thing and enter the harbor of Cienfuegos. His misconception can be justified. His ability and bravery certainly are not open to attack.

cured by her commander. The *Oregon* reached Callao April 4, remaining there until April 7 coaling and completing work on boilers and engines. She then set forth for the Straits of Magellan, where the *Marietta* was to join her, the two vessels to journey together from that point. After coaling here, on April 21, the prows of the *Oregon* and the *Marietta* were turned northward on the voyage home. The miles to come were doubly arduous to officers and men, for at Rio de Janeiro they learned that war had been declared. The Spanish torpedo-boat, *Temerario*, was also known to be in the neighborhood of Rio, so precautions were taken to guard against a secret attack on the part of the same. At that place, also, the vessels were joined by the cruiser *Nietheroy* (later the *Buffalo*), which had been purchased from the Brazilian government. They were warned, in the messages from Washington, of the danger to be anticipated from the Cape Verde fleet, the *Oregon* being ordered to continue its journey without the *Marietta* and *Nietheroy* if delayed by the same.*

A short test of his men at target-shooting with the big guns convinced Captain Clark that even should it be necessary to pit them against the entire Spanish fleet, he could give almost as good as received. His faith in the

Oregon is expressed in the message forwarded from Bahia: "Could steam fourteen knots for hours, and in a running fight beat off and cripple the Spanish fleet." Under rather than over-estimated was the report of the *Oregon's* possibilities as given by her commander, for, according to the ship's log of the run, she averaged 15 knots per hour for 155 knots—1.5 knots per hour more than he calculated.

Off Cape Frio, the *Marietta* and the *Nietheroy*, the latter partially disabled, were left behind, and now the flying battleship set forth to make no stop until the enemy was passed or met. During the period that followed the last reports from the *Oregon* at Bahia until the news came of the anchoring at Bridgetown, Barbados, the nation held its breath, expecting every day to receive a message of disaster from the lone vessel. On May 24 she joined the fleet at Jupiter Inlet, Florida, and at last, on July 3, she met Cervera's fleet, playing a leading part in its doom.*

* "*Oregon*, Bahia, Brazil: Proceed at once to West Indies without further stop (in) Brazil. No authentic news from Spanish fleet. Avoid (same) if possible. We believe that you will defeat it if met. Long." (May 9, 1898.)

* "The total distance traveled by the *Oregon* during this record-breaking trip was 13,792 miles, at an average speed of 11.2 knots per hour. During the entire journey, the engines were never once slowed or stopped for repairs. The voyage occupied sixty-eight days, of which fifty-eight days, or parts of days, were spent at sea. Such repairs as were necessary were made by the ship's force. No body of men could have worked more earnestly under adverse circumstances than did the *Oregon's* crew. Comfort was out of the question during the trip, but not a murmur was heard. Such patriotism speaks for itself. Later on, the crew showed its capacity for fighting as well as for work."—Lieut. W. H. Allen in *The American-Spanish War*, p. 175.

CHAPTER VI.

1898.

HOBSON AND THE MERRIMACK.

Admiral Sampson proceeds to Santiago — Plans for closing channel — Lieutenant Hobson works out the details — Arrival at Santiago — Call for volunteers — Crew selected — Making preparations — First effort abandoned — The *Merrimack* sunk off Smith Cay — The plans miscarry — Channel still open — Capture of Hobson and his men — Imprisonment during bombardment — Progress of the blockade — The *Vesuvius*.

As soon as Secretary Long was assured that Cervera had found refuge within Santiago harbor, Admiral Sampson received permission to proceed to that place, reaching there June 1, with the *New York*, the *Oregon*, the converted yacht *Mayflower*, and the torpedo-boat *Porter* under his command. During the course of the voyage he held a consultation with Commodore Watson and Captains Folger and Converse with respect to a plan for blocking the narrow channel of Santiago Bay, should Cervera prove to be within. The colliers *Sterling* and the *Merrimack* were suggested as possible sacrifices to the scheme, the *Merrimack* being selected on account of its unseaworthy behavior during Schley's activities around Cienfuegos. The day before arrival at Santiago, Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson, assistant naval constructor, was called to the flag-ship to offer suggestions as to the best method for sinking the *Merrimack*. As a result of these consultations, the details of the plan were carefully

worked out, and so much was Admiral Sampson impressed by the qualifications of Lieutenant Hobson that he gladly placed him in command of the hazardous undertaking. The method determined upon was to hang ten improvised torpedoes along the bottom of the vessel, exploding them simultaneously by the means of electric batteries. Two methods of obtaining entrance into the channel were proposed: one to feign a chase by the American warships; the other to endeavor to slip in under cover of darkness. The former was rejected on account of the difficulty of navigating the narrow and crooked passage.

The whole scheme was thoroughly worked out by the time the *New York* arrived off Santiago, and immediately afterwards the *Merrimack* was examined and a careful reconnoissance made of the shores and defences by Lieutenant Hobson. Preparations were then made for stripping the collier and for making the torpedoes destined to sink the craft. Volunteers were also called for, and the

experience at Cienfuegos was repeated. It seemed as if every man in the fleet wished to join in the desperate adventure. A careful selection was made, the men from the *Merrimack* being preferred because of their familiarity with the ship. The following were the ones selected for the attempt: Osborn Deignan, George F. Phillips, and John Kelly of the *Merrimack*; George Charette and Randolph Clausen of the *New York*; Daniel Montague of the *Brooklyn*; and J. C. Murphy of the *Iowa*. Captain Miller, commander of the *Merrimack*, entered a vigorous protest against being thus deprived of his command and ship, but was persuaded by Admiral Sampson to give place to Mr. Hobson under the circumstances.*

For two days the men of the fleet worked desperately to get the *Merrimack* in condition for the attempt. She was stripped of everything possible; the torpedoes, which had been made in the meanwhile, were rigged to the bottom by cables, an anchor provided at the stern, and the electric batteries arranged for the firing of the charges. Lieutenant Hobson had requested to be allowed to carry some of the war-heads to the regulation

service torpedoes, but this was denied by Sampson because of their danger to the crew.

At last all was ready. The men had removed all their garments that might interfere with their actions on the vessel or in swimming when overboard. The arduous labors of the preceding days had almost exhausted the men, but the plan to make the attempt on the morning of June 2 was adhered to, and the start was accordingly made just before daybreak. Orders to return, however, came from the flag-ship; Admiral Sampson having decided as the result of his final inspection of the *Merrimack* that the incompleteness of the preparations and the condition of the men warranted a delay. The young officer and his men were intensely disappointed, and obeyed the command with reluctance; yet in the end it was clear that the recall was wise. One of the men, Mullen, was found to be thoroughly prostrated by the strain, rendering it necessary to substitute Murphy, a coxswain of the *Iowa*, in his place during the following day. An additional man, Clausen, was also taken on board; not as a stowaway, as has been freely reported, but by permission of Hobson.

At 3:30 the next morning, the *Merrimack* again got under way towards the narrow pass. Accompanying her was the launch of the *New York*, under command of Ensign Powell, to whom had been assigned the dangerous task of standing by the entrance

* "I must add that Commander J. M. Miller relinquished his command with the very greatest reluctance, believing that he should retain his command under all circumstances. He was, however, finally convinced that the attempt of another person to carry out the multitude of details which had been in preparation by Mr. Hobson might endanger its proper execution."—*Report of Admiral Sampson*, June 3, 1898.

to the harbor to await the result of the sortie in order to pick up those who might escape from the doomed vessel.

In the light of a moon half-obscured by mist, the *Merrimack* steamed slowly towards Morro Castle, which was soon towering above the collier and its daring crew. All was silent in the Spanish fortresses, but just as the narrow cleft in the hills was reached Lieutenant Hobson became assured that his vessel had been perceived, so the command "Full speed ahead!" was given, and the great craft shot forward into the very midst of a waiting foe. When within a hundred yards or more of Morro a shot rang out from a picket-boat concealed in the shadow of the bluffs. This was followed by other shots, the majority of which appeared to be directed against the steering-gear of the *Merrimack*. Soon the batteries opened up, and as the ship gained the entrance to the channel the water was churned by the rain of projectiles. Although struck numberless times, the vessel continued to answer to its helm, and the orders transmitted to the engineers in the hold were responded to as accurately as if the men were wholly unconscious of their peril. As soon as the position opposite Estrella Point at which it was planned to sink the *Merrimack* was gained, the command to put the helm hard aport was given, but to the dismay of all she did not swing athwart the channel as was anticipated. This

was but the beginning of failures. In endeavoring to fire the torpedoes, also, it was found that some of the batteries had been destroyed by the enemy's fire, and therefore the charges could not be ignited. In the darkness and wild tumult, Lieutenant Hobson noted that the ship was apparently motionless just off Estrella Point, from whence came a perfect torrent of projectiles. After all, perhaps they were going to succeed! He thought that the anchor provided at the stern had been cut loose, and was holding.* His hopes lasted but a moment, as the vessel had merely grounded, and the tide soon swung the ship off the rocks and swept her out of the narrows into the wider channel opposite Smith Cay. Here the slowly sinking ship became the center of a perfect hell of flames and explosions. The men on board lay flat on the deck, and by some miraculous means none were seriously injured. What Hobson and his own men could not do by means of their own torpedoes, the Spaniards did with theirs, for they launched several from the *Mercedes* and the *Pluton* which gave the *coup de grace*, sinking the *Merrimack* just off Socapa Point.

During the whole experience the men showed the utmost bravery, obeying orders without a murmur and without hesitation. As the vessel trembled to its final plunge, all gathered around the life raft, to which

* This, however, was not the case, as the whole stern with anchor-rigging had been torn away by a large projectile.

they clung, buffeted by the whirling vortex produced by the sinking ship. Only two of the men were wounded to any extent, although all were much bruised by contact with floating objects from the decks of the *Merrimack*. They were not discovered by the launches from the Spanish fleet, and remained in the freezing water until daybreak, when they were picked up by a launch that contained, as they soon learned, Admiral Cervera himself. He congratulated them on their bravery, and offered to report their capture and safety to the American fleet under flag of truce.

The prisoners were first immured in Morro Castle, which experienced, while they were there, a bombardment by the blockading fleet (June 6). Lieutenant Hobson thought that the placing of his men and himself in this position of great danger but another example of Spanish ideas of honorable warfare. Whether this was true or not, they were transferred June 7 to Santiago, where they were treated as kindly as conditions would permit. In Mr. Hobson's account of his experiences are grateful and enthusiastic references to Admiral Cervera, Captains Acosta and Bustamente, Lieutenant Müller y Tejeiro, the English Consul, Ramsden, and others.* They remained as prisoners in Santiago until July 6, when they were exchanged and made a triumphant return to the American lines.

The sinking of the *Merrimack* may

* Hobson. *Sinking of the Merrimack in Century Magazine*, vol. lvii., (1898-99).

well be classed among the heroic deeds of America, or, in fact, of all history. Though unsuccessful, and, as events proved, perhaps fortunately so, nevertheless the bravery of the men who took part in the enterprise cannot be minimized. The chances against their coming through with their lives were immeasurably great, and every man on board the vessel was well aware of the fact when he volunteered. Their escape, indeed, was nearly miraculous, and has been cited by unsympathetic commentators as merely another example of Yankee luck. Yet, as has been seen, luck was allowed to enter into the plans as little as possible. The preparations for the enterprise were hastily but none the less carefully made, and though Cervera's fleet was not "bottled up," the moral effect of the feat was electric, and contributed powerfully towards the discouragement of the Spanish forces at Santiago.

In the meanwhile the blockade continued steadily. The semicircle of mighty ships, spread out fan-like on the horizon during the day, closing up to the distance of three or four miles during the night, held the Spanish ships securely as birds in a net. Day and night hundreds of keen eyes were turned on the narrow pass, which was illuminated at night by the rays of powerful search-lights. The tedium of four weeks of watchful inactivity in torrid seas proved a terrible strain on the men of the fleet, and stories are told of guns fired at imaginary torpedo-boats, at caverns on the rocky

coast, or the smoke from a distant train. The Spanish situation, too, was becoming more and more distressing; beleagured, after June 14, both by land and sea, the authorities saw at last the fatal error of permitting the fleet to remain in Santiago. Imperative orders came to Cervera from Madrid to leave for Cienfuegos, Havana, the Philippines, or anywhere, the Ministry little dreaming that he was as anxious as they for a solution to his problems. He saw clearly, however, one thing to which they were blind—that his fleet was doomed.

On June 6 the American ships bombarded Morro Castle and the near-by fortifications. It was during this attack that a new and terrific engine of war was first brought into play. This was the cruiser *Vesuvius*, carrying guns arranged to fire dynamite projectiles by the means of compressed air. While this vessel failed to be as efficient as its designers hoped, yet the effect of its enormous shells filled the

Spanish army with dismay.* The guns when fired were almost noiseless, hence it was not until the mass of steel and nitro-glycerine forming the projectiles exploded with their impact that the presence of the *Vesuvius* was revealed. Where they struck great caverns were torn in the bluffs, and everything within fifty yards was ground to dust. The *Vesuvius*, however, had one crowning defect; its guns could not be aimed with any accuracy, hence the destination of its shells was more or less a matter of chance. But chance is an element that must be mercilessly eliminated from modern warfare, so the *Vesuvius* was the first and last of its kind.

* "One of the projectiles which fell on the northern slope of the Socapa, tore up trees right and left for a distance of about 20 meters. From a certain distance, as I could see the day I went to the *Mercedes*, it looked as though a road had been opened across the mountain."—Muller y Pereira, *Battles and Capitulation of Santiago de Cuba*. (In *Notes on the Spanish-American War*. Pub. by Navy Dept. U. S. Govt. Printing Office.)

CHAPTER VII.

1898.

LANDING THE ARMY AND THE AFFAIR AT LAS GUASIMAS.

The marines at Guantanamo—Congestion at Key West—The embarkation—Transports detained—The landing at Daiquiri—The advance towards Santiago—The fight at Las Guasimas—The Rough Riders.

For more than two months the army had been waiting for its chance to strike against the enemy, and to the men interminably marched and countermarched at the training camps it seemed as if the opportunity would never come. The camps were but temporary arrangements at the best,

and had all the evils attendant upon the crowding of large numbers of men within limited space. The food was not seldom of a bad quality, often delayed in transit, and even when obtained was poorly prepared. In no case were the sanitary conditions perfect, and in many they were discreditable. This was due in part to the haste of preparation, in part to the fact that numbers of the medical officers had absolutely no experience in camp sanitation, and in part to the ignorance and negligence of the volunteers, who often refused to take the hygienic precautions enjoined upon them. "Officers and men in these camps were rife for war, and drill, parades, practice marches, and military camp duties occupied the whole of their time and energies. Considerations of domestic economy and sanitation in the companies and regiments were not given proper attention, and men who were being taught to meet the enemy in battle succumbed to the hardships and insanitary conditions of life in their camps of instruction."* Typhoid, malaria, and other endemic diseases were prevalent in the camps at all times, but soon the horrors were intensified by the outbreak of yellow fever in the Mississippi camps. In view of these facts it is therefore not surprising that up to September 30, 1898, the records of the Surgeon-General show that only 345 men had lost their lives from wounds, and 2,485 from disease. That a good share of

these deaths by disease could have been prevented, there is not the faintest shadow of doubt.

It was therefore with a sense of profound relief that the army learned of a general movement against Santiago. That Cervera was there was a certainty at last, for Lieutenant Victor Blue of the *Suwanee*, as the result of a daring journey into the Spanish lines, reported June 13 that he had gained an unobstructed view of Santiago Bay and the warships within. This, however, was but the verification of a theory that the administration had been acting upon since June 1. The entire Fifth Army Corps, under command of Major-General W. R. Shafter, had embarked for Cuba as early as June 8, but the transports were hardly under way before they were halted, upon the false rumor that Spanish cruisers had been seen in Nicholas Channel. The transports were turned back to Tampa, and for six days lay off the wharves, filled with fretting and uncomfortable men. At last, however, it was learned that the menacing Spanish fleet had been composed of American ships of war, so on June 14, the fleet again got under way, this time to proceed without interruption to the Cuban coast. This delay was doubtless justified under the circumstances, but would have been needless had the transports been adequately convoyed by battleships. The mistake, however, had been made beyond recall, and there was no remedy.

The question of a landing-place for

* Report of Surgeon-General Sternberg, October 17, 1898.

the troops had been under consideration from the beginning of the campaign, and the harbor of Guantanamo was selected, as it was the only large bay near Santiago, and in addition was known to be poorly defended. The difficult and perilous task of obtaining a foothold here was assigned to the First Marine Battalion Volunteers of New York (636 men), under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Huntington. The landing-place decided upon was the village of Caimanera, about 40 miles east of Santiago. The transport *Panther*, which carried the marines, was convoyed by the gunboats *Marblehead* and *Yankee*, whose guns drove the Spanish vessels into the inner harbor before the landing was made, which was then accomplished without opposition. Delighted with their relief from the crowded quarters of the transport, the marines were comfortably enjoying themselves, when, just before nightfall, came the information that a body of Spanish soldiers was advancing to attack their position. This was the beginning of intermittent skirmishes that lasted from the day of the landing (June 10) until June 14. The men were forced to strike their tents, which proved too good a target for the sharpshooters, and to dig trenches, in which they lay firing at such of the enemy as they could discover in the jungle about them. During the second day of fighting they were reinforced by some Cuban scouts, and with their assistance finally drove the Spanish back to their defences at

Caimanera. With the destruction of the fortifications by the gunboats on June 17, the position of the marines was assured, and was occupied by them until the surrender of Santiago.

According to his own figures General Shafter had under his command 815 officers and 16,072 men,* thirty-two transports being necessary to convey the same. It was originally planned to take 10,000 additional men, but transportation could not be provided.

From General Shafter's account of the expedition the following excerpts are taken: "The passage to Santiago was generally smooth and uneventful. The health of the command remained remarkably good, notwithstanding the fact that the conveniences on many of the transports, in the nature of sleeping and closet accommodations, space for exercise, etc., were not all that could have been desired.

"While passing along the north coast of Cuba one of the two barges we had in tow broke away during the night and was not recovered. The loss proved to be very serious, for it delayed and embarrassed the disem-

* First division (Brigadier-General Kent): 6th Infantry; 16th Infantry; 7th N. Y. Volunteers; 2d Infantry; 10th Infantry; 21st Infantry; 9th Infantry; 13th Infantry; 24th Infantry; Second division (Brigadier-General Lawton): 8th Infantry; 22d Infantry; 2d Mass. Volunteers; 1st Infantry; 4th Infantry; 25th Infantry; 7th Infantry; 12th Infantry; 17th Infantry. Cavalry division (Major-General Wheeler): 3d Cavalry; 6th Cavalry; 9th Cavalry; 1st Cavalry; 10th Cavalry; 1st Volunteer Cavalry (Rough Riders). Independent brigade (Brigadier-General Bates): 3d Infantry; 20th Infantry; 2d Cavalry (1 squadron).

barkation of the army. On the morning of June the 20th we arrived off Guantanamo Bay and about noon reached the vicinity of Santiago, where Admiral Sampson came on board the headquarters transport. It was arranged between us to visit in the afternoon the Cuban General, Garcia, at Aserraderos, about eighteen miles west of the Morro. During the interview General Garcia offered the services of his troops, comprising about 4,000 men in the vicinity of Aserraderos, and about 500 under General Castillo at the little town of Cujababo, a few miles east of Daiquiri. I accepted this offer, telling him, however, that although no military control could be exercised over him except such as he would concede, yet as long as he served under me I would furnish his command rations and ammunition.

“From the time the orders were received every effort possible was made to become familiar with the surroundings of Santiago, both as to the terrain and climatic conditions with which we should have to contend. The description given in the ‘Journal of the Siege of Havana’ of the experience of the English army during their siege of Havana in 1762 was re-read. Valuable information was also obtained from two natives of Cuba, who were on the *Seguranca* with me, one of them a civil engineer who had assisted in making surveys in the vicinity of Santiago. From General Garcia also additional information was received which was of

great value in planning the attack on Santiago. * * *.

“* * * With the assistance of the small boats of the navy, the disembarkation was to commence on the morning of the twenty-second at Daiquiri. On the twenty-first, 500 insurgent troops were to be transferred from Aserraderos to Cujababo, increasing the force already there to 1,000 men. This force under General Castillo was to attack the Spanish force at Daiquiri in the rear at the time of disembarkation. (This movement was successfully made.) To mislead the enemy as to the real point of our intended landing, I requested General Garcia to send a small force, about 500 men, under General Rabi, to attack the little town of Cabanas, situated on the coast a few miles to the west of the entrance to Santiago harbor, and where it was reported that the enemy had several hundred men intrenched and from which a trail leads around the west side of the bay to Santiago. Admiral Sampson was requested to send several of his warships, with a number of the transports, opposite this town, Aserraderos, for the purpose of making a show of disembarking there. In addition the Admiral was asked to cause a bombardment to be made at Cabanas, upon the forts around the Morro, and also at the towns of Aguadores, Siboney and Daiquiri. The troops under General Garcia, remaining at Aserraderos, were to be transferred to Daiquiri or Siboney on the twenty-fourth. This

was successfully accomplished at Siboney.

"The approach to Santiago and the attack upon it was to be made from the east over a narrow road, in some places not better than a trail, running from Daiquiri through Siboney and Sevilla toward Santiago. This seemed the only feasible plan.

"On the morning of the twenty-second the army commenced to disembark at Daiquiri."

The above plans were carried out with more or less success. If the Spaniards had fired upon the Americans from above as they neared the landing in the small launches, they would have had the American troops at a great disadvantage, but no such thing was done, the troops landing with no molestation beyond a few scattered shots. Four days after the arrival, the troops were all safely on shore, and nothing remained but the slow and tedious work of unloading the supply-ships. This was much retarded by the loss of the tug and lighters referred to in Shafter's account of the voyage.

Daiquiri (Baiquiri) had been selected as the landing place instead of Guantanamo. It was not only near Santiago, but also the center of operations for the Cuban army, whose assistance was relied upon to keep the Spanish forces in check during disembarkation. General Lawton's division was the first to land, and to the surprise of all no resistance was experienced at Daiquiri, the enemy vanishing in the hills and thick growth

of chaparral as the Americans advanced against them. Demajayabo and Juragua were occupied, the Spanish endeavoring to burn the latter as they retreated. Juragua was used as temporary headquarters by General Lawton. Falling back in front of Lawton, the enemy finally made a stand at Siboney, but this was also taken by him without difficulty. The capture of this point gave Shafter a landing-place as good as that at Daiquiri, and eight miles nearer Santiago. The rest of the army was accordingly disembarked at that place.

The first collision of importance occurred at the plantation of Las Guasimas, near Sevilla, where the Spanish forces had a strongly entrenched position. General Young's brigade during the night of June 23 had advanced beyond Lawton's position, after an arduous march through a tropical tangle. "Gen. Young's force consisted of one squadron of the 1st Cavalry, one of the 10th Cavalry, two of the 1st U. S. Volunteer Cavalry, in all 964 officers and men." (Shafter, Report to Adjutant-General.) The 1st U. S. Volunteer Cavalry was a unique organization, the conception of Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who resigned from that important position in order to become lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. This had been raised in 50 days, and was composed of young men from every section of the country. Many of its troopers were ranchmen

and cowboys, whence came its nickname, the Rough Riders, but with them, mingling on a basis of social equality, were scions of ancient families, sons of multi-millionaires, football heroes; in fact, a most astonishing conglomeration, who had only two elements in common: patriotism and a thirst for adventure. Leonard Wood, to whom the command of this regiment was given, had been a surgeon in the regular army, and gained a medal of honor for bravery in Apache wars, having contributed largely to the capture of Geronimo.

These were the men ordered to lead the advance towards Las Guasimas at daybreak. Both Wheeler and Young knew that the point towards which their forces were moving would probably be strongly defended, as it was in a sense the key to the valley that extended to Santiago. Therefore, guided by Cuban scouts, the brigade was formed into columns and began its advance along rough mountain trails. The column under General Young discovered the enemy first, and, after waiting for the Rough Riders to arrive, the attack was begun by the field guns. The reply that was received, however, was disconcerting; it was clear that the force defending the block-house and entrenchments was far stronger than was anticipated. So furious was the volleying that it was necessary for the men at the guns to get under cover for a while. General Wheeler, too, thought it wise to send a request for reinforcements; which, however, did not come until

after the Spanish had been driven from their positions. Both regulars and volunteers charged up the steep sides of the hills, undisturbed by the torrent of Mauser bullets that was tearing the bushes to shreds on all sides. The Rough Riders, indeed, covered themselves with especial glory. Both officers and men were filled with the frenzy of battle and rushed on, ignoring both the obstacles of nature and the bullets. At the first volley, Captain Capron, who was leading the advance guard, was killed, but his men did not hesitate, only continuing the charge with additional grimness of purpose. "They kept pushing forward as though they were going to take us with their hands," said a Spanish soldier after the battle. Those that were not fighting were dead, it seemed, for men seriously wounded were seen to prop themselves against tree-trunks and coolly continue to load and fire.

The battle of Las Guasimas has been cited as nothing more than a skirmish, but in its results it had a very great influence upon the development of the campaign. In the first place the moral effect of a victory, gained by less than a thousand men against a strongly entrenched force of nearly three thousand, was alone a distinct advantage to the invading forces. The army had received its first test, and had come through the ordeal gloriously. From that time on the American soldier knew that he was going to win; the Spanish soldier was afraid that he wouldn't, and an attitude of mind

is important in critical situations. Again, by falling back from Las Guasimas, the Spanish army lost an important strategical point, and by so doing, made it easy for the American forces to advance without serious opposition almost to the inner defenses of Santiago. Had Las Guasimas and

Sevilla been held, the siege of Santiago would have been protracted; Cervera's squadron would, it may be, have remained longer in the harbor, and the tropical summer would have claimed a toll of strong men far more terrible than the one the records already show.

CHAPTER VIII.

1898.

EL CANEY AND SAN JUAN.

The situation at Santiago—The movements of the army after Las Guasimas—The attack on Aguadores—The advance against San Juan and El Caney—The battles of El Caney and San Juan.

The moment Cervera's fleet found sanctuary within the harbor of Santiago the whole plan of the war as proposed by the administration underwent a transformation. At one stroke, the scene of activities was transferred from Havana to Santiago, resulting in the creation of entirely new strategical problems. If Havana had remained the center of operations, the result would have been a long and arduous siege directed against a place defended by strong fortifications and occupied by an army of approximately 60,000 men; with a far-lengthened death roll from wounds and disease, and all the horrors attendant upon the siege of a great city. With Cervera at Santiago, however, the problems of the war became greatly simplified. Both land and sea operations were directed towards one point: the destruction of

the Spanish fleet. The theory was entertained that its elimination would mean the end of the war, which proved to be correct in the end. The establishment of American naval supremacy meant the isolation of the entire army of Spain in Cuba, rendering the situation of a force that numbered 200,000 men wholly untenable.*

The disorderly retreat of the Spanish before the army at Las Guasimas gave the American soldiers an erro-

* Spanish forces in Cuba: Infantry, 127,649; marines, 3,030; cavalry, 8,535; artillery, 5,619; engineers, 5,460; civil guard, 5,009; irregular infantry, 29,131; volunteers and guerillas, 12,387; total, 189,526. Spanish forces in the Province of Santiago de Cuba: City of Santiago, 9,430; Guantanamo, 6,082; Baracoa, 732; Sagua de Tanamo, 720; Holguin, 8,364; Manzanillo, 8,668; total, 33,996. These figures, however, are extremely conservative, as the United States Evacuation Commission estimates that there were 220,000 Spanish regulars and volunteers under arms in Cuba; while the *Anuario de Espana* for 1898 places the total at 278,457.

neous idea of the enemy's fighting abilities. They thought that all they would have to do would be to advance boldly, and the foe would flee before them. The Spanish, however, while displaying a feline tendency to take flight in the open, when cornered and entrenched could fight with a tenacity and ferocity equally cat-like. The officers who planned to storm and capture El Caney before breakfast, take San Juan in passing, and eat luncheon in Santiago, were destined to a surprise, and ran upon sheathed claws they little dreamed of. In the first place El Caney, the first position to be attacked was far better fortified and defended than was anticipated, and as orders had been given to envelop the city with the whole army, it was impossible to send reinforcements in sufficient quantity to carry the point quickly. Indeed, the extension of a force of less than 16,000 over a territory of 20 miles or more was a serious error, resulting in the necessity of fighting two battles at the same time (El Caney and San Juan) and in a division of the army that might have been fatal. Had the Spanish been possessed of the daring and the initiative of the American the story of Santiago would have been something quite different.*

The Spanish, after being driven from their position at Guasimas, slowly retreated towards Santiago, leaving the village of Sevilla unguarded. This was occupied by Gen-

eral Wheeler's cavalry the day after the battle (June 24), the whole army (to which was added Garcia's Cûbans) being concentrated at this point by July 1. Here activities were suspended for a while (from June 24-29) in order to give the men a breathing spell, and to complete the landing of supplies and guns. The rest was purely theoretical, however, for the men were undergoing experiences nearly as distressing as that of actual fighting. Many were toiling to get the field guns from the landing-places, and all were subject to the rigors of a tropical climate in its unkindest moods. The rainy season was beginning to set in with all of its horrors. To the unacclimated soldiers, the sudden changes from icy showers to periods of prostrating heat were something almost beyond endurance, and soon the effects of the tropical fevers were shown in the decreased efficiency of the army. The men shivered from cold during the rains, and from fever during the heat, in many cases without the relief of medicines, as many of the regimental medicine-chests had been left on the transports.* While their clothes were dry-

* See Sargent, *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba*, vol. ii., pp. 134-166.

* "At the disembarkation, I supposed that each regimental surgeon would take his medical chest in the boat with him; a few did, but the majority left them behind, and there was considerable trouble to get them ashore and to their owners. I directed that the first three wagons set up should be devoted to carrying these medicine-chests of the regiments to the front. The chief surgeon reported to me that at no time did he have a full supply of medicines as he required, and on four separate occasions he reported that the medicines were virtually exhausted." — Shafter, *The Capture of Santiago de Cuba*, in *Century Magazine* (February, 1899).

ing, they hovered over the half-extinguished camp-fires, begging and borrowing quinine. Mingled with these distresses were the minor discomforts of the tenacious mud, the nauseating odors of decaying vegetation, tormenting insects and land crabs, and, intensifying all the other discomforts, the tedium of an enforced delay. Sickness was prevalent throughout the whole camp. General Wheeler for a while was too ill to perform his duties, and General Shafter's health, throughout the entire campaign, was so precarious that on several occasions it was thought that he would be forced to relinquish the command. But retire he would not, despite his dislike of a land beneath whose noon-day sun he dared not venture. "Taking food for the first time in four days," he cabled at one time to Washington, yet during that time he was giving orders and planning his campaign with characteristic caution. Throughout the correspondence of General Shafter runs the note of humanity.* To spare the over-taxed soldiers, to look to the safety of the aged, the women and children in besieged Santiago, all of this he urged, and more, on the authorities at Washington. To add to the difficulties of his position, Shafter was well aware of the imperative necessity for immediate action. Every

hour was precious, for a large reinforcement of Linares' army by General Pando was expected at any time. He counted upon the halting of this force by the Cubans, but as the days passed he grew more and more hopeless regarding the trustworthy nature of the native allies. Indeed, after the battles of El Caney and San Juan, Escario's little body of men found no difficulty in reaching Santiago.

The city of Santiago was guarded by a strong line of outer defenses, which followed a long ridge running from Aguadores, two miles east of the mouth of the harbor, to El Caney, a village four miles to the northeast of the city. Closer in to the city, and between these points was the hill of San Juan, strongly protected by a block-house and well-constructed trenches. This fortification was unquestionably the key to Santiago, and its capture forced Cervera's squadron from Santiago harbor. Under General Linares, at Santiago and its environs, were approximately 13,000 men, of which number fully a quarter were incapacitated by wounds or sickness. The situation within the doomed city was daily becoming more and more terrible. "Horses, dogs, and other animals were dying from hunger in the streets and public places, and the worst thing was that their carcasses were not removed. I saw a dog throw himself upon a smaller one and kill and devour him. * * * If there had been flour and bacon, the soldiers might not have become weakened and sick, and yet they fought as the Span-

* "In the latter days of the siege [Santiago] I was feeding 20,000 of our soldiers, 5,000 Cuban soldiers, and 15,000 to 18,000 refugees, issuing about 40,000 rations daily."—Shafter, *The Capture of Santiago de Cuba*, in *Century Magazine* (February, 1899).

ish soldier has always fought." (Müller y Tejeiro.) Black bread and rice, and none too much of that, was the fare of the beleaguered city, and that was rapidly dwindling to nothing. Water, too, was becoming scarce, as the American forces after El Caney controlled two of the three sources; the third being the wells within and about the city, which produced a very inadequate supply. To add to the miseries of the half-fed, despairing people, came stories of atrocities committed by American soldiers, invented by the Spanish, which had the effect of throwing the non-combatants into a state of absolute terror. General Linares, nevertheless, proposed to defend the city to the bitter end, and the work of constructing defenses continued day and night. Trenches were everywhere dug, barbed-wire and other obstructions put in place, guns transferred from the ships: in fact everything that could be done under such conditions. In the meanwhile the people trembled and hungered, the soldiers consumed what little food was left, and everybody talked of the coming of General Pando from Manzanillo with 10,000 men. Indeed, Shafter's delay of three days was used to the best advantage by the enemy, and many good men were mowed down in front of trenches dug even after Las Guasimas.

On the afternoon of June 30, the whole American army began to close in on Santiago; General Shafter, in the meanwhile, having left the transports and established his headquar-

ters at El Pozo, three miles towards the city of Sevilla. At this point were the commands of Generals Kent and Wheeler, numbering about 7,000 men, who were instructed to attack the fortifications at San Juan. General Lawton's division, which was stationed on the right, was ordered to proceed to El Caney, and after capturing that point to go to the assistance of Wheeler at San Juan. In order to deceive the enemy a feint was planned at Aguadores, in which the ships of war were to join. To Garcia and his followers was assigned the important work of scouting and preventing the arrival of Spanish reinforcements. Despite the tendency on the part of many critics to disparage the work of the Cubans, there is no doubt but that their aid was invaluable. What they did was of a nature impossible to the Americans, owing to their ignorance of roads and trails, and although the Cubans failed on several occasions, especially in not stopping Escario, and now and then showed astonishing abilities at disposing of rations, nevertheless it is only just that they be given credit for the things they did accomplish.*

Contemporaneously with the advance of the army against San Juan, as has been seen, General Shafter proposed to make, with the help of the navy, a feigned attack on the for-

* "All that Garcia said * * * as to his troops and the disposition of the Spanish proved to be correct, and his promises were kept to the extent of his ability."—Shafter, *The Capture of Santiago de Cuba*, in *Century Magazine* (February, 1899).

tifications at Aguadores, with the idea of encouraging a concentration of the enemy at or near that place, or at any rate to prevent the garrison from sending reinforcements to the inland lines of defence.* Accordingly, on the morning of July 1, General Duffield was ordered to proceed to that point, making use of the railway that paralleled the coast in transporting his troops. He had under his command three battalions of the 33d Michigan Volunteers† and a troop of Cubans. The soldiers were carried in freight cars until the Spanish lines were reached, after which they advanced against the enemy on foot. In the meanwhile, the *New York*, *Gloucester* and the *Suwanee* were actively bombarding the fortifications at a range of about 2,000 yards, the action commencing at 8 A. M. Splendid marksmanship was shown by the gunners, the shells from the *New York*, in particular, doing fearful damage to the fort. This bombardment continued with more or less regularity until 2:30 P. M., when it was discontinued, as the fortifications appeared to be completely demolished. The action on the part of the ships was little more than a target

practice, for there was no reply to their firing worthy of the name.

General Duffield had been ordered to worry the enemy, but to avoid endangering his own men. He did not attempt, therefore, to cross the San Juan River, which separated his position from that of the enemy. In the skirmishes between the two forces the volunteers behaved unusually well, driving their opponents from strong situations; suffering, however, a loss of two men, with 15 wounded.

In accordance with his orders, General Lawton moved with his division, which formed the right wing of the army, towards the heights occupied by the village of El Caney, a place made up largely of suburban residences of wealthy citizens of Santiago. These were occupied by the Spanish troops, as was a stone church, which was turned into a fort by being loop-holed. In addition, there were four block-houses, a stone fort, well-constructed trenches, well-nigh impassable obstructions of barbed wire; everything, in fact, that would tend to make a place naturally strong almost impregnable. No better proof of this fact is needed than the statement that at this place the entire American force of 5,000 men was held at bay for ten hours by a garrison of 520. The importance of this point to the Spaniards was due to the fact that it commanded the aqueduct and the road leading to Guantanamo, hence its loss would mean cutting off the water supply and the closing of

* This does not agree with the inference to be drawn from Shafter's first report: "General Duffield * * * attacked Aguadores as ordered, but was unable to accomplish more than to detain the Spaniards in that vicinity." All authorities seem to agree, however, that this was nothing more than a feint.

† This regiment had just arrived from the United States. See Shafter's report, September 13, 1898.

one of the routes by which aid could approach Santiago.

General Lawton's division was made up of three brigades: the First, under General Ludlow, consisting of the 8th Infantry, 22d Infantry, and the 2d Massachusetts Volunteers; the Second, under Colonel Miles, consisting of the 4th Infantry, 1st Infantry, and the 25th Infantry (colored); the Third, under General Chaffee, consisting of the 7th Infantry, 12th Infantry, and the 17th Infantry. In addition there was Capron's* battery (4 pieces), and 50 Cubans. At 1 p. m. Lawton was reinforced by General Bates' Independent Brigade, bringing his command up to 6,653 officers and men. Opposed to him were three companies of the Constitution regiment, and a company of guerillas, in all 520, commanded by General Vara de Rey. The Spanish had no artillery, and fought the whole battle with rifles.

The brigades were stationed as follows: Chaffee's to the right; Ludlow's to the left; and that of Miles in the center. Capron's battery was stationed on a hill a mile towards Pozo. The attack was commenced at 6:30 by the battery opening fire on the enemy's position. Twenty-seven rounds were fired without receiving a reply on the part of the Spanish. Under cover of the firing from the battery, Chaffee's men advanced along the Guantanamo road

towards the hill, crowned by the entrenchments, and opened fire. The reply that was received was so deadly that their advance was brought to a stop. The other brigades were having the same experience, and it was soon clear that only fighting of the most desperate kind would deliver this "little block-house," as General Shafter called it, into the hands of the attacking forces. Dropping therefore to the ground, and taking advantage of every bush and tree that could conceal them, the American soldiers gradually worked their way towards the crest of the hill. The grass was tall, and afforded an excellent screen, but the torrent of bullets mowed it as would a scythe, and in many places it fell upon silent forms never to arise. Stopped by barbed-wire fences that had to be cut in the open, and picked off by sharpshooters, who seemed to be in every tree, the boys who thought they would take El Caney before breakfast, and lunch in San Juan, were sadly disillusioned. The men who wormed their way so heroically up the slope of El Caney had far different conception of the prowess of the Spanish soldier by sundown of July 1.

For three endless hours the rifle contest continued, with its steady toll of death. The men toiling up towards the stone fort and the block-houses could neither tell whether there were hundreds or thousands against them; all they knew was that now and then came the sickening thud of a Mauser bullet striking human flesh. Moved by a kind of pride that cannot be justi-

* Father of Captain Capron, of the Rough Riders, killed at Guasimas.

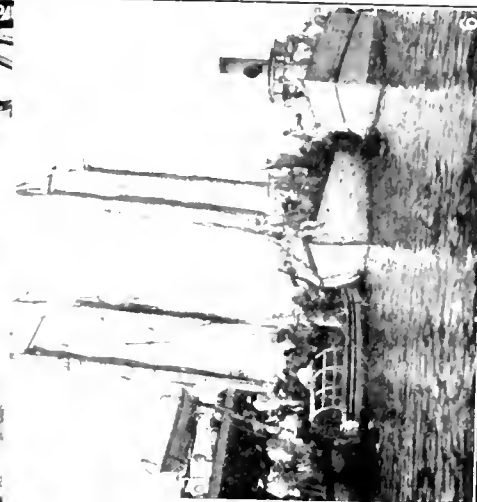
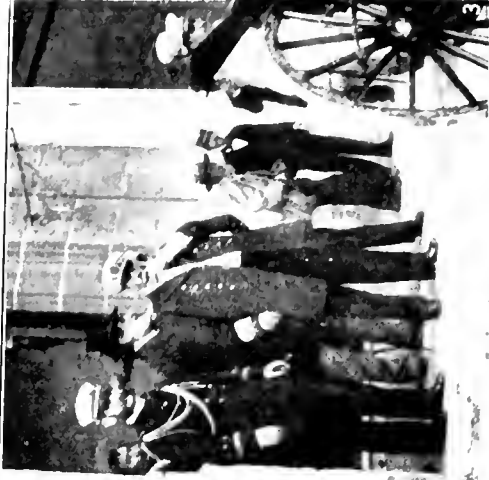
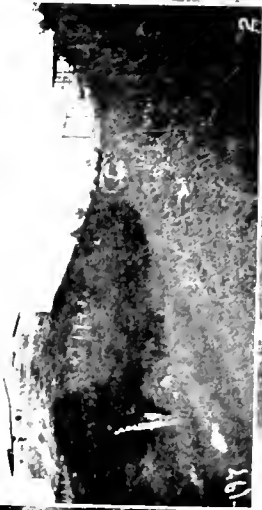
fied, many of the officers refused to lie down, thus offering themselves boldly to the sacrifice; a sufficient explanation of the fact that nearly ten per cent of those wounded and killed were officers. "I have never seen," said a staff-officer of General Vara de Rey, "anything to equal the courage and dash of those Americans, who, stripped to the waist, offered their naked breasts to our murderous fire, literally threw themselves on our trenches — on the very muzzles of our guns. We had the advantage of position, and mowed them down by the hundreds; but they never fell back an inch. As one man fell, shot through the heart, another would take his place, with grim determination and unflinching devotion to duty in every line of his face. Their gallantry was heroic." "The Americans," says Lieutenant Müller y Tejeiro, "it must be acknowledged, fought that day with truly admirable courage and spirit. * * * The first company having been decimated, another appeared, then a third, and still another, and those soldiers resembled moving statues * * * rather than men; but they met heroes." Truly the little band of five hundred that held back ten times its number for eight hours was heroic. Even when the brave General Vara de Rey was killed, they fought on until half of the garrison was killed or wounded, only about 100 men finally escaping to Santiago.

Many instances of personal bravery stand out in glowing colors against

this somber background of death. General Chaffee throughout the contest not only evidenced absolute lack of fear, but by his example brought forth all the courage in the raw and inexperienced men in his command. Time and again, cigar in mouth, he exposed himself to a withering fire, presenting just such a picture as that of Grant on some of the fields of battle during the Civil War. Not less heroic, however, were those unnamed men of the ranks who lay wounded for hours in the glare of a tropic sun, bleeding, fevered and thirsting, yet making no moan.

Distressed by the stubborn resistance at El Caney, and by the miscarriage of his plans that this produced, General Shafter sent the following order to Lawton: "Lawton: I would not bother with little blockhouses. They can't harm us. Bates' brigade and your division and Garcia should move on the city and form the right of the line going on Sevilla road. Line is now hotly engaged. Shafter."

The order, however, came too late for obedience. Already the effects of the battery fire were evident, and the men realizing that the fortifications were weakening in their defence, had made plans to charge the summit of the hill. Knowing that he could not stop the movement Lawton sent a line of apology to Shafter and the charge began. The word went down the ranks, and with a cheer, the men sprang forward up the slope. A volley of shots greeted their advance, but they went on, officers and



Nos. 2 and 4 by James Burton; Nos. 3 and 6 by courtesy of *Cullier's Weekly*.

1. THE FAMOUS GRIMES BATTERY IN ACTION BEFORE SANTIAGO.
2. THE BLOCKHOUSE AT EL CANEY.
3. MEMBERS OF THE SPANISH EVACUATION COMMISSION LEAVING LA TROCHA TO MEET AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS.
4. BLOCKHOUSE AT SAN JUAN HILL, SHOWING BARBED WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS.
5. THE SURRENDER TREE AT SANTIAGO.
6. LAST SPANISH SOLDIERS EMBARKING FOR SPAIN.

1000

privates intermingled, over obstructions, through tangles of barbed-wire, finally swarming into the very trenches and forts, finding there a city of the dead. Those of the garrison able to escape, about 100, fled to Santiago; 120 were captured; the remainder of the 520 were in the trenches, or on the floors of the block-houses — silent witnesses of the real glory and tenderness of war!

It was decided to make the main attack on the fortifications of San Juan heights only after mature consideration. To attack Santiago by the harbor entrance offered such insuperable difficulties that it was rejected in advance. The attempt to storm the abrupt steepes at this point, crowned as they were with the batteries of the Morro, Socapa, and Punta Gordo, would have meant a fearful loss of life and a very probable repulse. In addition, to carry the positions here would necessitate a division of the attacking forces — always a dangerous thing to do under any conditions. The proposal to attack on the west side of the city was also rejected, as it had nothing in its favor not possessed by the east, and furthermore was not accessible to any good landing places. The approaches on the east, however, though strongly defended by the fortifications at Aguadores, San Juan and El Caney, permitted operations over more or less feasible country, over which the army could act as a unit, and possessed fairly good roads connecting with available harbors. Of the forti-

fications in this region, those at San Juan heights were the most important, and the occupation of these by the American forces would menace the whole city.

The attack on El Caney was intended to be merely a part of the general movement against San Juan. The plan was to capture this in an hour or so, and then throw Lawton's men southward to the aid of Wheeler and Kent in the movement against San Juan heights. Captain Grimes' battery of light artillery had been stationed on a hill near El Pozo at dawn of July 1 with orders to begin firing on San Juan as soon as he heard the sound of Lawton's guns at El Caney. Accordingly at 8 the battery opened fire on the Spanish block-house just opposite its position, the distance being about 2,500 yards. An artillery duel soon followed, for the black powder used by the American guns revealed the position of the battery to the Spanish gunners. This duel lasted throughout the battle, ceasing at 2 p. m.

Under cover of this action by Grimes' guns, the two divisions of the army (Kent and Wheeler) were ordered to advance along the Pozo road towards the position of the enemy, after which they were to extend their men in a long line, in front of the fortifications. The attack on the same, however, was not to be made until reinforced by Lawton and Bates. Owing to the fact that very inadequate efforts had been made in determining the position of roads and

trails, only one road was apparently available in executing this preliminary maneuver. The difficulty of advancing 8,500 men over one route, a Cuban road in particular, became evident as soon as it was attempted. Wheeler's cavalry division, under command of General Sumner at the time, advanced from El Pozo at 7 A. M., but was halted a short distance from that point to await orders. Here it was detained for an hour, all the time under fire from the Spanish batteries. Instructions were then given to move to San Juan creek and hold the same in front of Little San Juan Hill. This was successfully carried out, but with considerable loss. "During the execution of this a balloon, under the command of Colonel Derby, came up the road, forcing open Wood's brigade and cutting it in two, thereby delaying the movement. The artillery fire of the enemy opened upon the balloon and continued for more than an hour, thereby subjecting part of my command massed and the rest moving by the flank to long shrapnel fire. Many officers and men were wounded here by exploding shells and small arms firing of the enemy. After completing the deployment the command was so much committed to battle that it became necessary either to advance or else retreat under fire."*

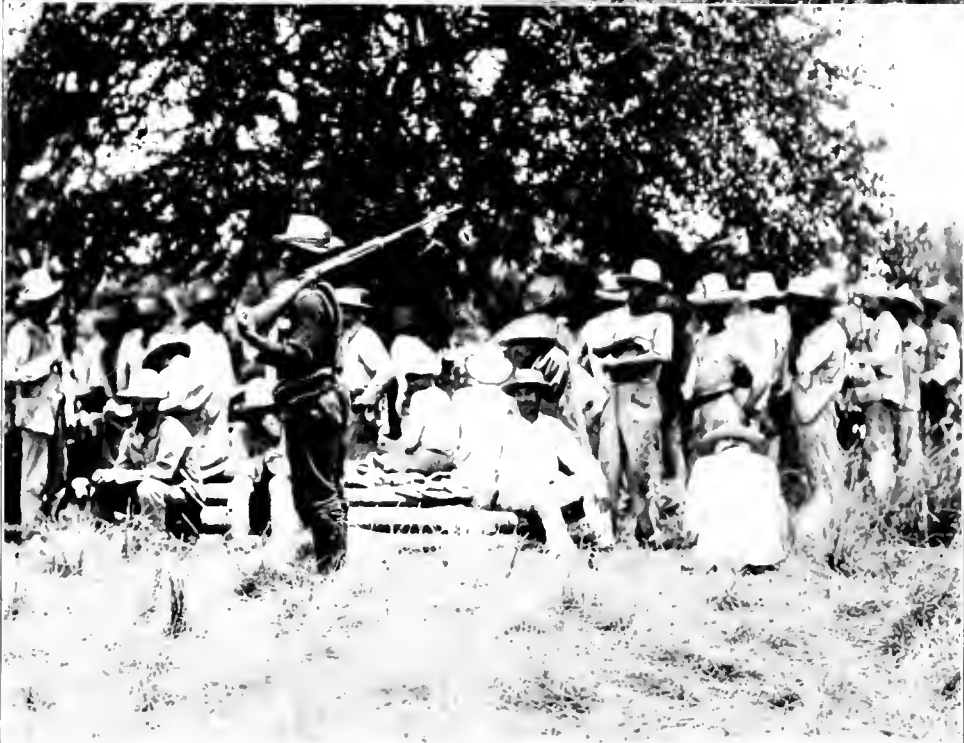
This balloon has given rise to severe criticism, and unquestionably its use in the neighborhood of masses of men was a grave error. While it may have

been instrumental in giving a clue to the positions of the enemy and in finding trails through which the forces could approach San Juan, the manner it was handled assuredly proved disastrous to the men who were preparing to advance against that point.

The difficulties, however, of the cavalry division were inconsiderable in comparison with those of the infantry. Delayed by the operations of the cavalry, it was well towards noon that General Kent's forces got well under way towards the front. The advance was held by Brigadier-General Hawkins, who proceeded by the main Pozo road with two regiments (6th and 16th Infantry), while the remainder of his command was ordered to advance over a trail discovered by the balloon corps. In the lead of this second detachment was the 71st N. Y. Volunteer regiment, a battalion of which, as soon as it emerged into the open, became subject to a galling fire from the Spanish trenches, and thoroughly disorganized, recoiled upon those in their rear. Kent says:

"At this critical moment, the officers of my staff formed a cordon behind the panic-stricken men and urged them again to go forward. I finally ordered them to lie down in the thicket and clear the way for others of their own regiment who were coming up behind. This many of them did, and the 2d and 3d battalions came forward in better order and moved along the road toward the ford. * * * The head of Wikoff's brigade reached the forks at 12.30 P. M. and hurried on the left, stepping over prostrate forms of men of the 71st. This heroic brigade, consisting of the 13th, 9th and 24th U. S. Infantry, speedily crossed the stream and were quickly deployed to the left of the lower ford. While personally superintending this movement Colonel Wikoff was killed, the command of the brigade then devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel Worth, 13th Infantry,

* Report of General S. S. Sumner.



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1. SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT GOING TO PROTECT A BATTERY THAT HAD BEEN SHELLLED OUT OF ITS POSITION ON THE RIDGE AT EL PAZO. FIVE MINUTES LATER THE REGIMENT WENT INTO ACTION. 2. SPANISH PRISONERS UNDER GUARD AT GENERAL SHAPTER'S HEADQUARTERS.



who immediately fell, severely wounded, and then upon Lieutenant-Colonel Liscum, 24th Infantry, who five minutes later, also fell under the withering fire of the enemy. The command of the brigade then devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel E. P. Ewers, 9th Infantry." *

In the meantime the other detachment of General Hawkins' brigade, under his immediate leadership, was meeting serious difficulties.

"It was impossible for officers or men to preserve anything like regular formation, and advance in lines of columns of fours was as impracticable as advance in regular line. The two regiments had to get through the chaparral in the quickest possible manner. Somehow the enemy had discovered or expected this approach, although we could see nothing of them. The enemy's fire was continuous and heavy, many officers and men being killed and wounded in this dense tropical undergrowth.

"It was hoped, as we could not reply to the fire, the enemy would at last conclude that there was no force in the undergrowth, but having an unlimited supply of ammunition, the enemy kept up their fire, and it was necessary to get through the chaparral or retreat.

"Officers set a gallant example to their men. It was while engaged in an attempt to show a way to bewildered troops that Lieutenant Dennis M. Michie, 17th Infantry, aid-de-camp on my personal staff, gallantly sacrificed his life. * * *.

"Lieut. J. G. Ord † * * * was also conspicuous in his efforts to encourage the men. Capt. W. E. Horton, adjutant-general of the brigade, assisted me greatly in getting some sort of order out of the confusion.

"Upon finally emerging from this dense growth we found ourselves in a wide field, with tall grass, knee-high, and instead of our being in a flanking position the ridge occupied by the enemy was found to be parallel to us. To remain where we were would have subjected us to great loss. The loss would also be great for us to return through the jungle.

"We had promised to take the position, and it was essential to do so. The advance was therefore sounded, and repeated from time to time to insure its being heard above the din of the

musketry.* It was made gallantly across the wide grass field. Then began the ascent of the very steep hill, without pausing to take breath. The very audacity of the assault seemed to demoralize the enemy, who did not wait for the bayonet to be used." †

This charge of General Hawkins and his men was one of the heroic incidents of the war. His account gives credit to all who took part in it, but he neglects to point out that he was the head of his men, encouraging them onward without a thought of his own safety. With miraculous good fortune he escaped injury at this time, not to be so fortunate later on, as he received a severe wound in his foot. The figure of this grizzled hero leading his straggling band of soldiers, mostly young men and inexperienced in wars, waving his hat and calling on his buglers to blow, makes a picture that will not soon be forgotten.

After the movement to the line of battle preparatory to the attack on the Spanish entrenchments, the forces were obliged to cease their advance under conditions desperate and at some points untenable. A portion of Hawkins' brigade was forced to retire to avoid being annihilated, and at various places along the widely extended line the troops were being torn to pieces by the ceaseless rain of bullets from sharpshooters concealed in the trees on all sides of the men, and by the shrapnel from the machine guns in the trenches. Their orders required that they wait for Lawton,

* Trumpeters Shroeder and Dorris were commended by General Hawkins for their bravery in sounding the calls through the charge.

† Report of Brigadier-General Hawkins.

* Report of Brigadier-General Kent.

† Afterwards killed at the crest of the hill.

but Lawton was occupied with all he could do at that time, and soon the folly of a longer wait impressed itself upon General Shafter. Already, however, the commanders at the front had seen clearly that the situation as it stood could not be maintained; nothing was being accomplished, yet the men were receiving a punishment as severe as if making an immediate attack on the enemy. To fall back would be a virtual repulse with its attendant loss of prestige; to wait longer for Lawton was madness — the only alternative was to move forward to the attack.

General Shafter, who was ill at the time, had established himself on a hill near Pozo, some three miles from the front. He was represented at the front by the Adjutant-General of the 5th Corps, McClelland, and his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Miley. General Wheeler was also sick with fever, but left his tent at the sound of the firing and went to the front. On General Shafter's order, he was given direction of all the forces engaged before San Juan. He saw clearly the dangers of the situation, and it was with a sense of relief that he received through McClelland permission to advance against the enemy. Immediately the cavalry under Sumner and Wood moved forward against Little San Juan Hill. Soon after, under cover of the firing from Parker's battery, which had been pushed to the front with much daring, the infantry division (Kent's) also began its charge on the main

fortifications under Hawkins, Ewers and Pearson. In the charge on Little San Juan, the Rough Riders under Colonel Roosevelt again covered themselves with glory. As in the case with El Caney, in the mad rush across the open in front of the Spanish trenches and up the steeps they crowned; all rank and order was forgotten for the moment. Firing at will, the men went forward on a run, ignoring the Manser bullets that were cutting them down by scores at point-blank range, passing barbed-wire barricades as best they could, and finally pouring over the crest of the hill as if they were going to take the enemy with their bare hands — the deeds of this remarkable regiment and its still more remarkable leader form an interesting chapter in American history.

Nevertheless, in spite of the exceedingly valuable services of that regiment before Santiago, after all the battle was fought and won by the regulars. There were only four regiments of volunteers in the entire action: the 2d Massachusetts at El Caney; the Rough Riders and the 71st New York; and the 33d Michigan at Aguadores. It is a fact that should not be overlooked in the quest for the spectacular, that it was the American army, trained for its work, that drove the Spanish soldiers from their sheltering trenches and block-houses, occupying them themselves against all efforts to dislodge them.

San Juan was gained without Lawton, and it was not until 24 hours later that he reached that point,

his men utterly exhausted, having marched twenty or more miles, fought and won a battle, and even now were not unwilling to do something more. Bates' regiment also reached San Juan Hill at noon of the 2d, and was assigned a position on the heights adjoining Little San Juan. With these reinforcements, however, the situation of the American soldiers was precarious in the extreme. Virtually the whole available army was on the firing line, and should an overwhelming force be brought against them there was possibility of a disaster that would do incalculable injury to the cause of the United States. General Shafter recognized the strength of this argument, which was impressed upon him by some of the officers of his command, but Gen-

eral Wheeler sent a strong letter opposing such action. In it he says: "A number of officers have appealed to me to have the line withdrawn and take up a strong position further back, and I expect they will appeal to you. I have positively discountenanced this, as it would cost us much prestige." His advice was followed, and its wisdom was apparent when, two days later Cervera's fleet went forth to destruction.

* The record of this ex-Confederate General, who had as much to do as any one man with the success at Santiago, is worthy of all honor. The heroic activities of his youth under the banner of the Confederacy, which advanced him from a lieutenant to senior general of cavalry, are repeated and perhaps excelled by his heroic activities under the flag of the United States. He will ever stand as the most striking symbol of a reunited nation.

CHAPTER IX.

1898.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET.

The blockade continues — The bombardments and their effects on Santiago — The Spanish ships emerge from the harbor July 3 — Their order — The American fleet closes in upon them — The *Teresa*, *Oquendo*, and the *Vizcaya* driven to shore — Flight of the *Colon*, and surrender — The end of the destroyers — Rescue of the survivors — Conclusions from the battle.

While the toils were thus tightening around Santiago on the landward side, the semi-circle of ships kept up an unwearied watch from the sea. It was a slow and nerve-racking experience; for in addition to the strain of waiting for an enemy seemingly never to appear, was the discomfort

of life on a battleship in a tropical summer, with the ship stripped all the while, as it were, for battle. The only things that varied the daily routine of the sailors were the occasional bombardments of the Santiago fortifications. In these much ammunition was expended, but without doing the

damage that might be anticipated.* These bombardments, whether immediately effective, were tremendously so in the long run, for they served as target practice under war conditions, and as such their extravagance may be justified. War is an expensive thing at the best, and the sacrifice of ammunition that results finally in victory needs little defense. What the gunners of the American ships learned at San Juan and against Morro and Socapa, they applied with a skill that astonished the world when Cervera's ships were fleeing along the coast of Cuba.

There were several actions of this kind during the time the army was pushing the Spanish back to the inner defences of Santiago. As has been seen, the fleet joined with the army in an attack on Aguadores on July 1. Again, on July 2, Punta Gorda, Socapa, and the other batteries were heavily bombarded, the first-named being the principal point of attack, the fire of the *Indiana* and the *Oregon* being wholly directed against it. In spite, however, of the moral effect of these attacks from the sea, General Shafter knew that Santiago could not be taken until the problem of the fleet had been solved. Already the ships in the harbor had joined in the attacks

on the army, firing large projectiles over the hills into the American lines. Accordingly, therefore, on July 2, he wrote to Admiral Sampson requesting that he make an active move against the Spanish fleet. The latter had already pointed out the difficulties of such an endeavor, replying, nevertheless, that he would undertake it, if General Shafter insisted. The closing words of this letter are as follows: "It is not so much the loss of men as it is the loss of ships which has until now deterred me from making a direct attack upon the ships within the port." As the result of this correspondence, it was arranged that Shafter and Sampson should hold a conference at Siboney on the next day.

The next day was Sunday. At 8:30, flying the signal: "Disregard the movements of the Commander-in-Chief," the *New York* steamed towards Siboney with Admiral Sampson on board. The departure of the Spanish on that day was no more anticipated than it had been on any day during the weeks that had preceded. Nevertheless, the watch on the entrance of the harbor was as alert as ever.* The crews, however, were

* June 2, Admiral Sampson issued the following order of battle which was adhered to on July 3:

U. S. FLAGSHIP NEW YORK, 1ST RATE.

Off Santiago de Cuba, June 2, 1898.

The fleet off Santiago de Cuba will be organized during the operations against that port and the Spanish squadron as follows:

First squadron (under the personal command of the Commander-in-Chief).—*New York, Iowa, Oregon, New Orleans, Mayflower, Porter.*

* Causing us only an insignificant number of casualties. They destroyed four huts belonging to the families of the lighthouse tenders without dismounting a single gun. * * * It is inconceivable that so little damage was done, considering how many shells were directed against it [Morro Castle], including a dynamite projectile thrown one night by the *Vesuvius*.—Captain Victor Concas y Palau, *The Squadron of Admiral Cervera*.

dressed in their holiday best, and the decks of the ships were enlivened with the suits of white duck the sailors had donned for the day. Prayers had been heard, and they were enjoying themselves just as they had done during the four Sundays that preceded. If one could forget the purpose and meaning of these tremendous engines of destruction, nothing could have been more peaceful than the day and the scene. But in a twinkling all was transformed! Suddenly a signal broke forth from the yards of the *Iowa*, followed immediately by the report of a gun. It was signal 250, "The enemy's vessels are escaping." Thus, rudely disturbed, the quiet and peace of the Sunday morning yielded to the tumult and the horrible necessities of war.

The *Iowa* was stationed directly opposite the mouth of the harbor, commanding a view down the same as far as Estrella Point. Lieutenant F. K. Hill, who was on the bridge in company with the navigator of the *Iowa*,

Second squadron (Commodore Schley).—Brooklyn, Massachusetts, Texas, Marblehead, Vixen.

Vessels joining subsequently will be assigned by the Commander-in-Chief. The vessels will blockade Santiago de Cuba closely, keeping about 6 miles from the Morro in the daytime, and closing in at night, the lighter vessels well in shore. The first squadron will blockade on the east side of the port, and the second squadron on the west side. If the enemy tries to escape, the ships must close and engage as soon as possible, and endeavor to sink his vessels or force them to run ashore in the channel. It is not considered that the shore batteries are of sufficient power to do any material injury to battleships.

In smooth weather the vessels will coal on station. If withdrawn to coal elsewhere, or for other duty, the blockading vessels on either side will cover the angle thus left vacant.

Lieutenant Scheutze, caught the first glimpse (9:30) of the Spanish ships as they rounded Cay Smith. Giving the command to display the signal, he rushed to a gun on the bridge, aimed it towards the Spanish vessel and fired. In a second the whole fleet was stirring with preparations for the approaching struggle. The American ships were not under full head of steam, but they were in perfect condition, and fully able to develop sufficient speed to cope with the Spanish vessels, whose hulls were foul after the ocean voyage and the enforced inactivity within the harbor. Within five minutes every vessel in the blockading fleet was under way, closing in on the enemy. Owing to the peculiar situation of the Spanish fleet, each ship as it emerged became the target of the guns of all the opposing vessels, without opportunity to reply save with the forward guns.

The first of the ships to emerge was the Spanish flag-ship, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, with Admiral Cervera and its commander, Captain Conceas y Palau, on the bridge. For ten minutes she was alone in the open, torn by the masses of steel hurled against her. Turning to the west at full speed, she replied to her opponents as well as her desperate condition permitted. It was originally planned for the *Teresa* to ram the *Brooklyn*, but the maneuver* of the *Brooklyn* in turn-

* "In compliance with this order [to ram the *Brooklyn*], I put our bow toward the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*. * * * The position of the *Brooklyn* * * * and the danger of being rammed by these two ships [*Texas* and *Iowa*].

ing to the port* instead of the starboard carried the latter so far from the *Teresa* that the folly of such an endeavor became apparent immediately. The punishment, too, being received by the *Teresa* was becoming so terrible that any offensive movement was beyond the question. Before the entire fleet had cleared the channel she had received her death-blow, due to the explosion of two 13-inch projectiles on the deck, breaking the steam and water pipes, and decreasing the speed of the vessel perceptibly. Says her commander, Capt. Concas y Palau:

"The steam permeated the poop, cutting it off completely, and invaded the turret, rendering it untenable. The fires increased, as we could not reach them. The crew of one of the small-caliber ammunition hoists were suffocated; a number of brave men who attempted to pass through the after gangways, led by a valiant officer, perished in the fire.

"At this moment, while, from the bridge, I was addressing the men who were fighting furiously amidst the frightful chaos which the deck of the cruiser presented, and was trying to ascertain what had occurred on the poop, * * * I fell severely wounded, and with me the two officers of the squadron staff, we three being the only ones left standing of the many who had been stationed defenseless on the bridge.

"During that furious struggle there was no time nor opportunity to call the executive officer, and therefore the admiral himself took command of the ship, while I was carried to the sick bay.

"The fire on the after deck of the *Maria Teresa*

* * * the admiral consulted me and agreed that it was impossible to continue."—Concas y Palau.

"As far as I could see, during the entire action, no Spanish ship gave the slightest indication of using either ram or torpedo."—Admiral Evans, in the *Century Magazine*.

*The hearings before the *Schley Investigation Commission* (U. S. Government Printing Office) reviews in the full the whole controversy between Admirals Sampson and Schley, including testimony regarding the *Brooklyn's* "loop."

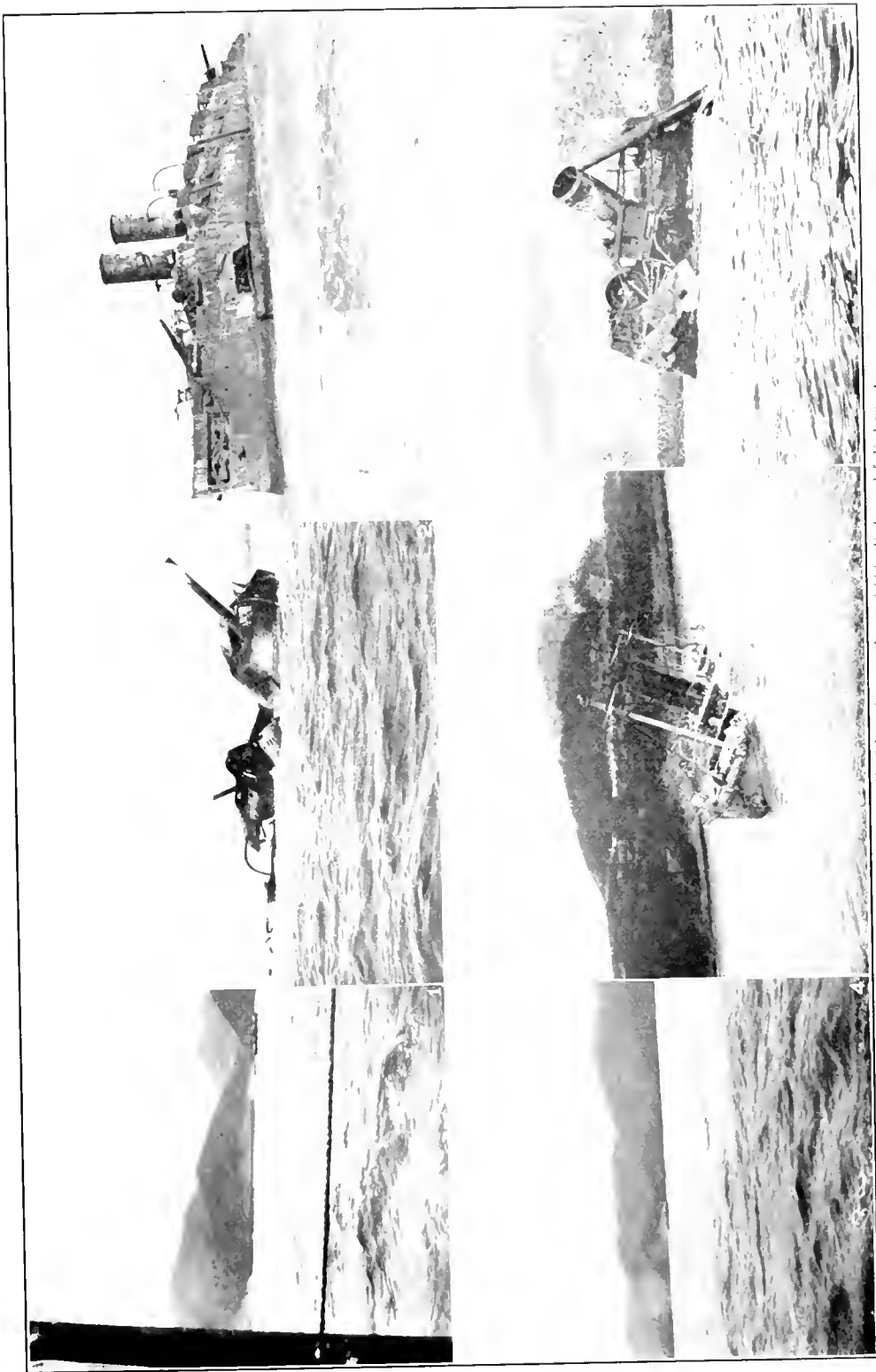
grew more and more formidable, her speed diminishing every moment, and the havoc was constantly increasing, as we were within range of the rapid firers.* The Admiral therefore called the second and third officers and lieutenants, who were in his immediate vicinity, and it was agreed that there was no other recourse than to beach the ship, in order to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy and to save the crew, for which reason, putting her to starboard, the ship was run ashore about 5 miles from the mouth of the harbor" (Nima Nima).†

Following the *Teresa*, came the graceful armored cruiser, the *Vizcaya*. The *Texas*, *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* immediately engaged her. Captain Eulate of the *Vizcaya*, in describing her experience, says:

"When the *Maria Teresa* headed for the shore I passed her, and I had the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, *Iowa*, and the *Oregon* all firing at me. The firing from these ships was terrific; shells were bursting all around us. My ship was set on fire by a shell exploding in my cabin. My engines and pumps were disabled, and I could not fight the fire. My men were being killed and wounded in large numbers. A shell finally exploded in one of my forward magazines and I was forced to head for the shore. When I went into the action I had flying at the masthead a large embroidered silk flag, which had been presented to the ship by the ladies of the province of Vizcaya. When I saw that my ship would be lost, I had this flag hauled down and burned, and hoisted another ensign in its place. My flag was shot away twice during the engagement, the last time just as the ship grounded. The boats of the *Iowa* picked up those of the many officers and men still left alive, and carried them to that ship. When I went on board the *Iowa*, I took off my sword and tendered it to Captain Evans, but he refused it, saying that I had fought four ships and that I should keep my sword. That was the proudest moment of my life."

* "The *Maria Teresa* was struck 18 times by heavy projectiles. She was beached at 10:15."

† In a number of accounts of the battle, Captain Concas is cited as having been killed; his dying words being quoted extensively. He lived, however, to write a most interesting and generally fair account of the contest.



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1. *MARIA TERESA* AND *OQUENDO* BURNING ON BEACH NEAR SANTIAGO. 2. WRECK OF THE *VIZCAYA*. 3. WRECK OF THE *OQUENDO* IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BATTLE. 4. THE *VIZCAYA* BURNING. 5. WRECK OF THE *REINA MERCEDES* (HORRO CASTLE IN THE BACKGROUND). 6. WRECK OF THE *OQUENDO* TAKEN SOME TIME AFTER THE BATTLE.

Although mercilessly pounded by the guns of the American fleet, with her fighting masts down, her steam pipes broken, and dead and wounded everywhere, she gallantly pushed forward, and had reached Aserraderos, 21 miles from Morro, before she was run on the beach. Her experience was tragically revealed to the rescuers from the American ships by her condition. In places the decks were red hot, and it was impossible to get some of the wounded off owing to the escaping steam and exploding magazines. Some minutes before the vessel gave up the struggle, the operating-room was filled with the wounded, for whom the surgeons could do nothing, as they were driven out by the superheated steam and the rapidly spreading flames. Her captain, Antonio Eulate, was severely wounded, but preserved, even as a prisoner of war, that pride of bearing popularly conceived to be the universal characteristic of the Spaniard.

By the time the *Vizcaya* had cleared the harbor the American gunners had recovered from the nervousness and excitement of the beginning of the action. Their aim became more steady and more fatal in its effect. Owing to the peculiar situation of the Spanish ships, each one had to bear the concentrated fire of the American ships. Thus it was that the third ship, the *Almirante Oquendo*, was lost almost before reaching the open sea. As the ship turned in its course, following the *Teresa* and *Vizcaya*, it staggered from the terrific storm of

projectiles that struck it at every point, exploding torpedoes and magazines, and putting a third of the crew out of action. Soon after the exit, the forward turret of the *Oquendo* was struck by an 8-inch shell, which exploded, killing the gun crew and disabling the gun. Within a few minutes the vessel was a mass of flames, which could not be extinguished, as the water mains had all been cut by the American projectiles. In her death struggle she passed a few hundred yards beyond the wreck of the *Teresa* and was beached; her captain dead, and a third of the crew dead or wounded.

The *Texas* was one of the ships that was pressing the *Oquendo* closely, and when one of her projectiles struck the latter amidships, causing the explosion of a magazine, the crew burst into a cheer. They were silenced, however, by Captain Philip with the words: "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying."

Following the *Oquendo* came the *Cristobal Colon*, the splendid new cruiser just purchased from the Italian government (formerly the *Giuseppe Garibaldi*). This was theoretically the most efficient vessel in the fleet, but, as was later shown, its large guns were not in the turrets, and the equipment was far from complete. In fact as an offensive weapon of war the *Colon* was practically useless; hence the sole object of its captain was to flee without making even the pretense of a fight. It was the merest chance that he failed in his purpose.

Putting on full head of steam the *Colon* rapidly overtook the other ships, and going inshore was protected by them during the hottest part of the fight. The *Colon* passed these at great speed and it seemed for a time as if the cordon of American ships would be broken by the fleeing vessel. But the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, and *Oregon* were watching her, and, leaving the slower battleships to finish the contest, began a chase that lasted for two hours, and ended with the *Colon* beneath the waves, off Cape Cruz, 50 miles west of Santiago.

The *Brooklyn*, by its turn to the starboard, had been thrown to the seaward back of the line of American ships. Commodore Schley therefore thought that by directing steaming in a direct course towards Cape Cruz, which extended some distance out in the sea, he would be able to intercept the *Colon*, which was following the curve of the shore. The *Oregon* and the *Texas*, however, settled down to a steady stern chase. Here the *Oregon* again distinguished herself, showing remarkable speed for a battleship. She was soon abreast of the *Texas*, and within a short time the ships drew within range of the *Colon*. The *Brooklyn* had been firing at long distance without effect, but as soon as the *Oregon* dropped two of her 13-inch shells within a few yards of the Spanish ship, her captain saw that further resistance was hopeless, and ordering the sea-valves to be opened, turned her prow to the shore.*

Last of all to emerge were the destroyers, *Furor* and *Pluton*, doomed from the first shot fired against them. Their experience proved how little dependence can be placed in such craft in the open and subject to the fire from secondary batteries on armored ships. When the destroyers came out, they seemed to hesitate as to the course to be taken, one of them apparently making a move to return to the harbor, but fruitlessly so, for a shell from the *Indiana* struck it amidships, the cloud of steam that arose revealing that a mortal blow had been struck. Another vessel, the converted yacht *Gloucester*, under command of Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, was also doing fearful injury to the *Furor* and *Pluton*. In spite of the lack of defensive armor, she steamed up to a short distance of the enemy, and poured into them such a destructive fire from her machine guns that in a few moments the *Furor* was sinking in deep water, and the *Pluton* was running ashore, both meeting the end near the ill-fated *Teresa* and *Oquendo*. In command of the destroyers was the well-known officer, Captain Fernando Villaamil, who was killed in action.

The flag-ship *New York*, which,

despite all efforts, she sank."—Report of Admiral Sampson.

"Admiral Sampson states in his report official that the valves had been opened *treacherously*, supposing that it had been done after the flag was lowered; but this is not correct, not only because neither the distance nor the condition of the ship made any precipitation necessary, but also she did not surrender until she was thought to be a total loss."—Conchas y Palau.

* "Her sea valves were opened and broken, treacherously, I am sure, after her surrender, and

during these events, had been madly racing from Siboney, arrived in the neighborhood of the sinking ships of the enemy in time for Admiral Sampson to give orders regarding the saving of the survivors from the wrecks, and then hurried on in chase of the *Colon*, arriving just as the ship had surrendered to Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn*.

The Spanish vessels had hardly struck their colors before the men of the American ships set themselves at work with equal enthusiasm in saving the lives of the officers and sailors of the enemy.* Many of these were still on board the wrecks, in imminent danger of death from fire and explosions; others were in the sea, clinging to wreckage; and still others had reached the shore, where they were without food, shelter, or adequate clothing. It was reported after the battle that the survivors from the Spanish ships were fired upon by the Cubans, but this is doubtless a falsehood, for none of the Spanish reports mention the fact, and the report of Lieutenant Hazeltine of the *Hist* specifically denies the assertion.†

* "I cannot express my admiration for my magnificent crew. So long as the enemy showed his flag they fought like American seamen; but when the flag came down they were as gentle and tender as American women."—From the Report of Captain Robley D. Evans.

† "The Cubans at Aserraderos did not fire on the Spaniards. In fact, when our boats were taking the Spaniards from the beach the Cubans rendered valuable assistance."—Report of Lieutenant Hazeltine.

"They made a raft [the survivors of the *Oquendo*] and lowered two launches, the only serviceable boats they had left, and were finally assisted

In some cases the task of getting the Spanish sailors from the burning ships was far more dangerous than the fighting itself, and many heroic rescues were made. The smaller craft, the *Gloucester*, *Ericsson*, *Hist*, *Vixen*, and auxiliary vessels, the *Harvard* and the *Resolute*, approached to dangerous proximity to the burning hulks, their men risking death numbers of times in order to take their unfortunate opponents from the doomed vessels.*

The result of his expedition to the West Indies was clear to Cervera from the beginning, and his correspondence throughout the entire campaign is marked by the greatest pessimism.† What the result would have been if the squadron had been commanded by a more hopeful and daring man cannot be known, yet in

by the United States boats, and, according to the statement of an insurgent with whom I talked on the beach, also by an insurgent boat."—Report of Admiral Cervera.

* "It remains to communicate to you that our enemies behaved toward us with great chivalry, providing us with good clothes, and suppressing almost entirely the usual hurrahs, to prevent hurting our self-respect, and offering to us the most anxious solicitude."—Report of Admiral Cervera.

† "In short, it is a disaster already, and it is to be feared that it will be a more frightful one before long. And perhaps everything could be changed yet. But I suppose it is too late now for anything that is not the ruin and desolation of our country."—From a letter to Minister Bermejo, by Admiral Cervera, April 22, 1898.

"To sum up, 3d of July has been an appalling disaster, as I had foreseen. The number of dead, however, is less than I feared. Our country has been defended with honor, and the satisfaction of duty well done leaves our consciences clear, though we bitterly mourn the loss of our beloved companions and the misfortunes of our country."—Report of Admiral Cervera, July 9, 1898.

the long run the result would not have been materially different. Cervera's squadron, in the last analysis, was nothing more than a sacrifice to the pride of Spain.

The story of the engagement is best told by its statistics.* The American ships, though hit a number of times, were practically uninjured. The *Brooklyn* received the hardest blows, and, in addition was the only vessel to experience any loss of life, one man being killed and another wounded. The whole battle was fought according to a prearranged plan; by ships that were in perfect readiness; maneuvered by officers who were skillful and possessed in the highest degree of the initiative necessary for success in warfare; manned by sailors and gunners who were inspired by patriotic enthusiasm, and a tireless energy that was irresistible in its effect.

It is true there was an overwhelming force against the luckless Spanish ships, but it is almost inconceivable that six tremendous machines of war, costing ten million or more dollars, should be unable to do damage costing more than a few thousand dollars to repair. It would appear that both at Santiago and Manila, if the Spanish commanders had formed any very clear plans of attack or defense, they found it impossible to carry them out in the face of the sudden and awful torrent of destroying missiles hurled against their

ships. With respect to Cervera, however, it is evident that the one idea in his mind was to escape with as many ships as possible. On his part the battle was not even a defensive one; it was a flight. Had he been willing to sacrifice one or two of his ships by throwing them boldly into the midst of the American fleet, or had divided his squadron, a few vessels might have escaped, but in permitting all to seek safety in flight, the morale of the entire fleet was destroyed, and all the ships doomed. It is a significant and curious series of coincidences that the war-ship named after Christopher Columbus should have left the port touched by the great explorer in one of his earliest voyages, and the site, too, of the earliest Spanish settlement of any consequence in the New World, and steaming forth should have met its fate almost at the same place where the men from the *Virginus* were captured and put to death. The end of the *Cristobal Colon* marked the end of the majestic empire given to the rulers of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the Colon after whom it was named.

Officers of the American fleet: Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson. Commander-in-chief; Capt. F. E. Chadwick, Chief-of-staff and commander of the *New York*; Commodore W. S. Schley, second in command; Capt. F. A. Cook, of *Brooklyn*; Capt. R. D. Evans, of *Iowa*; Capt. H. C. Taylor, of *Indiana*; Capt. C. E. Clark, of *Oregon*; Capt. J. W. Philip, of *Texas*; Lieut.-Com. Richard Wainwright, of *Gloucester*; Lieut. Alexander Sharp, Jr., of *Vizcon*; Lieut. N. R. Usher, of *Eriesson*; Lieut. Lucien Young, of *Hist*.

* Total number on the Spanish fleet, 2,243: killed and wounded, 540; prisoners of war: officers, 86; men, 1,615.

CHAPTER X.

1898.

CAPITULATION OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Dangerous situation of the army—Attack on American line, July 1—Shafter plans to withdraw—Opposed by generals—"The darkest day of the War"—News of naval victory—The sinking of the *Reina Mercedes*—Exchange of Lieutenant Hobson—Shafter demands surrender of city—Torral's proposal to withdraw—Shafter's acceptance of terms refused by administration—Bombardment of July 10—The capitulation—The army and the navy—Garcia and the Cubans.

The capture of El Caney and the heights of San Juan, while a victory, nevertheless left the American army in a very dangerous position. With the arrival of Bates and Ludlow, whose men were advanced to the front without delay, practically the whole army was on the firing line. Even when the enemy had been driven back to Santiago, the soldiers got no rest, but worked throughout the night to strengthen their defenses. Trenches were dug with bayonets, tin cans, in fact, any improvised implement that could be obtained. When the morning came, they were weary, but reasonably sure of holding their own against any force the Spaniards might send against them.

The anticipated attack came almost with dawn. The Spanish army, reinforced by a detachment from the fleet under Captain Bustamante, made a vigorous assault on the American lines, but was repulsed with heavy losses to the Spanish forces. Both General Linares and Captain Bustamante were wounded, the latter mortally. The struggle continued

throughout the day, but at the end the positions of the two armies were unchanged. The perilous situation of the American forces, however, continued to disturb General Shafter's peace of mind, and the temptation persisted to withdraw the men to less exposed points. He accordingly called a conference of the generals (Wheeler, Kent, Lawton, and Bates), informing them that as large reinforcements were approaching Santiago, he considered it the wise course to withdraw, and asked their advice. General Wheeler earnestly sought to dissuade him. General Kent supported Wheeler. The bluff Lawton's advice was "Hang on." The only dissenting voice was that of General Bates, who thought that his men would be forced to retire. After the conference General Shafter was still undecided, but dismissed the conference with the words: "We shall hold our present position for the next twenty-four hours, and if our condition is not improved I shall call upon you again for an expression of your views."

This was the condition of affairs on the land, termed by Secretary Alger,* the "darkest day" of the war. Certainly the dispatch forwarded by General Shafter did not tend to relieve the gloom. In it he said:

"We have the town invested on the north and east, but with a very thin line. Upon approaching it we find it of such a character and the defenses so strong it will be impossible to carry it by storm with my present force, and I am seriously considering withdrawing about 5 miles and taking up a new position on the high ground between the San Juan River and Siboney, with our left at Sardinero, so as to get our supplies to a large extent by the means of the railroad which we can use, having engines and ears at Siboney. Our losses up to date will aggregate 1,000, but list has not yet been made. But little sickness outside of exhaustion, intense heat and exertion of the battle of day before yesterday and the almost constant fire which is kept up on the trenches. Wagon road to the rear is kept up with some difficulty on account of rains, but I will be able to use it for the present. General Wheeler is seriously ill and will probably have to go to the rear today.† General Young also is very ill; confined to his bed. General Hawkins slightly wounded in foot during sortie enemy made last night, which was handsomely repulsed. The behavior of the regular troops was magnificent. I am urging Admiral Sampson to attempt to force the entrance to the harbor, and will have consultation with him this morning. He is coming to the front to see me. I have been unable to be out during the heat of the day for four days, but am retaining the command. * * * Shafter, Major General."

* R. A. Alger. *The Spanish-American War.*

† "I regretted very much to see that General Shafter had telegraphed as he did regarding my health. It is true that I had an attack of fever, but the same is true of every other General in the army in Cuba. * * * After six days of this character of exposure I was taken with the fever; but by placing myself under the charge of a doctor and taking all the prescribed medicine, I was up and ready for duty on the morning of July 1st, the day of the Battle of San Juan. I was engaged during all this day; and even after dark I remained on the advanced line, to get up entrenching-tools and to encourage the construction of breastworks."—Wheeler, *The Santiago Campaign.*

What Schley's message from Santiago had been to the navy department, this telegram was to the department of war. Upon the great columned building where the department made its home gloom settled so thick that it enveloped everybody from the President and the Secretary down to the most insignificant messenger boy. Imperative orders were sent forth to obtain transports and start reinforcements to Santiago. General Wilson's division was ordered to be ready to move at a moment's notice, and Shafter was notified that he could have any reinforcements he wished. This was the state of affairs until 7 p. m., when the war and navy departments were both appalled by the additional message from Shafter to the effect that it was reported that Cervera's fleet had escaped. For three-quarters of an hour the whole administration was in despair. The American cause had received a blow to its prestige that would have a fatal effect upon the course of the whole war. But the truth regarding Cervera's fleet was soon to follow, for at 7:49 p. m. came the message announcing the glorious victory of the fleet, and with it passed the mood of despondency. The capture of Santiago, at one stroke ceased to be a matter worth endangering the lives of American soldiers. The army, indeed, had fulfilled its function, for it had rendered Cervera's position so desperate that it was a question of scuttling his ships in the harbor or of making a dash for liberty. He chose

the latter, and the world knew the result on the night of July 3.

Nevertheless General Shafter and the authorities at Washington felt that Santiago should be taken if possible, hence orders were given to push affairs at that place to a conclusion.* Already, on the morning of the 3d, Shafter had forwarded a message to General Toral, who had superseded Linares, informing him that if Santiago were not surrendered immediately he would shell the city. The Spanish general curtly refused to accede to the demand, adding that there were 20,000 non-combatants who were entitled to protection, should the threat to bombard be carried out. In view of this fact, General Shafter agreed to postpone action until July 5, in order to permit these people to leave the city. When the situation was made clear to the President and Secretary of War, Shafter was advised to strengthen his position, but to avoid operations as far as possible that would endanger the safety of the army.

The foreign residents and non-combatants of Santiago, believing that a general bombardment was imminent, on July 5, began an exodus to El Caney. The immediate cause of this was a fearful attack on the harbor defenses on the night of the 4th, when the Spanish attempted to sink the

cruiser *Reina Mercedes* in the channel narrows. It was assumed that Sampson's fleet would follow up its victory by an endeavor to force the harbor, so the sole war-ship left to the defenders was sacrificed in an endeavor to shut out American ships. As soon as the *Mercedes* was discovered a continuous fire was opened on the ship and batteries. In spite of this the vessel was scuttled, but like the *Merrimack*, in such a way as to leave the channel still open. This attack, joined with General Shafter's ultimatum, threw the people into a frenzy of fear. At daybreak they commenced to emigrate from the city. Carrying their property on their backs 20,000 women, children, old men, and, as Lieutenant Müller asserts, able-bodied men, began their march toward the American lines, establishing themselves finally at El Caney. Here they remained for eleven days, without adequate food, water or shelter, resulting in an epidemic which hurried a good share of them to their graves. "Those eleven days at El Caney have caused more victims in Santiago than the three years of war." (Müller y Tejeiro.)

There had been more or less friction between the army and the navy ever since the former had established itself in front of Santiago. This, however, assumed an acute stage after the destruction of the Spanish fleet. From the first General Shafter had been pressing Admiral Sampson to make an effort to force the harbor, but the latter had all the while protested that the risk was too great. He

* "Being on the ground and knowing all the conditions, the Secretary of War directs you will use your own judgment as to how and when you will take the city of Santiago, but for manifest reasons, it should be accomplished as speedily as possible. By command Major-General Miles. H. C. Corbin, Adjutant-General."

was, nevertheless, on the way to confer with Shafter on that point when he was suddenly recalled by the exit of Cervera. With the Spanish fleet eliminated, General Shafter felt that the way was open for the American ships to enter the harbor and coöperate with the army in forcing the capitulation of the city. The fleet, however, still delayed action, Admiral Sampson maintaining that the army should capture the shore batteries before an entrance be attempted.

In the meanwhile Shafter kept up a correspondence with Toral, a sort of truce being maintained between the two armies. He sent the wounded Spanish officers and men back to Santiago, under parole; an act that went far to remove the false conception held by the Spaniards as to the inhumanity of the American soldiers. This act probably hastened the exchange of Lieutenant Hobson and his men, who were liberated July 6. Toral, however, persisted in his refusal to capitulate, his attitude being determined by the arrival of Colonel Escario with 3,579 men.* On July 6, General Shafter forwarded another and more imperative demand for the surrender of Santiago, in which he stressed the fact that the fall of the city was inevitable under the circumstances, and the reinforcements of the army, the establishment of his bat-

teries, and the fleet free to coöperate with the army all tended to make the Spanish position hopeless. "I make this suggestion of a surrender," he proceeds, "purely in a humanitarian spirit. I do not wish to cause the slaughter of any more men, either of your excellency's forces or my own; the final result under circumstances so disadvantageous to your excellency being a foregone conclusion." After a third demand for surrender, the threat to bombard on July 9, General Toral communicated with the Spanish government and finally presented a counter-proposition in which he agreed to evacuate Santiago, retreating to Holguin, retaining all arms and possessions. Without consulting with his generals, Shafter forwarded this offer to Washington, recommending that it be accepted. The reply from the President and Secretary Alger was a positive refusal of the terms offered by Toral:

"You have been repeatedly advised that you would not be expected to make an assault upon the enemy at Santiago until you are prepared to do the work thoroughly. When you are ready this will be done. Your telegram this morning said your position was impregnable, and that you believed the enemy would yet surrender unconditionally. You have also assured us that you could force their surrender by cutting off their supplies. Under these circumstances your message recommending that Spanish troops be permitted to evacuate and proceed without molestation to Holguin is a great surprise and is not approved. The responsibility for the destruction and distress to the inhabitants rests entirely with the Spanish commander. The Secretary of War orders that when you are strong enough to destroy the enemy and take Santiago, you do it. If you have not force enough, it will be despatched to you at the earliest possible moment. Reinforcements are already on the way, of which you have been apprised. In the meantime, nothing is lost by

* Garcia was severely blamed by General Shafter for his failure to stop these reinforcements to Santiago. Yet, in justice to him, it should be stated that Col. Escario had to fight nearly every mile of his way from Manzanillo. He lost during the journey 3 officers and 68 men, with a large percentage of wounded.

holding the position you now have, and which you regard as impregnable. Acknowledge receipt. By order of the Secretary of War. H. C. Corbin, Adjutant-General."

In such "unequivocal language," as Secretary Alger phrases it, was the general from Michigan rebuked by his compatriot, the Secretary of War. It was sufficient. Telegraphing to Washington: "The instructions of the War Department will be carried out to the letter," General Shafter notified Toral that nothing but unconditional surrender would be considered. The situation, in spite of reinforcements, was becoming serious in both armies; the Spaniards were reduced to the lowest rations; and in the American camps the rainy season had set in with all of its distressing accompaniments, and, worst of all, yellow fever had made its appearance. Haste, above all things was imperative. It was thought that General Toral knew the condition of the American army and was only seeking to gain time. It was therefore decided to bring an end to the truce, so on receipt of Toral's refusal to surrender, a general bombardment was begun at 4 P. M. July 10, which lasted until noon of the next day.

As was the case with previous bombardments, the effect of the firing was not commensurate with the ammunition used. A number of buildings in the city were damaged, but very few lives were lost, the city being practically deserted at the time. It was evident that the fleet could not be of great assistance to the army from

without the harbor, and it was equally evident that Admiral Sampson had no intention of going in until there was no possibility of endangering his ships.* The gloom of the situation was somewhat relieved by the arrival of Major-General Miles, the commander-in-chief of the army, on July 11. He was empowered with authority to act only in an advisory capacity, General Shafter being advised by the Secretary of War to that effect. General Miles was present during the preliminary negotiations respecting the surrender, and after seeing the condition of the army recommended that immediate steps be taken to complete the taking of the city, either by means of attack or compromise. The question of the surrender thus dragged on; Toral insisting that he could do nothing until Havana and Madrid gave him permission to yield up the city. This was probably true, for General Linares, from his bed of sickness addressed a pathetic letter to the Minister of War, in which he set forth the desperate condition of Santiago, making it clear that a policy of temporizing would in no wise alter the final outcome, but would only result in needless sacrifice of human life.

This and General Toral's representations had the desired effect, and on July 14 the latter informed General Shafter that he was willing to capitulate on the condition that his soldiers

* See *Abridgment of Messages and Documents*, 1898-9, vol. 4.

be transported to Spain.* He also appointed at the time a commission consisting of General Escario, Lieutenant-Colonel Fontan, and Robert Mason, interpreter, to arrange the details of the surrender. On his part, General Shafter appointed Generals Wheeler and Lawton and Lieutenant Miley as the American commission. These commissions met at 2:30, July 14, under a great cotton-wood tree out of Santiago, which, indeed, had been the scene of previous conferences between Shafter and Toral, but nothing could be decided upon until far into the night, as the Spanish commissioners insisted upon retention of the rifles and small arms by the Spanish infantry. This, of course, the American commissioners were not authorized to do, so the question was left open, and after four or five hours of discussion, a tentative agreement of capitulation was signed by the representatives of General Toral, subject to ratification by General Blanco and the Spanish ministry. The next day it was announced that the necessary permission to yield the city had been received, and on July 16 the terms of the capitulation were formally signed by the two commissions. Following are the terms as accepted by Spain:

1. That all hostilities between American and Spanish forces in this district absolutely and unequivocally cease.
2. That this capitulation includes all the forces and war material in said territory.
3. That the United States agrees, with as little

delay as possible, to transport all the Spanish troops in said district to the Kingdom of Spain, the troops being embarked, as far as possible, at the port nearest the garrisons they now occupy.

4. That the officers of the Spanish army be permitted to retain their side arms, and both officers and private soldiers their personal property.

5. That the Spanish authorities agree to remove, or assist the American navy in removing, all mines or other obstructions to navigation now in the harbor of Santiago.

6. That the commander of the Spanish forces deliver without delay a complete inventory of all arms and munitions of war of the Spanish forces in above-described district to the commander of the American forces; also a roster of said forces now in district.

7. That the commander of the Spanish forces in leaving said district is authorized to carry with him all military archives and records pertaining to the Spanish army now in said district.

8. That all that portion of the Spanish army known as volunteers, movilizados, and guerillas who wish to remain in the island of Cuba are permitted to do so upon condition of giving up their arms and taking a parole not to bear arms against the United States during the continuance of the present war between Spain and the United States.

9. That the Spanish forces will march out of Santiago de Cuba with honors of war, depositing their arms thereafter at a point mutually agreed upon to await their disposition by the United States Government, it being understood that the United States commissioners will recommend that the Spanish soldier return to Spain with the arms he so bravely defended.

10. That the provisions of the foregoing instrument become operative immediately upon its being signed.

Entered into this 16th day of July, 1898, by the undersigned commissioners, acting under instructions from their respective generals, and with the approbation of their respective governments.

JOSEPH WHEELER, Major-General U. S. V.

H. W. LAWTON, Major-General U. S. V.

J. D. MILEY, 1st Lieutenant, 2d Artillery,

Aide-de-camp to General Shafter.

FEDERICO ESCARIO.

VENTURA FONTAN.

ROBERT MASON.

* This method of disposing of the Spanish prisoners was the idea of Secretary Alger. See *The American-Spanish War* by R. A. Alger, Secretary of War, p. 198.

On the morning of July 17, the commanding officers of the 5th Army

Corps and their staffs, accompanied by 100 men of the 2d Cavalry, proceeded to the square of the city hall, where, amid a great concourse of people from the city and the Spanish army, Santiago was formally turned over to the United States government. At the stroke of twelve, the Spanish flag floating over the municipal building was replaced by that of the United States.

After the surrender of Santiago, occurred another of those unfortunate controversies of which the war was so fruitful. As has been shown, all of the negotiations were carried on by the officers of the army; the province and city, in fact, being yielded up to the authority of the same. The navy was thus ignored, doubtless unintentionally, which caused Admiral Sampson to feel so aggrieved that he sent a vigorous protest both to General Shafter and to Washington. He conceived that the navy had been affronted, and demanded as the navy's share in the operations around Santiago the ships and naval material included in the articles of capitulation. These were ultimately turned over to the navy, but not as prizes of war, the United States Supreme Court deciding that ships taken by joint operations of army and navy were not subject to prize laws.*

By the terms of the capitulation the United States became possessed

by military occupation of the entire portion of Cuba under the jurisdiction of General Linares, which extended from Aserraderos on the southern coast, to the extreme eastern point; and on the northeastern coast from thence to Tanamo, and contained forces approximating 25,000 men. This was known as the Eastern District of Santiago de Cuba, and possessed, in addition to the city of Santiago, the important towns of Guantamo, Baracoa, and Tanamo. The garrisons of the latter places surrendered gladly when they were informed that the terms of surrender included their trans-shipment to Spain. As the result, therefore, of the campaign, a large territory was gained from which future operations on the island could be initiated.

With this highly important object attained, it was needful now to look after the well-being of the soldiers who had so heroically accomplished an extraordinary task. The wise course demanded the immediate withdrawal of these men, and the substitution of fresh troops not yet infected with tropical diseases. For various reasons, however, this was delayed, despite the urgent recommendations of General Shafter. It is not strange, hence, that the reports of the surgeons for August 1 state that there were 4,255 cases of fever in the army, many of them undoubtedly yellow fever. These were being cared-for as well as conditions would permit by the medical corps, and the women of the Red Cross, who had volunteered to do this

* The division of prize money among the crews of war-ships—a vestige of the old custom of spoils of war—was definitely abrogated in the United States navy by the passage of the Naval Reorganization Act of 1899.

noble work under the direction of Miss Clara Barton. Nevertheless the situation was fast getting beyond control. In view of the seriousness of the situation General Shafter called for an expression on the part of his commanders, who sent to him a statement, signed by all, which stated as strongly as words could express it, the fearful condition of the American forces. In it occurs the following passage: "This army must be moved at once or it will perish. As an army it can be safely moved now. Persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of thousands of lives."

This document, which became known as the Round Robin, got into the press in some way, and its publication not only threw the administration into a panic, but was also the cause of great distress to people in the United States who had relatives or friends in the army. It had, however, the effect of opening the eyes of the Secretary of War and others to the gravity of the situation, and immediate orders were issued August 4 providing for the withdrawal of the 5th Army Corps from Santiago to an encampment at Montauk Point, New York.

During its occupation by the military forces of the United States, the province of Santiago de Cuba was organized as a department of the United States, General Lawton being assigned command of the same. Generals Ewers and Wood were designated as his subordinates, the latter

having the city placed under his particular jurisdiction.

The capitulation of Santiago to General Shafter was the cause of a further widening of the breach between General Garcia and himself. The Cuban general thought that he should be allowed to participate in the results of the campaign, and, with reason, in view of the policy made public at the beginning of the war. There is little doubt but that the Cubans were treated with no excess of tact by General Shafter and others, and the result was Garcia's withdrawal from Santiago at the time of the capitulation. He sent in his resignation to the Cuban government, and addressed to General Shafter a communication in which he expressed his disappointment in terms both dignified and patriotic:

"I have done my best, sir, to fulfill the wishes of my Government, and I have been until now one of your most faithful subordinates, honoring myself in carrying out your orders and instructions as far as my powers have allowed me to do it. The city of Santiago surrendered to the American army, and news of that important event was given to me by persons entirely foreign to your staff. * * * I was neither honored, sir, with a kind word from you inviting myself or any officer of my staff to represent the Cuban army on that occasion. * * * You have left in power at Santiago the same Spanish authorities that for three years I have fought as enemies of the independence of Cuba. * * * A rumor, too absurd to be believed, General, ascribes the reason of your measures and of the orders forbidding my army to enter Santiago to fear of massacres and revenge against the Spaniards. Allow me, sir, to protest against even the shadow of such an idea. We are not savages ignoring the rules of civilized warfare. We are a poor, ragged army, as ragged and as poor as was the army of your forefathers in their noble war for independ-

ence, but, as did the heroes of Saratoga and Yorktown, we respect too deeply our cause to disgrace it with barbarism and cowardice."

There is much pathos in the position of this old hero of years of struggle for Cuban freedom, who when he thought that his long deferred dream of an independent Cuba was at last to be realized, should have that hope apparently snatched away by those who claimed to come as saviors. Nor did he ever realize it on this earth, for long before America made good her pledge to Cuba, Calixto Garcia was in his grave.

A brighter phase of the end of the Santiago campaign resulted from the treatment of the Spanish prisoners of war by the American soldiers. Both armies had learned in their struggle to respect the prowess of the other. The wonderful defense of El Caney and San Juan and the equally heroic attack taught a lesson to each that could not be learned in any other way. The Spanish, also, learned that the American was far from being the "pig" and money-grubber that the foreign prints had portrayed, and

when they found that they were cared for and fed and clothed as well as the American soldier himself, their gratitude was unbounded. The treatment, indeed, was so different from what they had been led to expect that the Spanish soldiers addressed a letter extraordinary later to the soldiers of the American army, the spirit of which is expressed in the following sentences:

"We would not be fulfilling our duty as well-born men, in whose breasts there lives gratitude and courtesy, should we embark for our beloved Spain without sending to you our most cordial and sincere good wishes and farewell. We fought you with ardor, with all our strength, endeavoring to gain the victory, but without the slightest rancor or hate toward the American nation. * * * You have complied exactly with all the laws and usages of war as recognized by the armies of the most civilized nations of the world, have given honorable burial to the dead of the vanquished, have cured their wounded with great humanity, have respected and cared for your prisoners and their comfort, and lastly, to us whose condition was terrible, you have given us freely of food, of your stock of medicines, and you have honored us with distinction and courtesy, for after the fighting the two armies mingled with the utmost harmony. * * *"

From 11,000 Spanish soldiers.

PEDRO LOPEZ DE CASTILLO,

Soldier of Infantry."

CHAPTER XI.

1898.

THE CAMPAIGN IN PORTO RICO.

The capture of Porto Rico a strategical necessity—Organization of the army for operations against the same—Sailing of the expedition—General Miles changes his plan and lands at Guanica instead of Fajardo—Ponce yields without a blow—Headquarters established there—Advance of the American forces across the island—A battle at Guayama prevented by the announcement of the signing of the peace protocol—General Miles.

From the very beginning of the war with Spain, Major-General Miles desired the first aggressive movements of the American army to be directed against the enemy in Porto Rico, for he considered this island the key to Spanish power in the West Indies. The climate was more healthful than that of Cuba, and dangers to be encountered from fevers and malaria during a summer campaign were vastly less than in Cuba. The fact that more than twice as many men died of fevers as from Spanish bullets during the Santiago campaign is alone proof enough that it would have been a wise precaution to have considered the relative climates of the two islands in planning operations; and when the vast improvement this century has made in sanitation and medicine over a hundred years ago is considered, it is impossible not to marvel that out of an equal force of men, we lost by disease as many as the British army lost during their operations on the Island of Cuba in 1762. Aside from the humane consideration of the welfare of the soldiers, General

Miles offered other important reasons for selecting Porto Rico for the scene of the first activities. This island was Spain's supply station in the West Indies. With Porto Rico occupied, a strategical position of first importance would be gained, and the line of communication with Spain severed. An interesting letter to Senator Morgan of Alabama, written by Admiral Ammen from Washington, February 3, prior to the opening of the war, shows not only remarkable insight into the Spanish situation, but outlines a plan of operations which if carried out might have proved successful:

"If Spain chooses to make war, we should at once take Puerto Rico, which will leave her without a point except the island of Cuba. Then I would say we should knock all their defences down except those of Havana, for the comfort and in aid of the insurgents, but not land a man on the island, as we should do on Puerto Rico, which we should occupy with a considerable force. As for Havana, we might try our hand as between her guns and ours afloat. *As for the Spanish Navy, I have the idea that it is in a very bad condition, and it would be a question of relative forces whether we should engage it.*"

About a month after Lieutenant Rowan performed his famous feat of

carrying "A message to Garcia." Lieutenant Henry Whitney sailed for Porto Rico on a similar errand, and under disguise managed to explore a great deal of the southern portion of the island, gathering information which proved of inestimable value later on, and, as did Rowan, daily risking his life in the undertaking. In his interesting account of General Miles' campaign in Porto Rico, Lieutenant Whitney does not mention that it was he who performed this valuable service, yet it is interesting to note that he had since been raised to the rank of not only captain but assistant adjutant-general, nor is it difficult to infer why.

It was General Miles' policy to do nothing by halves. From the minutest to the most important detail he was scrupulously exact. It is characteristic, then, that after receiving permission from Washington to proceed against Porto Rico, he delayed preparations until he had looked after the health of the fever-stricken men of the 5th Corps in Santiago. His last telegram, sent on shipboard before sailing, was one of caution and directions regarding the sanitation of the camps, and the prevention of the spread of the disease.

Now that fever was rife among Shafter's men, it would have been folly to have taken even those not yet infected from among them, and he therefore found himself obliged to fall back almost entirely upon the forces he had personally conducted thither to aid Shafter. From Wash-

ington he was promised immediate reinforcements as well as necessary implements for disembarkation, and with these promises and the 3,314 men he had already, he set sail on July 21. A weary altercation with Admiral Sampson regarding the convoy of battleships had added to the delay, and as two of the ships accompanying bore troops, and could therefore be classed as part of the transports, it may be said the convoy consisted of only the battleship *Massachusetts*, the converted yachts *Gloucester* and *Dixie*. The cruisers *Columbia* and *Yale* were the two others of the convoy which bore troops. Of transports proper, there were the *Lampasas*, *Neuces*, *City of Macon*, *Comanche*, *Unionist*, *Specialist*, *Rita* and *Stillwater*.

It had been planned to land at Fajardo, on the northeast coast, but this intention had somehow been communicated to the world at large by the ever-vigilant and incautious American press, and when General Miles realized that his landing place had become known to the Spanish he decided to modify his plans without notice. Besides this, he was influenced by learning that troops were being concentrated at Fajardo. The water there was shallow, and as a result would probably make it difficult to get the troops ashore. In striking contrast to the undesirable Fajardo, Guanica, on the southern coast of the island, offered him every advantage, and more. It was of 4½ fathoms of water; it had within its harbor sugar-

lighters and launches which could be used in disembarking, and above all, it was unmined and undefended. Guanica was really a sea-port of the large city of Ponce, only a few miles distant, which he learned was also undefended and from which an excellent military road lead to the capital, San Juan. All of these reasons for changing the place of landing the Major-General made known to the commander-in-chief of the convoy, and received in return the latter's cheerful coöperation with the new plan.

Captain Whitney's reconnaissance of southern Porto Rico a month before, gave ample information regarding conditions there, and General Miles knew that in altering his plans he was doing nothing blindly. He understood that four miles from Guanica was a railroad leading into Ponce, and that at this city he would have cable and telegraph facilities, as well as the advantage of the splendid road to the capital.

The equipment for disembarkation promised by the authorities at Washington had never come. "He had very little more means for disembarking on a strange and hostile shore than did Columbus when he sailed westward on adjoining seas some four centuries before," writes Lieutenant Whitney. To have put into Fajardo without means of getting ashore would have been utmost folly, and realizing this, General Miles sent a vessel to Cape San Juan to direct the expected reinforcements southward,

and himself turned his transports and convoy toward Guanica. With lights out and silence prevailing, the vessels clung near the shore, and safely passed through the narrow channel that separates Porto Rico from Hayti. On the morning of July 25 they reached Guanica in safety.

Commander Wainwright desired to take his cruiser, the *Gloucester*, and ascertain if there were any danger from mines. Permission having been gained, he entered the harbor and traversed the waters again and again with little thought for his own safety, finally reporting all well and himself leading the way into port, firing upon the city as he went. Some of the *Gloucester's* shells fell among the Spanish troops, who were occupying the town, upon which they promptly retreated, offering no resistance. The marines were then put on shore and also two companies of the provisional engineer battalion and some companies of infantry. They formed outposts and a skirmish line, but the Spaniards were fleeing, and the inhabitants of the town, dazed and terrified, also began to take flight, leaving their little houses to seek shelter among the surrounding hills. This terror and flight were the results of stories circulated among the ignorant natives by the Spanish troops — just as they had done at Santiago de Cuba. They represented the Americans as cowards and bullies who would despoil the natives and destroy their homes. The relief and rejoicing were

pathetic to see when Miles sent to the refugees among the hills his kindly assurances of safety, and forthwith they all returned and order was restored. Meanwhile the disembarking was going on under the supervision of Brigadier-General Gilmore, and as soon as the lighters found in the harbor and the launches of the conveying vessels could bring them into shore the troops were landed. A few shots were fired, but the resistance was almost none. By eleven o'clock of the next day the Spanish flag had been lowered and the Stars and Stripes were waving over Guanica. That same day General Garretson moved forward on a reconnoitering expedition, commanding six companies of the 6th Massachusetts, and one of the 6th Illinois. His intent was to explore the road leading northwest from Guanica to the town of Yauco. The expedition, however, was surprised by the enemy, who were situated in a natural angle made by the convergence of two hills. They opened fire so suddenly that the American troops were at first confused, but quickly regaining their self-command, they repulsed the Spanish and forced them down into the valley below. In this brief skirmish four Americans received wounds, none of which were very serious. Three Spanish were killed and thirteen wounded. The following day they discovered that the Spanish had abandoned Yauco, and General Henry's men at once entered and took possession.

On July 27 the transport *Dixie*,

whose passengers were not yet landed, was ordered forward to Playa, a suburb of Ponce. The naval convoy accompanied the vessel, whose troops at once landed and occupied Playa. Next day General Miles and his staff landed, and immediately hoisted the American colors over the custom house.

Meantime General Wilson and his transports had arrived, and his men were experiencing considerable difficulties in landing. But after this was achieved they were ordered to occupy the city of Ponce. Wilson therefore set forward to engage the 500 Spaniards who were reported to be holding the city. Upon arriving, however, the enemy had taken flight, leaving even their ammunition in the arsenals, yet before fleeing they had found time to destroy all cable, telephone and telegraphic communication between Ponce and the outside world, and also to burn and destroy the railroad's rolling stock, and to lay mines between Ponce and Yauco, where General Henry's men were encamped — in short, to render the city of Ponce as worthless as possible for American headquarters. Yet all of these disasters General Miles' care and forethought had anticipated. With his command were men who were capable of repairing the most delicate telegraph instruments and cables, and others competent to construct or repair a railroad. General Wilson was made military commander of the city of Ponce; a corps of workers was immediately put to work

reconstructing the damage done by the Spanish, and in a short time all was in order; Ponce was made headquarters of the American army, and the tangle of municipal affairs wrought by change of government was rapidly straightened out.

Upon the arrival at Ponce, Lieutenant Merriam had been sent ashore to meet the Spaniards, bearing with him a flag of truce, and demanding immediate surrender of the city. He was met, however, by the English and German consuls and by a body of Ponce's representative citizens, who proposed to yield up the city if military activities and naval bombardment could thus be avoided. So American were the citizens in their sympathies that the Spanish well knew that were the city bombarded and property destroyed, an uprising of no small consequence would follow. Their troops were few, and in a hostile city would perhaps suffer as much, or more, than in defeat by their enemies. Consequently Colonel San Martin, who would have liked well enough to stay and fight, had it been possible, abandoned Ponce, and the American general and his army were received with open arms by the eager populace.

It was from Ponce that General Miles issued his proclamation to the Porto Ricans which bore such splendid fruitage.* The results of this

proclamation were so gratifying that in all his future relations with the people of Porto Rico, General Miles found them to be heartily in sympathy and coöperation with the American army, and some of the Porto Ricans who were bearing Spanish arms laid them down and took up those of the United States. From one place 2,000 volunteered their services, and "Four-fifths of the people," Miles cabled to Washington, "are overjoyed at the arrival of the army." Of the volunteers who served Spain, 300 had surrendered by August 2, and reports came from various parts of the island that everywhere they were refusing to longer serve the Spanish. Besides this, the Porto Ricans brought in beef to the soldiers, and offered General Miles' army transportation. Upon all sides the reception of the Americans was hearty and sincere—and demonstrations were continually

occupy the island of Puerto Rico. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in its Justice and Humanity to all those living within its fold. Hence the first effect of this occupation will be the immediate release from your former political relations, and, it is hoped, a cheerful acceptance of the government of the United States. * * * We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection not only to yourselves but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice. This is not a war of devastation, but one to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages of enlightened civilization."

* "In the prosecution of the War against the Kingdom of Spain by the people of the United States in the cause of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, its military forces have come to

taking place little calculated to encourage the Spanish forces.

In his account of the "Work of the Army as Whole," General Miles tells of the terrible mutilations some of the unhappy Porto Ricans received at the hands of the Spanish, and of the touching patriotism displayed by these unfortunate people. A splendid spirit flamed high, despite the years of cruelty and oppression, and reading their letter presented to General Miles upon his arrival, one feels that here indeed was mettle worth fostering and preserving, even at the cost of national interference. "Here we wait with impatience American occupation that comes to break the chain that has been forged constantly during four centuries of infamous spoliation, of torpid despotism and shameful moral slavery. When the rudders of the American ships entered the waters of the coast of Guanica to bear to this country the political revolution, great confidence was born again, again was awakened the ideal of sleeping patriotism. * * *."

By August 3 additional reinforcements had arrived from the States under Generals Brooke and Schwan, and the entire American force was concentrated at Ponce, aggregating about 14,000 men with their equipment of 106 howitzers, mortars, field and siege guns.

While the land was being explored, and outposts established beyond Ponce along the road to San Juan, General Miles was shaping all in readiness to begin the systematic

campaign by which he intended to take Porto Rico and cover it with his men. The army was already divided into four parts, Brooke, Wilson, Schwan and Henry commanding, and under these four leaders four special columns were to march in the following order: Generals Brooke and Wilson were to take the military road leading to San Juan, the capital, in the northeastern part of the island. Generals Henry and Schwan were to go northwest by way of Yauco — (which it will be recalled Henry then occupied) and have for their objective point the city of Arecibo, a coast town in the northwestern part of Porto Rico. Each of the two divisions of the army was to be divided into two columns, Brooke and Wilson converging their forces at the city of Aibonito, while Schwan and Henry were to merge at their destination, Arecibo. The four divisions were to start from the base of operations, Ponce. This city was healthful, the food supplies plentiful and the people friendly. Transportation for the guns and supplies could easily be hired from the natives. On a little island only 37 miles broad and 108 miles long, "Smaller in area than the state of Connecticut, and less in population than the city of Brooklyn," it would seem to be no great undertaking to execute these military operations, yet there existed one serious difficulty — the ever-present mountains. A map of Porto Rico seems to be nothing but little intersecting chains of peaks and hills — not a

square inch but is closely covered. Even an army less proficient than the Spanish in the arts of defense, would have realized what perfect natural fortifications these summits afforded. Indeed, even then the Spaniards, routed from Ponce and Guanica, had already proceeded along the military road toward San Juan and were strongly fortified among the mountains.

The advance of the troops had been delayed for a week by lack of launches for disembarking, and by the grounding of two loaded transports, *Massachusetts* and *Manitoba*. During this interim General Wilson, besides getting his men in order for the coming campaign, had been busy at Ponce in the official capacity of military commander. The troops had not been idle; for much reconnoitering had been accomplished as well as preparations, and when the final starting moment came the forces which set out were so completely trained and prepared for their work that the campaign may almost be called a model of military excellence.

As the troops moving northeastward were the first to encounter the enemy, we will follow their fortunes and then return to the northwestern division. Under General Brooke were the troops of General Peter Hains' brigade; under Wilson were those commanded by General Oswald Ernst. On August 5 General Hains attacked the 500 Spaniards who were occupying the town of Guayama, and succeeded in putting them to flight with

a loss of only three of his men wounded. They made no very great resistance,—indeed, our soldiers did not know whether or not they were regulars of the Spanish army. Their losses were, as far as could be ascertained, one killed and two wounded. General Hains' men saw no further action until the 8th of the month, when a reconnoitering party who were exploring the Cayey road, three miles north of Guayama, were fired upon by hidden troops, concealed among the hills. The reconnoiterers fell back to Guayama, temporarily repulsed, but, being reinforced, they managed finally to press their enemies to seek stronger positions. Five Americans received wounds, and two of the company were overcome by heat.

As General Brooke's cavalry and artillery had been on the transports that were grounded, further movement of his forces was delayed until August 13. On that date a general attack upon the Spanish was planned, the enemy being by that time strongly fortified both by cunning and by nature in the heights of Guamani Pass, directly overhanging the military road to Cayey. For eight days this command of infantry—whose numbers, not accurately ascertained, were anywhere from 600 to 1,500 strong,—had been entrenching themselves on the summits and between the hills beyond Guayama. For five miles their hiding places, screened by palm and banana trees, covering the mountains, commanded every impor-

tant trail over which the Americans might advance in order to execute a flank movement. This dreaded side-attack was exactly what General Brooke had in store for them. Afterwards he expected to shell their intrenchments with his artillery. These preparations had been completed, and the artillery was just about to begin work, when the army was startled to receive from General Miles a message bearing President McKinley's command to cease operations on account of the signing of a peace protocol. The position of General Brooke's men beneath Guamani Pass with their guns in readiness is reminiscent of Grimes' battery in action against San Juan Hill, Cuba. Whether such a day of fighting was before the Porto Rican command, and whether the results would have been so decisively victorious, will never be known. Assured of victory they were, and perhaps rightfully so, yet the fact remains that a hard day's fighting was before them, and one cannot sweepingly predict a triumph without a restricting doubt.

On August 7 General Wilson, whose men were to have merged with Brooke's at Aibonito, had his troops some seven miles north of the town of Juan Diaz. He knew through his scouts that Aibonito was held by about 2,000 Spanish regulars and volunteers. Despite the fact that its natural advantages for defense were great, it would have been attacked and taken at once, had it not been for the intervening town of Coamo which, held by only 250 Spanish, lay directly

in the path of the American army. This town General Wilson decided to take by a flank move, which he knew would prevent the loss of life among his men that a direct assault would precipitate. Accordingly, he despatched the 16th Pennsylvania regiment over certain mountain trails to the valley of the Coamo River — a difficult route, yet one which would bring them unobserved to the rear of the town. While they were slipping up on the town from this side, the main brigade, under its commander, General Ernst, conducted a direct attack upon the place. A troublesome block-house situated in a fork of the road had to be destroyed before the attack could be made, and this was ably accomplished by Captain Anderson's artillery. The flank and front moves were then brilliantly executed, and the garrison was captured with most of its men. The Spanish commander and one of his captains were killed. One American was severely injured and five wounded — all of the 16th Pennsylvanians, who bore themselves most creditably, and really suffered the brunt of the fight. General Wilson knew the land well, through careful reconnoissance, and took full advantage of his knowledge in the action that followed. Pursuit by our cavalry of those who escaped our troops at Coamo was checked by sudden fire from the enemy, securely intrenched on Asumante Hill. The turning movement had been so simple and successful that Wilson decided to execute here another one, and, in

order to keep the enemy from suspecting this intent, he sent Pott's artillery with five guns to fire upon Coamo. A low ridge protected them, and from its shelter they so successfully shelled the enemy that in twenty minutes their rifle pits were deserted and their guns silenced. As was the case with General Brooke, the flank move was stopped by the receipt of the orders to cease hostilities, and again, as in the case of Brooke, it is difficult to say what might have been the result had the engagement proceeded.

While all this was taking place, the other two columns of the army were marching northwest under General Schwan and General Henry. Schwan's expedition set forth on August 6, under orders to march from Ponce to Arecibo — or in other words, to cross Porto Rico's western half, going from the south to north. Point by point he was to occupy the towns — "A sort of flying column," one narrator describes it. At each encounter along the way he was to drive out or to capture the enemy. Nothing befell the marchers until they got as far as Hormigueros, when, on August 10, the advance guard, which included the cavalry, were surprised by a strong Spanish force. The enemy was intrenched in the hills near Mayaguez road. An engagement followed, in which two Americans lost their lives and fifteen were wounded. Twelve hundred Spaniards were routed, losing heavily, with fifteen dead. Next morning at half past nine General

Schwan made a victorious entry into Mayaguez, where he was joyfully received by the people. Six companies of 11th Kentucky Volunteers, who had been sent by water to reinforce General Schwan at Mayaguez, arrived to find him in triumphant possession of the place. These were left, when Schwan moved forward, to guard the town and to prevent trouble with the numerous guerillas in the neighborhood.

The Spaniards whom he had driven out of Hormigueros, General Schwan overtook on August 13 near Las Marias while they were crossing the Rio Prieto River. The Spanish again lost heavily; some being drowned in addition to those killed and wounded. Some of them got as far as Lares, but expecting to be followed, quitted it next day. No great advantage accrued from this, however, for early the following morning General Schwan received the message of peace from General Miles. They had been six days at their task, and already eleven towns were taken, and 163 regulars captured. It had been a splendid march — conducted in "strict tactical order" — a thing rare among actual marches, yet usual at schools of training. This must have been difficult, too, for the roads were very poor, and the tropical heat severe. "Fully one-fourth of the command were sick," wrote Captain Whitney in his account of the campaign, "They had no extra clothing, and their shoes were worn out, yet when the telegram to General Schwan from headquarters 'Com-

manding general sends congratulations and thanks. He relies implicitly upon your skill, good judgment and generalship,' was published to the men, new life was infused into them, and fresh hardships were eagerly sought."

General Henry's column, which, it had been originally planned, was to join Schwan's at Arecibo, was delayed by unavoidable occurrences beyond the average soldier's patience. The road over which he was ordered to pass had first to be repaired, and when this was finally done, General Henry's men got almost to Arecibo without meeting a single Spaniard, and were then doomed to inaction by the receipt of the orders of the peace protocol.

To discuss what might or might not have occurred during the Porto Rican campaign is a worse than useless endeavor. Yet it is tempting to speculate over this interrupted campaign, for every move was so carefully mapped out, every inch of ground so faithfully reconnoitred, that the victorious result seems obvious. Certainly, if what did transpire can be used as a gauge for what did not, the campaign was a triumph!

"The island of Porto Rico alone, which will remain a part of the United States, is valued at more millions than the entire cost of the war with Spain." Reckoning the war by dollars and cents, this statement of our gains in one single quarter is an interesting refutation to arguments against military expenditure; while

reckoning the more serious consideration of human destinies, it is perhaps not a mistake to assert that for each life sacrificed by an American soldier, a thousand human beings were given life — nay more, for by freeing Cuba and Porto Rico from Spanish rule, both life and liberty were given to generations of human beings to come, and a race fast falling into decay through tyranny and cruelty was reconstructed, perhaps revolutionized.

To the major-general commanding the American army, no greater tribute can be paid than to point out the nobility revealed by his own words upon receiving orders to cease hostilities in Porto Rico. "The message of instruction," he writes, "arrived on foaming horses, putting an end to further bloodshed." Major-General Miles, who had been debarred from commanding the forces sent to Cuba, obstructed and delayed in organizing his brilliant Porto Rican campaign, and even after preparations were under way, delayed and hampered at every turn, by personal antagonism, was at last about to see his splendid plans put into operation, at last to find a chance to conduct a force against Spain in the manner dear to his order-loving heart, when word came that peace negotiations had been signed, and that the war was over. Yet this man's first thought was not "Now I have lost a chance to glorify myself," it was "Putting an end to further bloodshed," and in that one sentence he brought military ideals up to a supreme point. In the

hands of such men as General Miles, war loses its horrors, and becomes a short cut to peace — and this, in the final accomplishment of human development it must become, or pass away altogether with all that is unworthy.

CHAPTER XII.

1898.

THE CAMPAIGN AT MANILA.

The situation at Manila after the battle of May 1 — Threats of foreign intervention — Suspicious activities of the German fleet — A foreign coalition prevented by the friendship of Great Britain — Organization of the 8th Army Corps — Its departure for the Philippines — The battle of August 13 and the capitulation of Manila — Military government established — The Filipinos threaten to make trouble.

The position of Admiral Dewey after the destruction of the Spanish fleet was far from reassuring. It is true that he had command of the situation, and by holding the city of Manila under the threat of his guns, he controlled in a sense the fate of the Philippine Islands. Nevertheless the state of affairs demanded watchfulness and consummate tact. In the first place he could do no more than remain inactive until reinforcements arrived; the only alternative being a bombardment of Manila, which was out of the question for no advantage would be attained that would offset the havoc such a course would bring to non-combatants.

Furthermore the question of interference by other powers just after his victory became acute; some of whom plainly resented the appearance of the United States in the eastern seas. It was clear from the beginning that the attitude of the commanders of the

English fleet was friendly, that of the French and Japanese questionable, but that of the German Admiral Von Diederich was so markedly antagonistic that a serious mistake on the part of Admiral Dewey might have resulted in a breach between America and the German Empire. During a good share of the naval and military campaign against Manila, Germany had five out of the eight of her Pacific fleet, all of them powerful vessels, stationed in Manila Bay, and on one occasion the action of one of these ships was such a breach of international comity that Dewey was obliged to send a peremptory inquiry regarding the intentions of the German admiral. Fortunately international complications were avoided. The attitude of Great Britain in refusing to be led into a European coalition against the United States had a tremendous influence in keeping the other powers from endeavoring to

nullify the effects of American victories. With England as a possible ally, or at least strictly neutral, any political combination of the other powers could have no hope of realizing its aim. Furthermore it is unquestionably true that the sympathies of the English public were strongly favorable to America throughout the war, and one of the greatest gains of the war was the strengthening of the ties of Anglo-Saxon kinship.

The possibility of succor being sent to Manila was another specter that sat by Dewey's side during his long and lonely wait for reinforcements. As has already been seen, Cervera, even after such a thing would have been beyond the bounds of possibility, was ordered to leave Santiago and go to the rescue of the Philippines; and on June 15, a fleet, consisting of the battleship *Pelayo*, the *Carlos V*, *Patriota* and *Rapido*, with a flotilla of colliers and other vessels, was started from Cadiz, Spain, professedly to "assert our sovereignty in the Philippine Archipelago," but it got no further than the eastern outlet of the Suez Canal. It is possible that the Spanish authorities really intended to send this fleet to the East, for they were willing to pay the enormous tariff of \$160,000 levied on the fleet for passage through the Canal, yet the news of Cervera's defeat and the threat of an American descent upon the coast of Spain effected a change of heart, and on July 29 Admiral Camara was back in the harbor of Cadiz.

The imperative necessity for sending troops to the assistance of Dewey was recognized from the beginning, yet the need for sending them adequately prepared was equally recognized. Furthermore it was thought that the operations against Cuba and Porto Rico were of greater importance than those against the Philippines, and it was conceived that as Admiral Dewey could maintain his position, it would be advisable to concentrate the energies of the country against the Gulf possessions of Spain. Nevertheless upon the news of Dewey's victory an order was issued for the mobilization of an army at San Francisco, which was placed under the command of Major-General Wesley Merritt. This was organized as the 8th Army Corps, and was to include approximately 20,000 men. These men were drilled and trained as rapidly as possible, supplies were rushed to transports, and by supreme effort the first expedition under Brigadier-General L. M. Anderson, departed on May 25 on their long voyage across the Pacific. This expedition, which comprehended 115 officers and 2,386 men, reached Manila on June 30. The second expedition, under Brigadier-General F. V. Greene, (158 officers and 3,428 men) sailed June 15 and arrived July 17; the third (197 officers and 4,650 men) under Brigadier-General Arthur MacArthur, with General Merritt accompanying, sailed June 27 and 29, and arrived July 25 and 31.

With the advent of the last expedi-

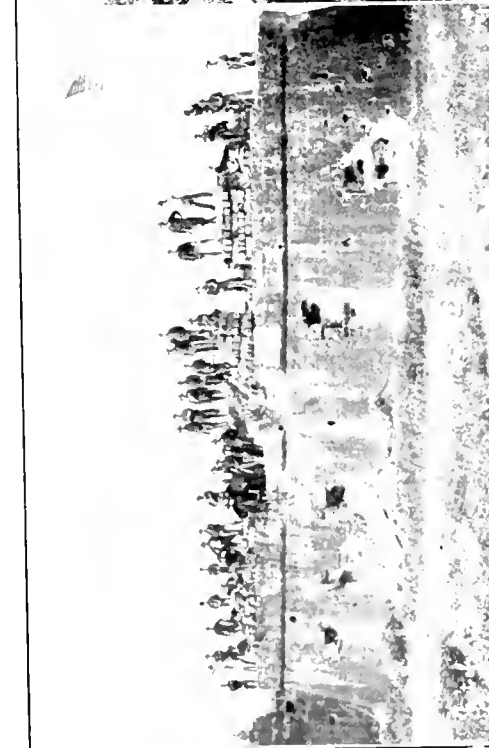
tion there were at Manila 470 officers and 10,464 men. Opposed to these was a military force of Spaniards of approximately twice the strength of the American army. On the arrival of the transports the men were established at Cavite and along the beach controlled by the fleet after the battle. General Merritt had not only the enemy to contend with but also Aguinaldo and his Filipino insurgents, whose relations with Admiral Dewey and the American generals had already become strained. By diplomacy, however, they were controlled and the way was cleared for unhampered action on the part of the American forces.

The task that General Merritt had to accomplish was not an easy one. Manila, a city of nearly 200,000 inhabitants, strongly protected by outer defenses and an inner wall, offered an almost insuperable problem to a body of men as small as that of the American army. The Filipino allies could not be trusted, and Admiral Dewey was disinclined to attack the city until the monitor *Monterey* arrived, fearing that the powerful guns of the shore batteries might send one of his light armored cruisers to the bottom.

The plan of General Merritt was to advance his men from the position they occupied, south of Manila, and by a combined frontal and flanking attack, to endeavor to drive the Spaniards back to the inner defences of the city. Entrenchments were dug from the coast paralleling the Spanish lines of defence, but no collision between

the two forces occurred until July 31, a month after the arrival of General Anderson's command. The Spanish were stationed in front of Malate, a suburban village on the coast south of Manila. When they saw that the American soldiers were advancing their trenches towards their position, they made a sudden night attack on the men of the 10th Pennsylvania, during one of the heavy storms common to the islands at that season. The men were already tired out with their labors in digging the trenches, and suffering from the effects of remaining in them for hours when they were half-filled with water and mud; nevertheless they showed their mettle and replied to the firing as best they could, not yielding an inch, and keeping up the firing until reinforced by a detachment of the 3d U. S. Artillery, the 1st California and the 1st Colorado. In moving forward to the aid of the Pennsylvania regiment these came within the zone of firing, suffering severe losses before they reached the front. Soon after the arrival of these reinforcements, the Spanish ceased firing and withdrew, taking their wounded and dead with them. The Americans lost 15 killed and 53 wounded during this affair in the night,—a punishment almost as severe as that received by the regiments in front of Guasimas and El Caney.

From July 31 to August 7 the troops of General MacArthur's brigade were unable to land owing to the heavy surf produced by the storms, and thus could not participate in



1. FORT SAN ANTONIO ABAND, SHOWING EFFECT OF BOMBARDMENT BY DEWILY. 2. CENTRAL HASTON, COL. MACALE AND MAJOR BISHOP, OF THE 2D COTTON REGIMENT, AT SAN FERNANDO. 3. SOLDIERS' HOSPITAL IN CHURCH, SAN PEDRO, MACALE. 4. TROOPS AWAITING ORDERS AT LAJANA DE RAY

TO NEW YORK
FROM REARY
IN RE-ENGLAND
THE NEW YORK NATIONALS

the skirmishes that were occurring nightly along the lines. The strain of these constant alarms, and the exposure of the men in the trenches, were beginning to tell on the health and spirits of the army, so General Merritt felt that the time had come to make a determined effort to put an end to what was developing into a very embarrassing situation. This was rendered easier by the arrival of the powerful armored monitor *Monterey* on August 4, and by the successful though hazardous landing of MacArthur's expedition. The great ten and twelve inch guns of the *Monterey* were more than a match for the shore batteries of the enemy, so Admiral Dewey was now willing to coöperate with General Merritt in a general attack on Manila. The story of the succeeding operations is graphically told in his report to the Adjutant-General, dated August 31 and written when he was at sea on his way to Paris where he was summoned to aid the United States peace commissioners:

"Upon the assembly of MacArthur's brigade in support of Greene's, I had about 8,500 men in position to attack, and I deemed that the time had come for final action. During the time of the night attacks I had communicated my desire to Admiral Dewey that he would allow his ships to open fire on the right of the Spanish line of entrenchments, believing that such action would stop the night firing and loss of life, but the Admiral had declined to order it unless we were in danger of losing our position by the assaults of the Spanish, for the reason that, in his opinion, it would precipitate a general engagement, for which he was not ready. Now, however, the brigade of General MacArthur was in position and the *Monterey* had arrived, and under date of August 6 Admiral Dewey agreed to my suggestion that we should send a joint letter to the Captain-

General notifying him that he should remove from the city all noncombatants within the next forty-eight hours, and that the operations against Manila might begin at any time after the expiration of that period.

"This letter was sent August 7. * * * and a reply was received the same date to the effect that the Spanish were without places of refuge for the increased numbers of wounded, sick women, and children now lodged within the walls. On the 9th a formal joint demand for the surrender of the city was sent in. * * * This demand was based upon the hopelessness of the struggle on the part of the Spaniards, and that every consideration of humanity demanded that the city should not be subjected to bombardment under such circumstances. The Captain-General's reply of the same date * * * stated that the council of defense had declared that the demand could not be granted; but the Captain-General offered to consult his Government if we would allow him the time strictly necessary for the communications by way of Hong Kong.

"This was declined on our part for the reason that it could, in the opinion of the Admiral and myself, lead only to a continuance of the situation, with no immediate result favorable to us, and the necessity was apparent and very urgent that decisive action should be taken at once to compel the enemy to give up the town, in order to relieve our troops from the trenches and from the great exposure to unhealthy conditions which were unavoidable in a bivouac during the rainy season. The sea-coast batteries in defense of Manila are so situated that it is impossible for ships to engage with them without firing into the town, and as the bombardment of a city, filled with women and children, sick and wounded, and containing a large amount of neutral property, could only be justified as a last resort, it was agreed between Admiral Dewey and myself that an attempt should be made to carry the extreme right of the Spanish line of entrenchments in front of the positions at the time occupied by our troops, which, with its flank on the seashore, was entirely open to the fire of the navy.

"It was not my intention to press the assault at this point, in case the enemy should hold it in strong force, until after the navy had made practicable breaches in the works and had shaken the troops holding them, which could not be done by the army alone, owing to the absence of siege guns. * * * This is indicated fully. It was believed, however, as most desirable, and in accordance with the principles of civilized warfare, that the attempt should be made to drive the enemy

out of his entrenchments before resorting to bombardment of the city.

"By orders issued some time previously, MacArthur's and Greene's brigades were organized as the Second Division of the 8th Army Corps, Brigadier-General Thomas M. Anderson commanding; and in anticipation of the attack General Anderson moved his headquarters from Cavite to the brigade camps and assumed direct command in the field. Copies of the written and verbal instructions * * * were given to the division and brigade commanders on the 12th, and all the troops were in position on the 13th at an early hour in the morning.

"About 9 A. M. on that day our fleet steamed forward from Cavite and before 10 A. M. opened a hot and accurate fire of heavy shells and rapid-fire projectiles on the sea flank of the Spanish intrenchments at the powder magazine fort, and at the same time the Utah batteries, in position in our trenches near the 'Calle Real,' began firing with great accuracy. At 10:25 on a prearranged signal from our trenches that it was believed our troops could advance, the navy ceased firing, and immediately a light line of skirmishers from the Colorado regiment of Greene's brigade passed over our trenches and deployed rapidly forward, another line from the same regiment from the left flank of our earthworks advancing swiftly up the beach in open order. Both these lines found the powder-magazine fort and the trenches flanking it deserted, but as they passed over the Spanish works they were met by a sharp fire from a second line situated in the streets of Malate, by which a number of men were killed and wounded, among others the soldier who pulled down the Spanish colors still flying on the fort and raised our own (Private Phoenix, Co. I, 1st Colorado) * * *.

"The works of the second line soon gave way to the determined advance of Greene's troops, and that officer pushed his brigade rapidly through Malate and over the bridges to occupy Binondo and San Miguel, as contemplated in his instructions. In the meantime the brigade of General MacArthur, advancing simultaneously on the Pasay road, encountered a very sharp fire, coming from the block-houses, trenches, and woods in his front, positions which it was very difficult to carry, owing to the swampy condition of the ground on both sides of the roads and the heavy undergrowth concealing the enemy. With much gallantry and excellent judgment on the part of the brigade commander and the troops engaged, these difficulties were overcome with a minimum loss * * * and General MacArthur advanced and held the bridges and the town of Malate, as was contemplated in his instruction.

"The city of Manila was now in our possession, excepting the walled town, but shortly after the entry of our troops into Malate a white flag was displayed on the walls, whereupon, Lieut.-Col. C. A. Whittier, U. S. V., of my staff, and Lieut. Brumby, U. S. Navy, representing Admiral Dewey, were sent ashore to communicate with the Captain-General. I soon personally followed these officers into the town, going at once to the palace of the Governor-General, and there, after a conversation with the Spanish authorities, a preliminary agreement of the terms of capitulation was signed by the Captain-General and myself. This agreement was subsequently incorporated into the formal terms of capitulation, as arranged by the officers representing the two forces. * * *.

"Immediately after the surrender the Spanish colors on the sea front were hauled down and the American flag displayed and saluted by the guns of the Navy. The 2d Oregon Regiment, which had proceeded by sea from Cavite, was disembarked and entered the walled town as a provost guard, and the colonel was directed to receive the Spanish arms and deposit them in places of security. The town was filled with the troops of the enemy driven in from the intrenchments, regiments formed and standing in line in the streets, but the work of disarming proceeded quietly and nothing unpleasant occurred.

"In leaving the subject of the operations of the 13th, I desire here to record my appreciation of the admirable manner in which the orders for attack and the plan for occupation of the city were carried out by the troops exactly as contemplated. I submit that for troops to enter under fire a town covering a wide area, to rapidly deploy and guard all principal points in the extensive suburbs, to keep out the insurgent forces pressing for admission, to quietly disarm an army of Spaniards more than equal in numbers to the American troops, and finally by all this to prevent entirely all rapine, pillage, and disorder, and gain entire and complete possession of a city of 300,000 people filled with natives hostile to the European interests, and stirred up by the knowledge that their own people were fighting in the outside trenches, was an act which only the law-abiding, temperate resolute American soldier, well and skillfully handled by his regimental and brigade commanders, could accomplish. * * *.

"The amount of public funds and the numbers of prisoners of war have been reported in detail by cable.* It will be observed that the trophies of

* "About 7,000 prisoners of war taken. The squadron has no casualties; no vessel injured * * * Dewey." (Cablegram, August 13, 1898.)

Manila were nearly \$900,000, 13,000 prisoners, and 22,000 arms.

"Immediately after the surrender, my headquarters were established in the ayuntamiento, or city office of the Governor-General, where steps were at once inaugurated to set up the government of military occupancy. A proclamation was issued. * * *. General MacArthur was appointed provost-marshal-general and civil governor of the town. * * *. General Greene was selected for the duties * * * of director of financial affairs. * * *. Lieutenant-Colonel Whittier, U. S. V. * * * was appointed collector of customs. * * *. Major Whipple, of the pay department * * * custodian of public funds. * * *.

"On the 16th a cablegram containing the text of the President's proclamation directing a cessation of hostilities was received by me, and at the same time an order to make the fact known to the Spanish authorities, which was done at once. This resulted in a formal protest from the Governor-General in regard to the transfer of public funds then taking place, on the ground that the proclamation was dated prior to the surrender. To this I replied that the status quo in which we were left with the cessation of hostilities was that existing at the time of the receipt by me of the official notice, and that I must insist upon

the delivery of the funds. The delivery was made under protest.

"After the issue of my proclamation and the establishment of my office as military governor, I had direct written communication with General Aguinaldo on several occasions. He recognized my authority as military governor of the town of Manila and the suburbs, and made professions of his willingness to withdraw his troops to a line which I might indicate, but at the same time asking certain favors for himself. The matters in this connection had not been settled at the date of my departure. Doubtless much dissatisfaction is felt in the ranks and file of the insurgents that they have not been permitted to enjoy the occupancy of Manila, and there is some ground for trouble with them owing to that fact, but, notwithstanding many rumors to the contrary, I am of the opinion that the leaders will be able to prevent serious disturbances, as they are sufficiently intelligent and educated to know that to antagonize the United States would be to destroy their only chance of future political improvement.

"On the 28th instant I received a cablegram directing me to transfer my command to Major-General Otis, U. S. V., and to proceed to Paris, France, for conference with the peace commissioners. I embarked on the steamer China on the 30th in obedience to these instructions."

CHAPTER XIII.

1898.

THE PEACE PROTOCOL AND THE TREATY OF PARIS.

Manzanillo and the Bay of Nipe—Spain's desperate condition—Ambassador Cambon presents proposals for peace—The protocol signed—The Treaty Commissioners meet at Paris, October 1, 1898—The pleas of Spain for intervention fruitless—Treaty of Paris signed December 10, 1898—The contest over ratification in the Senate—Ratification—Text of the treaty—Exchange of ratifications.

During the course of the blockade there were many incidents of a minor nature such as the taking of prizes, chases after blockade-runners, occasional shelling of shore batteries or detachments who ventured within range of guns of the ships, but only

two of these attained the dignity of maritime battles: the attacks on Manzanillo and the Bay of Nipe. The former was esteemed one of the strongest positions on the southern coast of Cuba, and as early as June 26 an endeavor had been made by the

Hist, *Hornet* and *Wompatuck* to destroy the Spanish vessels in the harbor, but were repulsed after disabling a torpedo boat and sinking a smaller vessel. Another attack made a day later by the *Scorpion* and the *Oceola* met the same fate, and Manzanillo was left at peace until July 18, when the same vessels reinforced by the *Helena* and *Wilmington* stood off from the harbor, just out of effective range of the Spanish guns, and poured a heavy and deliberate fire upon the shipping lying at the wharfs. This was completely destroyed, among the vessels being three blockade runners that had been active in bringing supplies to the Spanish forces. On August 12 a determined attack was made by Commander Goodrich of the *Newark* in an attempt to capture the city. With him were the *Resolute*, *Suwanee*, *Oceola*, *Hist*, and the *Alvarado*, one of the vessels captured from the enemy at Santiago. Early on the following day a general bombardment was commenced, after a refusal on the part of the Spanish commander of the garrison to surrender. An intermittent firing was kept up throughout the day and night. The next day, however, flags of truce were seen flying over the city, and from a boat put out from the same the American ships learned of the signing of the peace protocol and the declaration of an armistice.

The Bay of Nipe is situated on the northeastern coast, across the island and directly north of Santiago de Cuba. It is a splendid harbor with a narrow entrance like that of Santiago.

As this was a point of rendezvous for Spanish gunboats, it was decided to occupy it, destroying or capturing any of the vessels that might be within. Accordingly on July 21 the *Annapolis*, *Topeka*, *Wasp* and *Leyden* appeared at the mouth of the harbor, which was reported to be strongly mined. In spite of this the *Wasp* and the *Leyden* steamed into the narrow channel and by good fortune escaped injury from the mines, finding within the harbor the gunboat, *Don Jorge Juan*. The other ships were signaled to enter, and the four sank the Spanish vessel after a few minutes of firing. A number of mines were raised but few of them appeared to be effective.

Thus point by point the American forces were advancing towards Havana. Each day meant a loss to the Spanish cause, and each day it became more and more apparent that the disorganized and corrupt administration of Spain could not meet the exigencies of the situation. At last the light began to dawn upon the other European powers that further continuance of the struggle could only result in disasters perhaps still more serious,—disasters, indeed, that might endanger the peace of Europe. Pressure was therefore exerted upon Spain to submit to the inevitable, and sue for peace; a thing that the ministry was not averse to doing. The nations of Europe had another and stronger reason for this activity for peace than mere solicitude for Spain's welfare. The threat had been made

by the United States early in the war to carry the same across the Atlantic, and after the destruction of Cervera's fleet, the organization of a fleet for the purpose was fully determined upon. This was to be under command of Admiral Watson, and was to consist of the *Iowa*, *Oregon*, *Yankee*, *Yosemite*, and *Dixie*, with the *Newark* as flag-ship. Spain was almost without maritime protection; Camara, with the few remaining ships of war, was still dallying at the Isthmus of Suez, and should the threat be carried out Cadiz, Barcelona and the other coastal cities of the Peninsula would be at the mercy of the American fleet. To the continental powers this would not be a blow at Spain alone, but at all of Europe.

Subject thus to pressure from their own people within, and from influences without, the Spanish ministers decided to take steps leading towards a cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, the Duke of Almodovar del Rio, the Minister of State, through the offices of the French ambassador at Washington, Jules Cambon, sent a note to Secretary of State Day, the central point of which is expressed in the words: "To end calamities already so great and to avert evils still greater, our countries might naturally endeavor to find upon which conditions the present struggle could be determined otherwise than by force of arms."

This communication was received July 22, and four days later a reply was forwarded in which the condi-

tions demanded by the United States for cessation of hostilities were explicitly stated. These were:

First. The relinquishment by Spain of all claim of sovereignty over or title to Cuba and her immediate evacuation of the island.

Second. The President, desirous of exhibiting signal generosity, will not now put forward any demand for pecuniary indemnity. Nevertheless he cannot be insensible to the losses and expenses of the United States incident to the war or to the claims of our citizens for injuries to their persons and property during the late insurrection in Cuba. He must, therefore, require the cession to the United States and the immediate evacuation by Spain of the Island of Porto Rico and the other islands in the West Indies now under the sovereignty of Spain in the West Indies, and the cession of an island in the Ladrones, to be selected by the United States.

Third. On similar grounds the United States is entitled to occupy and will hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

The reply of Spain to these conditions was received August 7. The demands contained in the first two clauses of the letter of the Secretary of State, Spain was already willing to accede; with regard to the third, however, there was an evident tendency expressed to temporize and make further conditions. Secretary Day, however, ignored this fact, and assuming that the Spanish government had agreed wholly to the conditions imposed, invited Ambassador Cambon to sign the peace protocol on August 10. Spain writhed under what she conceived to be severe conditions. In the words of the third clause she saw the passing of the last shreds of an empire that had been the greatest the world had seen. That the United States would be content with the city

and harbor of Manila, the Spanish authorities did not dream, for they possessed no lofty conception of the altruistic ideals of the American people. They saw intuitively, what the logic of events afterwards proved to be true, that America must give up all, or retain all, as far as the Philippines were concerned. Thus peace was disastrous, but war under the present conditions would be more so, and Spain humbled her pride and accepted the inevitable. Therefore, possessed of plenary power to act for the defeated nation, Ambassador Cambon signed the protocol on August 12. The result of this agreement was only a truce or armistice, but as it contained provisions for the establishment of a conference for the purpose of framing a treaty of peace, it was the virtual end of the war.

The signing of the protocol, however, could have no binding power on either of the powers, and, until a definite treaty could be drawn up and ratified, hostilities might be resumed at any time. To attain this highly desirable end, President McKinley appointed five commissioners to represent the United States in formulating the treaty of peace. A similar group was appointed by the Spanish administration, and on October 1, 1898, the first session of the conference was held at Paris. The United States commissioners consisted of William R. Day, who resigned the position of Secretary of State in order to become a member of the same; Senators William P. Frye, of

Maine, and Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; George Gray, of Delaware; and Whitelaw Reid, of New York. On the Spanish commission were: Señors Montero Rios, President of the Senate of Spain; Abarzuza Garnica, Villa-Urrutia, and General Cerero.

The American representatives were all men of ability, and were deeply versed in constitutional and international law. They had with them in addition an advisory staff of experts, the chief of whom was the secretary of the commission, John Bassett Moore, one of the foremost authorities on international law in the United States. He served also as counsel for the American commission, and presented their arguments before the conference. The Spanish commissioners were also men of unusual force, and made a splendid but hopeless fight for every contested point. They were prepared to yield up Cuba and Porto Rico, but there were other points involved and concessions they demanded upon which they were determined to hold their ground. As the result the negotiations lasted for two months and a half, the treaty being signed on December 10, 1898. The conditions imposed by the United States seemed exceedingly severe to Spain, and if she had seen any hope of an alliance with a powerful nation, she would undoubtedly have accepted further hostilities rather than accept them. Her efforts in that way, however, were unavailing. There were but two powers to whom she could

turn: France and Germany. The first was her friend because of the ties of a common Latin ancestry, and to another and more immediate cause for sympathy: the fact that the French people were in possession of vast aggregate of Spanish securities. Notwithstanding such strong incentives for intervention, France was in no condition to come to the aid of Spain. In fact, she was having serious troubles of her own just at that time. Her relations with England were strained as a result of the Fashoda incident, and at home the people were in a state of semi-hysteria over the Dreyfus affair. Then again, the French have always been a people of chivalry and hospitality; the Americans were guests of the nation, and hostile activities under such conditions in that respect would have stigmatized her good name.

Just what the Emperor of Germany had in mind in adopting an attitude of antagonism to America will doubtless never be known. It may be that, in his visions of Germany as a world power, he had cast longing eyes on the colonial possessions of Spain, which were clearly ready to fall into the hands of a more virile nation. It may be that it was disappointment that dictated the Kaiser's attitude throughout the Spanish-American war, but whatever it was it could not bear the test of overt opposition to the United States which a formal alliance with Spain would involve. In fact, as some one has said, the attitude of Germany was probably nothing more than a

bluff, for Emperor William was too great a man to fail to see that an alliance with Spain would have been a hostile act against those millions of German-born men and women who had found homes and prosperity in America.

So it was that the final pleas of Spain for intervention failed and she was forced to meet squarely the demands of the United States, clearly and immutably laid before her. The two points productive of most controversy at the sessions of the conference were the status of the Philippines and the Cuban debt. With regard to the former Spain maintained that the protocol did not involve the question of sovereignty of the islands, and therefore they should be returned, the demand for their cession being in fact a piece of extraordinary injustice. The American commissioners, on the other hand, claimed that the Spanish hold on the islands was so broken that any solution of the problem than that of American occupation was undesirable, if not impossible. In view of Spain's attitude on the question of the Philippines, nevertheless, the commissioners agreed to pay the sum of \$20,000,000 for possession of the islands. This proposition was ultimately accepted, but not without much temporizing and many protests. With regard to the Cuban debts, the American commissioners absolutely refused to consider any proposition leading towards their assumption or guaranty. In reply to such propositions the point was made

and insisted upon that these debts had been largely acquired in suppressing uprisings in Cuba, hence producing the very conditions that had brought on the war. This demand was therefore wholly denied, and its elimination was finally accepted by the Spanish commissioners. The treaty as signed contained the following provisions:—

1. Cession of Porto Rico.
2. Unconditional relinquishment of the sovereignty of Cuba.
3. Cession of the Philippines, including the Sulu Archipelago.
4. Cession of Guam, in the Ladrões.
5. Payment by the United States of \$20,000,000 in settlement for the Philippines.
6. Relinquishment by the United States of any claim for money indemnity.

The text of the treaty is as follows:

The United States of America and Her Majesty, the Queen-Regent of Spain, in the name of her August Son, Don Alfonso XIII., desiring to end the state of war now existing between the two countries, have for that purpose appointed as plenipotentiaries: The President of the United States, William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid, citizens of the United States; and Her Majesty, Queen-Regent of Spain: Don Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Senate; Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, Senator of the Kingdom and ex-Minister of the Crown; Don Jose de Garnica, Deputy to the Cortes and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels; and Don Rafael Cerero, General of Divisions, who, having assembled in Paris, and having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have, after discussion of the matters before them, agreed upon the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.

Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and all title to Cuba.

And as the island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may, under international law, result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property.

ARTICLE II.

Spain cedes to the United States the island of Puerto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrões.

ARTICLE III.

Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line:—

A line running from west to east along or near the 20th parallel of north latitude, and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachi, from the 118th to the 127th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence along the 127th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the parallel of 4.45 north latitude, thence along the parallel of 4.45 north latitude to its intersection with the meridian of longitude 119.35 east of Greenwich, thence along the meridian of longitude 119.35 east of Greenwich to the parallel of latitude 7.40 north, thence along the parallel of latitude 7.40 north to its intersection with the 116th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence by a direct line to the intersection of the 10th degree parallel of north latitude with the 118th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, and thence along the 118th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the point of beginning.

The United States will pay to Spain the sum of \$20,000,000 within three months after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

ARTICLE IV.

The United States will, for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.

ARTICLE V.

The United States will, upon the signature of the present treaty, send back to Spain, at its

The United States of Am

los Estados Unidos de Am

Great Brit. Majesty for river area y S. M. la Reina. Sigiente de
Great of Spain, in the name y corona, en nombre de Su Augusto
re Christian King Don Alfonso XIII, His Don Alfonso XIII, de acuerdo por
to and the same as is now known al estado de guerra hoy
existing between the two countries. Existent entre ambos Naciones, hin
one or both parties appointed as nominal in este objeto por sus
representatives a saber:

The President of the United
El Presidente de los Estados Unidos

de America a:

William A. Taft, Chairman

of Davis, Sherman & Coyle.

George Gray y William Hall,

citadanos de los Estados Unidos.

and Sir Augustus the Queen

de España.

Don Eugenio Montero Rios, Sen

ator of the Senate.

Don Bernardino de Aguayo,

Minister of the Kingdom and,

Minister of the Crown.

Don José Barrios, Equiv to the

Chief and Associate Justice

of the National Supreme

and affixed our seals

Done in duplicate at

Paris, the tenth day of Decem

ber, in the year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred

and ninety eight.

William R. Day

Chairman R. Davis

W. P. Gray

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own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces. The arms of the soldiers in question shall be restored to them.

Spain will, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, proceed to evacuate the Philippines, as well as the island of Guam, on terms similar to those agreed upon by the commissioners appointed to arrange for evacuation of Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies under the protocol of August 12, 1898, which is to continue in force till its provisions are completely executed.

The time within which the evacuation of the Philippine Islands and Guam shall be completed shall be fixed by the two governments. Stands of colors, uncaptured war vessels, small arms, guns of all calibers, with their carriages and accessories, powder, ammunition, live stock, and materials and supplies of all kinds belonging to the land and naval forces of Spain in the Philippines and Guam, remain the property of Spain. Pieces of heavy ordnance, exclusive of field artillery, in the fortifications and coast defenses, shall remain in their emplacements for the term of six months, to be reckoned from the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; and the United States may, in the meantime, purchase such material from Spain if a satisfactory agreement between the two governments on the subject shall be reached.

ARTICLE VI.

Spain will, upon the signature of the present treaty, release all prisoners of war and all persons detained or imprisoned for political offenses in connection with the insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines and the war with the United States.

Reciprocally the United States will release all persons made prisoners of war by the American forces, and will undertake to obtain the release of all Spanish prisoners in the hands of the insurgents in Cuba and the Philippines.

The government of the United States will, at its own cost, return to Spain, and the government of Spain will, at its own cost, return to the United States, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, according to the situation of their respective homes, prisoners released or caused to be released by them, respectively, under this article.

ARTICLE VII.

The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either government or of its citizens or subjects, against the other gov-

ernment that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war.

The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article.

ARTICLE VIII.

In conformity with the provisions of Articles I, II, and III of this treaty Spain relinquishes in Cuba and cedes in Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, in the island of Guam, and in the Philippine archipelago, all the buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, structures, public highways, and other immovable property which, in conformity with law, belong to the public domain, and as such belong to the crown of Spain.

And it is hereby declared that the relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, to which the preceding paragraph refers, cannot in any respect impair the property or rights which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds, of provinces, municipalities, public or private establishments, ecclesiastical or civic bodies, or any other associations having legal capacity to acquire and possess property in the aforesaid territories renounced or ceded or of private individuals, of whatsoever nationality such individuals may be.

The aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, includes all documents exclusively referring to the sovereignty relinquished or ceded that may exist in the archives of the peninsula. Where any document in such archives only in part relates to said sovereignty, a copy of such part will be furnished whenever it shall be requested. Like rules shall be reciprocally observed in favor of Spain in respect of documents in the archives of the islands above referred to.

In the aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, are also included such rights as the crown of Spain and its authorities possess in respect of the official archives and records, executive as well as judicial, in the islands above referred to, which relate to said islands or the right and property of their inhabitants. Such archives and records shall be carefully preserved, and private persons shall without distinction have the right to require, in accordance with law, authenticated copies of the contracts, wills, and other instruments forming part of notarial protocols or files, or which may be contained in the executive or judicial archives, be the latter in Spain or in the islands aforesaid.

ARTICLE IX.

Spanish subjects, natives of the peninsula, residing in the territory over which Spain by the present treaty relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property, including the right to sell or dispose of such property or of its proceeds; and they shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce, and professions, being subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners. In case they remain in the territory, they may preserve their allegiance to the crown of Spain by making before a court of record within a year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty a declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance, in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

ARTICLE X.

The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

ARTICLE XI.

The Spaniards residing in the territories over which Spain by this treaty cedes or relinquishes her sovereignty, shall be subject in matters civil as well as criminal to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country wherein they reside, pursuant to the ordinary laws governing the same; and they shall have the right to appear before such courts and to pursue the same course as citizens of the country to which the courts belong.

ARTICLE XII.

Judicial proceedings pending at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty in the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, shall be determined according to the following rules:—

First—Judgments rendered either in civil suits between private individuals or in criminal matters before the date mentioned, and with respect to which there is no recourse or right of review under the Spanish law, shall be deemed to be final and shall be executed in due form by competent authority in the territory within which such judgments should be carried out.

Second—Civil suits between private individuals which may on the date mentioned be undeter-

mined, shall be prosecuted to judgment before the court in which they may then be pending, or in the court that may be substituted therefor.

Third—Criminal actions pending on the date mentioned before the Supreme Court of Spain against citizens of the territory which by this treaty ceases to be Spanish shall continue under its jurisdiction until final judgment; but, such judgment having been rendered, the execution thereof shall be committed to the competent authority of the place in which the case arose.

ARTICLE XIII.

The rights of property secured by copyrights and patents acquired by Spaniards in the island of Cuba and in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other ceded territory, at the time of exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary, and artistic works not subversive of public order in the territories in question, shall continue to be admitted free of duty into such territories for the period of ten years, to be reckoned from the date of the exchange of the ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIV.

Spain will have the power to establish consular offices in the ports and places of the territories, the sovereignty over which has been either relinquished or ceded by the present treaty.

ARTICLE XV.

The government of each country, will, for the term of ten years, accord to the merchant vessels of the other nation the same treatment in respect of all port charges, including entrance and clearance dues, light dues and tonnage duties, as it accords to its own merchant vessels not engaged in the coastwise trade.

This article may at any time be terminated on six months' notice given by either government to the other.

ARTICLE XVI.

It is understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof; but it will, upon the termination of such occupancy, advise any government established in the island to assume the same obligations.

ARTICLE XVII.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Majesty, the Queen-Regent of Spain; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within

six months from the date hereof, or earlier, if possible.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty and have hereunto allixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Paris, the tenth day of December, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Eight.

[Seal]	WILLIAM R. DAY,
[Seal]	CUSHMAN K. DAVIS,
[Seal]	WILLIAM P. FRYE,
[Seal]	GEORGE GRAY,
[Seal]	WHITELAW REID,
[Seal]	EUGENIO MONTERO RIOS,
[Seal]	B. DE ABARZUZA,
[Seal]	J. DE GAERNICA,
[Seal]	W. R. DE VILLA-URBUTIA,
[Seal]	RAFAEL CERERO.

The treaty, although signed by the contracting parties, could not as yet, under the Constitution of the United States, become effective. To do this required a ratification by two-thirds vote of the Senate. And there was very great doubt as to the possibility of securing this majority. To many sincere and patriotic people, the idea of acquiring colonial possessions, particularly so far distant and little known as the Philippine Islands, was so repugnant that a powerful movement sprang up in opposition to the treaty. Anti-imperialistic societies were organized, and began a propaganda against the same, based on constitutional and sentimental grounds. Public opinion so strongly expressed, as would be expected, found its reflection in House of Representatives and the Senate. Party lines which

had almost been obliterated during the course of the war now reappeared, and it was found that the Democrats were uniformly anti-imperialistic, while the Republicans favored the ratification of the treaty, trusting that the problems that might arise would be solved when they presented themselves. Nevertheless there were men of great ability in the Republican ranks who were opposed to a policy so new and foreign to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. One of these was Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, who fought the treaty with all the power of a logical and forceful mind.

It was due to these conditions that when the Senate took up the ratification of the Treaty of Paris on Monday, February 6, there was much doubt as to the passage of the resolution; 60 votes were needed, and there were only 58 that could safely be depended upon, the opposition numbering 29, with 3 doubtful. The decision was in doubt to the final vote, the earlier ones seemingly indicative of a defeat. However, at 2:30 the resolution was carried by a vote of 57 to 27, or, counting the pairs, 61 to 29. With the exchange of ratifications on April 11, 1899, Spain drops out of American history as a significant figure, and America begins a new era.

CHAPTER XIV.

1898-1900.

THE TAGALOG REVOLT.

The problem of the Filipino government — The attitude of President McKinley — The first Philippine Commission — Outbreak of hostilities at Manila — Advance against Malolos — Lawton's campaigns — Zapote bridge — Capture of Aguinaldo.

On the departure of General Merritt, the command of the forces in the Philippine Islands was intrusted to Major-General Elwell S. Otis, and to him also descended the difficult problem of dealing with the leaders of the Filipino insurrectos. The situation was much complicated by the encouragement they drew from the indefinite status of the islands, and the opposition to their annexation by the anti-imperialists in the United States. The latter were in the minority, but it was a powerful minority, and the support given by them to Aguinaldo's representative, Agoncillo, at Washington, no doubt was responsible for much of the delay in bringing drastic measures to bear in putting an end to a menacing situation. The attitude of the country as a whole was at first in sympathy with the struggle of the Filipinos for freedom, but there was grave doubt as to their capacity for self-government. At any rate, there was no need for deciding the question hastily, and in order to discover the wisest plan to follow, Presi-

dent McKinley appointed a commission which was empowered to investigate conditions in the Philippines, and to suggest a policy to be followed.

President McKinley's own attitude regarding the Filipinos is best expressed in his words delivered before the Boston Home Market Club, February 15, 1899:

"The Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted to our hands by the war, and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization, we are committed. It is a trust from which we will not flinch * * *.

"There is universal agreement that the Philippines shall not be turned back to Spain. No true American would consent to that. * * *

"The suggestion that they should be tossed into the arena for the strife of nations or be left to the anarchy or chaos of no protectorate at all were too shameful to be considered. The treaty gave them to the United States. Could we have required less and done our duty? * * *

"Our concern is not for territory, or trade, or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny were put in our hands. * * *

"It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers. * * *

"The future of the Philippine Islands is now in the hands of the American people.





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BRADDOCK, PA.*

FURNACES OF THE CARNEGIE STEEL COMPANY, LTD.
BRADDOCK, P.T.

LECTURES
ON THE
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES



Edited by EDWIN WILEY, M.A., Ph.D.
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SERIES EIGHTEEN

LECTURE SEVENTY-SIX

The United States as a World Power, 1877 - 1915

(Continued)

76. Domestic and World Problems

28 X 28 6



"I know of no better or safer human tribunal than the people. * * *

"Until Congress shall direct otherwise, it will be the duty of the executive to possess and hold the Philippines. * * *

"That the inhabitants of the Philippines will be benefited is my unshaken belief.

"No imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment."

The first Philippine Commission* consisted of President Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University; Major-General E. S. Otis; Rear-Admiral George Dewey; Hon. Charles Denby, of Evansville, Ind., formerly minister to China; and Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan. It thus contained representatives from widely different classes of American citizens, yet each for some reason had peculiar fitness for the task assigned him. Upon the civilian members of the Commission would of necessity fall the burden of the investigation, yet throughout the sessions they had the advice and co-operation of the others. The report of the Commission, issued in 1900, contains in its four volumes a most exhaustive study of the social, economic, and political conditions of the islands.

The result of this careful investigation only served to corroborate the impression held by the administration that the Filipinos as yet were incapable of controlling their own destinies. The civilian commissioners went to the Philippines carrying with them the President's personal sug-

gestions as to the policy to be pursued, and possessed more or less by his idealistic enthusiasm regarding the duty of the United States to the natives. Their experiences in Manila had a decidedly cooling effect upon their enthusiasm, but increased their sense of America's duty. In their preliminary report to the President the results of their investigation are summed up:

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless, they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails; and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

From the purely abstract point of view, the disappointment and indignation of the Filipino leaders at their treatment by the United States was entirely justified. The last revolt against the Spanish, to their mind, was not far from the goal of attainment when Dewey's ships appeared upon the scene; the Spanish army apparently controlled little more than

*Appointed, January 18, 1899; first session, March 20, 1899; report delivered, November 2, 1899.

Manila itself.* Aguinaldo, too, from the treatment of his envoy, Agoncillo, at Washington, saw clearly that there was no hope from that quarter, and when the treaty of Paris finally settled the questions of the war, the question of the right of the Filipinos was wholly ignored. The result was the transformation of the Filipinos from quasi allies to avowed enemies, and again Manila was practically in a state of siege; this time with the American forces instead of the Spaniards defending the inner lines and the Filipinos surrounding. It was a menacing situation and so pregnant with evil possibilities that Gen. Otis entered into an agreement with Aguinaldo to the effect that the soldiers of neither side should enter the lines of the other.

It was at this time that Aguinaldo learned that the authorities of the United States stood irrevocably in the way of all despoiling of the inhabitants, Spanish or other. The attitude of the Filipino leader, too, had much to do with the condition of affairs for it became more and more arrogant, his real purpose being revealed in his proclamation of June 18, 1898, in which he styled himself dictator. Encouraged by the hope that the strong anti-annexation movement in the States would develop power enough to tie the hands of the Executive and the army, he persisted

in a course that could have but one result — armed hostilities.

It was clear that the insurrectos had decided to force the conflict, and members of Aguinaldo's forces were continually passing the American lines in spite of the agreement to the contrary. United States pickets were often shot at in the dark, and one narrowly escaped assassination by knife. No American was safe from molestation, and so audacious did they finally become that a party of engineers engaged in a topographical survey was captured and imprisoned at Malolos on no pretext whatsoever. For months the inhabitants of Manila were beset with the specter of rapine and murder, and the greatest vigilance on the part of the army was necessary to check the malicious contrivings of a cunning foe. The climax came on February 4, when a strong force of the insurrectos, headed by one of Aguinaldo's officers, endeavored to force a passage into the city across the Santa Mesa Bridge. The sentry, Private Grayson, of the Nebraska Volunteers, ordered the party to halt, and upon their refusal fired, killing the officer. That the Filipinos had planned to precipitate a crisis is shown by the fact that immediately there was an attack on the entire American lines. The firing was continued throughout the entire night but the American ships took no part, lest they do injury to their own men. The Filipinos did not advance, trusting that the attack would cause an uprising of sympathizers in Manila, for it was proved by proclamations to the natives after-

* Aguinaldo was offered \$800,000 by Spain to suppress the revolt, certain reforms, in addition being promised. \$400,000 of this was paid, which Aguinaldo used in preparation for renewed hostilities. He was transported to the Philippines on one of Dewey's ships, soon after the battle of Manila Bay.

wards found in the streets that there was a widespread plot to massacre all foreigners and others opposed to the plans of the insurrectos. On the same day Aguinaldo had issued a vindictive proclamation to his followers declaring war against the Americans, which he followed up by others in a similar strain. Another complication was the attitude of the Spaniards, who encouraged Aguinaldo, and did much harm to the American cause by sending false reports regarding the acts of the army, and many, indeed, were reported to have entered the Filipino army.

The effort to create an uprising in Manila was a failure, although numerous incendiary fires occurred, the greatest damage being done in the Tonga district, the native quarters. The fires were extinguished with great difficulty as the work of the firemen was interfered with as much as possible by the natives cutting the hose and damaging the engines. At daybreak the attack was renewed, the army now being supported by the navy, which did much execution with shells hurled into the trenches of the enemy. Against this double attack the insurgents could make no headway, and during the course of the day (February 5) their firing degenerated into intermittent skirmishes. Step by step their line was driven back until it occupied a position four to six miles further from the city. One of the objective points of the enemy was apparently the pumping station on Santolan hill, which was damaged by them but later repaired. The desperate nature of their enterprise is

indicated by this effort to destroy the water supply of a city of 500,000 inhabitants, with the untold suffering that would have followed. Fortunately, however, they were frustrated in this attempt.

As the result of the three days' fighting around Manila, San Juan del Monte, Santa Ana, San Pedro Macati, Santa Mesa, Lomia, and the Santolan pumping station fell into the hands of the American forces.

For nearly a fortnight there were no new developments, the Americans contenting themselves with strengthening their positions, and the insurgents busying themselves in attempting to foment a general uprising. Aguinaldo issued a "most barbarous order given inhabitants of city by insurgent government to rise en masse on night of 15th; the scheme defeated by activity of provost marshal who had city well in hand."

In the meantime General Miller had been ordered to Iloilo, the second important city in the islands and a stronghold of the insurgents, and had been stationed there since January 1, 1899, with two regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery (18th United States Infantry; 51st Iowa Volunteers and Battery G, 6th Artillery). By specific command of President McKinley, who did not desire to precipitate a rupture with the Filipinos, no active measures were taken, the men remaining on board the transports under the guns of their convoy, the *Baltimore*, until the outbreak at Manila. Reinforced by the

* Gen. Otis's report to Adjutant-General, February 18.

1st Tennessee Volunteers, a landing was made February 7, and the town captured four days later. The native portion of the town was burned, but no damage done to foreign residents.

The logic of events thus conspired to verify the President's cautious attitude. Already by these acts the Filipino leaders had revealed their true characteristics, and it became clear to the President that the uprising must be suppressed with no uncertain hand, or the Philippine Islands for an indefinite period would prove a curse to their people and to the people of the United States. In spite of the fact, therefore, that he was bitterly assailed in the press and on the platform as a military despot, the President called upon Congress to enact legislation increasing the regular army to 65,000 men, and to permit the calling for 35,000 volunteers for service in the Philippines. This request was granted in the act of March 2, 1899, and the administration was free to plan for the suppression of the Tagalog revolt, and for the future welfare of the islands.

That the uprising was both powerful and widespread was evident from the developments at Manila, and General Otis began preparations for a campaign planned to suppress the revolt in the entire island of Luzon. The defenses of Manila were strengthened so that they could be held by a smaller force, thus permitting the organization of a strong army for the field operations. The main body of the Filipinos was massed to the north of Manila, their headquarters being at Malolos, the capital of the Filipino

government, 30 miles away on the line of the Manila and Dagupan Railway. It was planned to direct two columns against this place. It was reported that Malolos, and its near neighbors, Calumpit and Balinag, were being strongly fortified, and made depots for munitions of war, in readiness for a movement against Manila. The Filipinos numbered some 10,000 men, and were under the leadership of the one really able general in the army, General Luna. It was planned to advance against these points by the way of Novaliches, a stronghold of the enemy a few miles nearer Manila. In pursuance of this plan, the American forces were divided into two divisions: one under General Lawton, who had recently arrived with reinforcements; the other, under General MacArthur. General Lawton's division was formed of the brigades of Generals Owenshine, King and Wheaton; that of General MacArthur, the brigades of Generals Hall, H. G. Otis, and Hale.

The movement was initiated on March 25, the advance of the 2d division under General MacArthur being hampered not only by the constant attacks of the enemy, but also by the natural difficulties of the region. The land was elevated only a few feet above the level of the sea, which extended many tidal rivers and estuaries into the district occupied by the soldiers. In many cases these were very deep, and as the Filipinos made it a point to destroy all the bridges they could on the line of retreat, it

was often necessary for the soldiers to swim the streams. Flooded rice fields and dense jungles added to the dangers and discomforts of the campaign. Every inch of the advance was stubbornly contested by the Filipinos. In these operations against Malolos, MacArthur had, in addition to his regularly assigned brigades, that of General Wheaton, who was directed to advance along the railway and join the main force at Novaliches. A strong force of the enemy was met by him at Malinta, which was captured March 25-26, and heavy losses were experienced at the bridge crossing the Tuliahan river, the gallant Colonel Egbert of the 22d Infantry being one of the victims. On March 26, Wheaton's brigade united with the main body, and the combined forces attacked Polo, capturing the same and driving the enemy back with heavy losses. The twelve or more miles from Polo to Malolos was a continuous battle, collisions occurring at Mariloa, Bocave, and a last desperate stand was made by the Filipinos about a mile from their capital. Their works, however, were carried, and the American forces entered Malolos on March 31, only to find a deserted and burning town, with the enemy in full retreat towards Calumpit and Quingua. Aguinaldo then established his headquarters and capital at San Fernando, some 40 miles north of Malolos.

To gain Malolos, however, was one thing, but to hold it was quite another. The enemy had been driven back on

every occasion, yet at a fearful cost, the dead and wounded for the campaign being 534. The attempt to surround the Filipino forces by a combined flank and frontal attack had been a failure, the enemy retreating to safety before the movement was well under way. Nevertheless, the territory along the coast and the line of the railway for 50 miles was cleared of the enemy, so that future operations towards the north would be unhampered. The campaign had been an arduous one both on officers and men, and so, after the capture of Malolos, MacArthur's division remained inactive at that point until April 25.

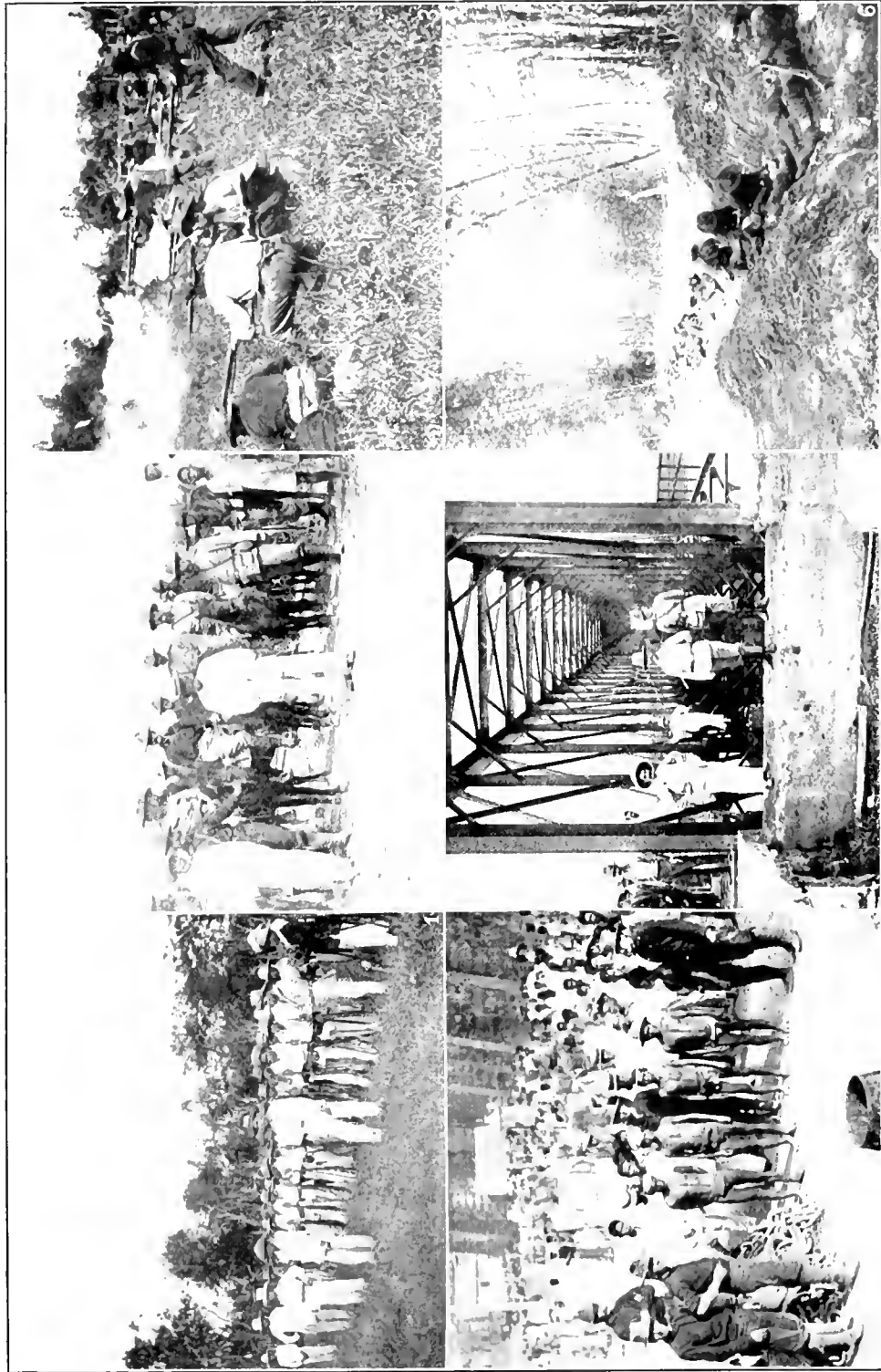
But the position was far from a secure one, and should the enemy succeed in establishing themselves between Malolos and Manila, MacArthur's entire force would be endangered. To prevent such a movement, Generals Hale and Wheaton were directed to advance against Calumpit and San Fernando. The enemy, under General Luna, were strongly entrenched at the former place, and as they had destroyed the bridge, it was impossible to drive them from their position. The problem was solved, nevertheless, by the Kansas regiment under command of Colonel Funston, which attained the opposite bank by swimming in spite of a fierce musketry fire. By the means of boats found on the other side the entire force was transferred. The advance against San Fernando was begun May 4, General Hale's brigade march-

ing through a territory almost waist-deep in mud. There was no very strong effort to prevent the movement, although the enemy kept up a sort of guerrilla attack throughout the day, causing the loss of a number of men. On the next morning San Fernando, Aguinaldo's second capital, was occupied, and he was again in flight with his archives and treasury to farther north and deeper into the jungles of Luzon.

During MacArthur's advance against Malolos, General Lawton made a raid against Santa Cruz in order to capture a gunboat and some launches possessed by the insurgents. This was successfully done, but no effort was made to establish a force at Santa Cruz, as General Otis sent word to Lawton, April 15, to return to Manila, as his command was needed in other parts of the field of war. He was accordingly directed to organize a movement against the main body of the insurrectos, who were now stationed in the neighborhood of San Isidro, about thirty miles from Malolos. With his men in light marching order, General Lawton on April 22 began his advance to the north. Taking advantage of his experience gained in the Indian wars, this daring soldier began a whirlwind campaign that was in effect the death-blow to the cause of Aguinaldo. He took in succession Novaliches, San Juan del Monte, Norzagaray, Angat, Balinag, San Luis, Maasim, Ildefonso, Arayat, and on the 17th of May Aguinaldo was fleeing from the victorious columns, his last

capital, San Isidro, in the hands of the American forces. On May 24 Lawton joined General MacArthur's command, within one month having marched 120 miles, fought 22 battles, taken 28 towns, destroyed 300,000 bushels of rice, with a loss of only 5 killed and 35 wounded.

The chief characteristic of the Filipino is his elusiveness. The transition from a harmless peasant to an active insurgent apparently could be instantaneous, so as the insurrection was being hammered out of existence in the north, it sprang up anew in the south. At Las Pinas, only four miles from Manila, it became known that a strong force was being gathered under command of the notorious General Pilar. General Lawton, after his astonishing campaign against San Isidro, was directed to take the field against Pilar. With him were the brigades of Wheaton and Ovenshine, the advance being towards Paranaque, a few miles south of Manila, and just across Bacoor bay from Cavite. The position of the enemy being on the coast, the *Monadnock*, the *Helena* and the *Napidan* joined with the soldiers in the attack. After a short conflict, General Ovenshine's brigade entered Paranaque. This, however, was but the prelude to the real battle. On June 13, General Lawton with two companies of the 21st Infantry made a reconnoissance towards Bacoor, finding the enemy strongly entrenched at Zapote bridge. Reinforcements were sent for, and at this point occurred what General



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1. GROUP OF AGUINALDO'S SOLDIERS, IN ACCOUTREMENTS FURNISHED BY SPANISH WHEN THEY WERE MEMBERS OF THE SPANISH NATIVE GUARD. 2. BRIGADIER-GENERAL CHARLES KING RICHING COMMISSIONERS WHO SUBLINDERED PASIG. 3. WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS ADVANCING AGAINST FILIPINOS AT TAYTAY.
4. FILIPINO PUG-ONIES AT FORT SANTIAGO, SHOWING IGOROT'S BOW AND ARROW MEN IN THE FOREGROUND. 5. GENERAL MCARTHUR AT BRIDGE OVER CALUMPIT RIVER, DISMANTLED BY FILIPINOS, FLEEING BEFORE MCARTHUR'S DIVISION, MOVING ON TABLAC. 6. SOUTH DAKOTA INFANTRY NEAR THE OLD CHINESE CEMETERY CALOOCAN.



Lawton called in one of his dispatches, "a lovely battle." The enemy, to the number of 3,000, were entrenched along the river in trenches that were virtually bomb-proof, and in addition were led by a man who was impelled by the bravery of fanaticism. By the aid of the gunboats, however, the Filipinos were finally driven from their position, but instead of taking to their heels as was their wont in other engagements, they stood their ground and contested every inch. Their opponents, however, were not less brave and pressing forward finally drove the enemy a mile to the rear of their original position. The Filipino loss was heavy; the American forces losing 9 killed and 30 wounded.

After this serious defeat the Filipinos fell back to Imus, which, however, was occupied without resistance by General Wheaton's brigade on June 18. The next day, a mile from Imus, occurred the last collision of importance in the Tagalog revolt. At this place General Wheaton's brigade engaged a force of 2,500 Filipinos, which was utterly dispersed. As the result of this last campaign of Lawton, the territory surrounding Manila was cleared of organized opposition to American authority, and it is one of the strangely tragic facts of the war, that the man who should have done most to bring it to an end should lose his life in a trifling skirmish with a small body of the enemy at San Mateo. By the death of General H. W. Lawton, the United States lost a

soldier of the most perfect type. His nature, his training, his life, and his death were consistently that of the soldier, and though his death was a serious blow to the army, yet the work he did in the Civil War, on the plains, at El Caney and San Juan, and in the far-off Philippines is sufficient. What he did was done modestly, but perfectly, and, like the soldier he was, according to directions. The esteem with which his memory was held, was shown by the gift of \$100,000 made by the people of the United States to his family when it was learned that Lawton had died a poor man.

For two years the insurgents held out against the American authority, keeping up guerrilla warfare until by wounds, disease and disaffection all organized opposition was destroyed. The situation is best expressed by the letter written by General Wheeler (December, 1899) in tendering his resignation as a general in the volunteer army:

"The insurgent government is virtually destroyed. Aguinaldo is a fugitive in the northern provinces; his Cabinet and Congress are scattered. The president of the Filipino Congress is here, and from what he says I think it will be impossible for their Congress ever to reconvene. The various commands of the insurgent generals are reduced to mere skeletons and fly before us so fast that it is almost impossible to get within gun range."

The last chapter of the Tagalog revolt was closed by the capture of Aguinaldo by Colonel Funston, who by the means of a subterfuge, justifiable perhaps in war, captured the Filipino leader and brought him in

triumph to Manila. It was clear, however, that Aguinaldo had had enough punishment; his dreams of a Philippine republic or dictatorship were all dissipated, and therefore on April 2, 1901, he took the oath of alle-

giance, and became a citizen of the country he had fought so long. With this he disappears from history. In reward for this and other daring enterprises Colonel Funston was made a brigadier-general.

CHAPTER XV.

1899-1901.

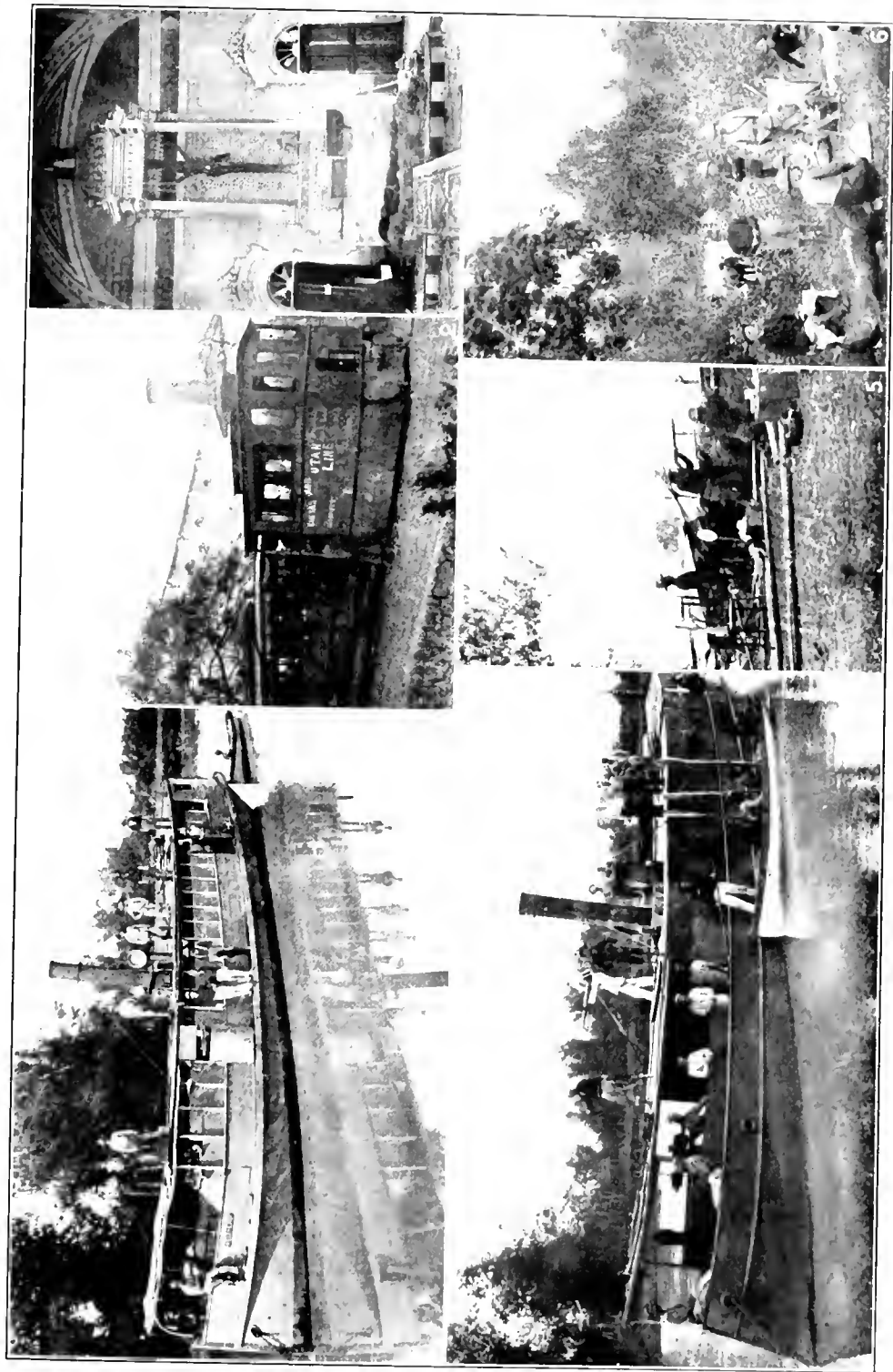
THE END OF AN ERA.

Expansion of the United States—Porto Rico—Reforms in Cuba and the establishment of the Cuban Republic—Partition of the Samoan Islands, and the annexation of Guam—Dewey's welcome—"Embalmed beef" hearings, and the Schley Court of Inquiry—The Boxer uprising—The situation in the Philippines—The campaign of 1900, and re-election of President McKinley—The effects of the War with Spain—The currency act of 1900—The assassination of President McKinley.

The theory that a nation is only an aggregate of individual units held together by some sort of an expressed or implied compact is denied by history. The one fact that stands forth clear and definite, when all accessory facts are eliminated is that a nation is organic, reproducing in a larger sense the conditions that hold with respect to the individual; and like the individual, it also passes through the periods of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. The duration of these periods vary from a generation to centuries, depending partly upon external conditions, but mainly upon the spirit and quality of the people itself. It is evident, in addition, that the passing from one plane to another brings to the nation new responsibilities and new perils. Never has a nation developed with such tremendous

swiftness as the United States. During the course of a single century, with the exception of the small strip on the eastern coast comprising the original thirteen colonies, it has passed through all the stages of development that other nations have taken long periods of time to experience. In America today the primitive cabin of the pioneer still stands side by side with the palace of the promoter of enterprises beyond the dreams of conquering spirits of the past.

It was clear from the very beginning that the spirit of America could not be restricted by any very definite boundaries. Almost in spite of itself, and in spite of vast territories unused by its people, the area of the United States has gradually extended westward and southward, first by the Louisiana purchase, then by the ac-



1. GUINBOAT CORBIN ON THE RIO GRANDE RIVER. 2. THE "KANSAS AND UTAH SHORT LINE," A DEMMO TRAIN WHICH TRANSPORTED TROOPS TO THE FRONT FROM MANILA TO CALOCAN. 3. AMERICAN SOLDIER LAYING AT REST IN THE OLD FORT COCAHIDRAL. 4. ARTILLERY BOAT OF STEEL WHICH OPERATES ON THE PAMPANGA RIVER. 5. TROOPS FIRING FROM TRENCHES ON INSURGENTS. 6. GLX. HARRISON GOES AND STAYS AT CALOCAN.

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cession of Florida, Texas and the other Mexican territories, and finally a startling leap was made across non-contiguous territory to Alaska. Each of these phases of expansion met in its turn with bitter opposition on the part of sincere and patriotic men who conceived that each expansion was in direct opposition to the policy of the founders of the Republic, so solemnly and explicitly voiced in the farewell address of President Washington. Nor, in addition, have these gains been made without loss to others. The tremendous tide of immigration that swept across the valley of the Mississippi and occupied the vast region Thomas Jefferson obtained from France, also swept away the natives who had wandered over it from one hunting ground to another. Yet it is the law that those who neglect or abuse the gifts of the soil must lose them, and so the Indian had either to conform or be extinguished. He selected the latter, and today he is mythology. A portion of the territory gained from Mexico was little short of a spoliation, yet in this case, too, the end has been a justification of the means.

With the exception, however, of Alaska, the territory gained has been contiguous, and the absorption of it as an organic part of the State has been easy. The Treaty of Paris, however, meant a definite break with a policy that in theory, at least, had been conceived to be in the Constitution itself. This was to the effect that the spirit of the document was opposed to the holding of colonies or

other non-contiguous territory not capable, eventually, of being merged into the nation itself.

It is true that the taking of the Philippines was more or less an accident of war, yet the very presence of Dewey's fleet in Asiatic waters proves that it was a foreseen accident, and that it was in the mind of the administration to wrest the islands from Spain should war be declared. The events justified that foresight and the islands by conquest and by treaty became the possession of the United States. Their cost has been tremendous both in money and blood.*

Thus the United States expanded in spite of itself. Yet in the main it was a normal and wholesome growth, recognized by the most far-seeing statesmen as necessary, if not inevitable. This thought is clearly developed in a letter written in 1844 by John C. Calhoun to Rufus King, minister to France: "It is our policy to increase by growing and spreading out into unoccupied regions, assimila-

* The United States paid Spain \$20,100,000 for the islands; \$20,000,000 according to the Treaty, and \$100,000 in addition for two islands that had been overlooked in the original agreement. This brought the cost of the war up to \$300,000,000. To this should be added the millions spent during the long struggle with the Filipinos, those paid to the Priars for their lands, and those for war claims and pensions. The cost of the Philippines and Porto Rico has been little short of a half billion dollars. In the lives of American soldiers the cost has been equally great. In the campaigns against Aguinaldo, from February 4, 1899, to April 30, 1902, there were 2,561 battles; and to July 16, 1902, 130,000 Americans had been sent to the islands. Of these 7,000 died of wounds and disease; and many thousands came back to the States handicapped for life by wounds or hardships.

ating all we incorporate. In a word we increase by accretion, and not through conquest by the addition of masses held together by the cohesion of force." Indeed, all the territory gained before the Treaty of Paris, with the exception of Alaska, has become an integral portion of the nation; and Alaska may hardly be taken into consideration as a disapproval of the rule, for prior to the discovery of gold, it was looked upon as a sort of no man's land. It has been seen that every effort made to annex non-contiguous territory has been doomed to failure. Men of tremendous force like Webster and Marcy nonrished dreams of extending the territory of the United States over-seas, but they were never realized, and the chagrin of President Grant over the failure of his effort to force the annexation of San Domingo upon Congress is a matter of record. These facts all go to show the deep-rooted disinclination on the part of the American people to encourage movements tending towards the establishment of a colonial system, and had it not been for the necessities arising from the Spanish-American war, that spirit would be no less active today.

As was the case with Hawaii,* the annexation of Porto Rico was rendered easier than otherwise by the fact that the better class of citizens welcomed the change. Again, Porto Rico, unlike the Philippines, had a large population of whites, in the

proportion of 600,000 to 360,000 "mestizos" and negroes. It was soon seen that the military régime inaugurated at the close of the war was needless, so President McKinley recommended, in the message on the convening of the Fifty-sixth Congress (December 3, 1899), that legislation should be enacted establishing a civil government in Porto Rico. The status of the island, and the tremendous issues involved by its inclusion into the Union, precipitated a long and acrimonious debate, which closed by the passage of the so-called Foraker Act on April 11, 1900. This bill not only defined the relation of the island to the United States, by placing it on a status outside of the Constitution, but also outlined a scheme for the government of dependencies that obligated the nation to a wholly new and untried policy. As might have been anticipated, it was not long before the anomalous situation of Porto Rico was brought to the Supreme Court for adjudication. Was it in the Union or not? was the question that became acute. As a mere theory the constitutional status of Porto Rico might have remained indefinitely as an interesting and subtle problem for distinguished publicists to discuss, but as a practical issue involving the payment of money, it was necessary to determine the validity of the law, particularly with regard to the status of the citizens of the island, and the constitutionality of an intra-national revenue tax. The result was a series of cases, known as the Insular cases,

* For a full account of the events leading up to the annexation of Hawaii, see pp. 79-86.

which concerned themselves with the question of the right to demand duty for articles of commerce imported into the United States from Porto Rico. On appeal to the Supreme Court it was determined that the insular possessions were obtained under the clause regulating the making of treaties, and "that the power to acquire territory by treaty implies not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be." *

The law, thus sustained by the Supreme Court, was bitterly assailed, both in the United States and in Porto Rico, and accusations were made that the Sugar Trust and other interests dealing in tropical products had a hand in its formulation. This of course was only gossip and surmise, but that the outcome was a disappointment to President McKinley there is no question. Nevertheless, he set to work, under the provision of the law, to organize the new "possession." Accordingly on May 1, the following officers were installed at San Juan, the designated capital:

Governor, Charles H. Allen, salary, \$8,000; Secretary, W. H. Hunt, \$4,000; Attorney-General, J. A. Russell, \$4,000; Treasurer, J. H. Hollander, \$5,000; Auditor, J. R. Garrison, \$4,000; Commissioner of Interior, W. E. Elliott, \$4,000; Commissioner of Education, M. G. Brumbaugh, \$3,000; Executive Council or "Upper House," J. C. Barbosa, R. M. Cintron, J. G. Benitez, J. G. Brioso, and A. Crosas.

The House of Delegates, or "Lower House"

consisted of 35 members, who were elected by the people at the election in 1900.

The Judiciary for the island was as follows: Supreme Court of Porto Rico, Chief Justice, J. S. Quinones, salary, \$5,000; Associate Justices, L. Sulzbecher, J. C. Hernandez, J. M. Figuear, R. M. Abeille, salaries, \$4,500; Marshal, S. C. Botwell, salary, \$3,000.

United States District Court—Justice, W. H. Holt, salary, \$5,000; United States District Attorney, N. B. K. Pettingill, salary, \$4,000; United States District Marshal, E. S. Wilson, salary, \$3,500.

On the other hand the Cuban situation was complicated by the Teller amendment to the resolution for intervention, which guaranteed Cuban independence when the island was sufficiently prepared for it. In this, as in many other facts growing out of the war, public opinion seemed strangely at variance. It was even proposed that the nation should ignore its promise and annex the island without more ado. The reports brought from Cuba by the soldiers tended to encourage this feeling, for the Cubans were portrayed by them in no very complimentary light. Just why the raggedness and lack of energy on the part of the soldiers of Garcia should be an argument in favor of breaking a solemn promise is not clear, yet it was nevertheless advanced with all seriousness.

President McKinley, however, had no intention of yielding to a temptation for national aggrandizement at the sacrifice of national honor, hence he proposed to establish a Cuban sovereignty as soon as certain reforms had been accomplished. The most important of these from the standpoint

* Justice Brown: *Downes vs. Bidwell*; *Dooley vs. United States*.

of the United States was the urgent necessity for a transformation of Cuban sanitary conditions. The island had long been recognized as a distributing centre of yellow fever, which appeared with disastrous results from time to time in the Southern States. This work was begun under General Brooke, who was appointed military governor at the end of hostilities, but was most energetically promoted under his successor, General Wood,* who was splendidly equipped for such work. Associated with him was Colonel Waring, whose labors in a similar cause in the city of New York were so successful, and as the result of their campaign of cleanliness, Cuba became transformed. This fact, joined with the recent knowledge of the causation† of yellow fever and malaria, leads us to believe that the last visitation of the yellow scourge in the South has occurred.

The other reforms considered particularly desirable related to local and municipal government and to education. These were carried out as adequately as conditions would permit,

and in furthering the last named, many young Cuban men and women were sent to the United States, where they were given the advantages of the schools and universities. It was conceived that by this means they would gain an insight into American educational methods which might be applied later to their own schools.

These reforms being well under way, President McKinley, in his message of December 3, 1900, directed that a call be issued for the election in Cuba of delegates to a constitutional convention. This was proclaimed to the citizens of Cuba by Governor Wood, the date of the election being September 15, the convention to be held November 5, in Havana.

Cuba is divided into six provinces, and the representation according to population at the time of the election was as follows: Havana, 8; Matanzas, 4; Pinar del Rio, 3; Puerto Principe, 2; Santa Clara, 7; Santiago de Cuba, 7. Three political parties were represented in the election of delegates, the Nationalists, Republicans, and Democrats, whose representation was 17, 12 and 2 respectively. The constitutional convention met according to their mandate in Havana, November 5, and on January 22, 1901, the draft of the proposed constitution was submitted. This was modeled primarily upon the constitution of the United States, and was adopted without serious modification.

On February 27, 1901, the convention adopted a series of five declara-

* Appointed December 21, 1899. His advisory cabinet consisted of Diego Tamayo, Secretary of State; Luis Esterez, Secretary of Education; Juan B. Hernandez, Secretary of Finance; Enrique Verona, Secretary of Public Works; Jose R. Villaton, Secretary of Agriculture.

† Transmission by bites of mosquitoes. To prove this Surgeon Walter Reed, U. S. A., made some investigations at Havana of great value to mankind. In the course of these one of his assistants, Dr. Lazear, lost his life, and another, Dr. Carroll, narrowly escaped meeting the same fate — martyrs to the cause of science.

tions defining the relations of Cuba with the United States. These were as follows:

First.—The Government of Cuba will not make a treaty or agreement with any foreign power which may compromise or limit the independence of Cuba, or which may permit or authorize any power to obtain by means of colonization or for military or naval purpose, or in any other manner, any foothold or authority or right over any portion of Cuba.

Second.—The Government will not permit its territory to be used as a base of operations for war against the United States or against any foreign nation.

Third.—The Government of Cuba accepts in its entirety the Treaty of Paris, in which are affirmed the rights of Cuba to the extent of the obligations which are explicitly indicated, and especially those which the international law imposes for the protection of life and property, substituting itself for the United States in the pledge, which they assume in that sense according to Articles 12 and 193 of the Treaty of Paris.

Fourth.—Cuba recognizes as legally valid all acts of the Military Government during the period of occupation, also the rights arising out of them in conformity with the joint resolution and the Foraker amendment and the existing laws of the country.

Fifth.—The Governments of the United States and Cuba ought to regulate their commercial relations by means of a treaty based on reciprocity, and with tendencies toward free trade in natural and manufactured products, mutually assuming ample special advantages in their respective markets.

This declaration, however, was not acceptable to Congress, and as a result on March 8 an amendment to the army appropriation bill was adopted,* providing for the independence of the island on the following terms:

First.—That the Government of Cuba shall not enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any power or

powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

Second.—That the Government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

Third.—That the Government of Cuba contends that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris, on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba.

Fourth.—That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupation thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

Fifth.—That the Government of Cuba will execute, and, so far as necessary, extend the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuming protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern parts of the United States and the people residing therein.

Sixth.—That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto left to future adjustment and treaty.

Seventh.—That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defence, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coal-ing or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

Eighth.—That by way of further assurance, the Government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provision in a permanent treaty with the United States.

The Cubans considered these very stringent terms, but a modified form was adopted on May 28, which was rejected by the administration on the

* Proposed by Senator Platt of Connecticut.

ground that it was not a substantial compliance with the resolution of Congress. Accordingly, the terms of the first Platt amendment were accepted by the Cuban convention on June 12, by a vote of 16 to 11. The constitution was accordingly signed and proclaimed and an electoral law was drawn up, which provided for a general election on December 31, 1901, for the selection of presidential and senatorial electors who were to cast their ballots for president, vice-president and senators on February 24, 1902.

Two other steps in America's march toward a colonial empire was the accession of Guam and Tutuila. The former was gained by occupation, the cruiser *Charleston*, which was conveying the transport of the first military expedition to Manila, taking possession of the island, much to the surprise of the Spanish garrison, who were unaware that hostilities were in progress. This island* is only 32 miles long and intrinsically of small worth to the United States, but the possession of the Philippines necessitated the securing of coaling and strategic points in the vast distances

of the Pacific. Hawaii was one, Guam the second, and Samoa the third. The last had been under protection of the United States, Great Britain and Germany by virtue of a tripartite treaty signed at Berlin June 14, 1889. On September 7, 1899, Secretary Hay informed Ambassador Choate at London that Germany desired a partition of the islands, the United States to retain Tutuila and adjacent islands, Great Britain and Germany to divide the rest.* Accordingly, by a treaty concluded December 2, 1899, the United States became possessed of one of the most beautiful bits of territory in the world, with Pago-Pago,† the finest harbor in the Pacific. Wake Island, a tiny speck of land mid-way between Hawaii and the Philippines, was also annexed on January, 1899, by Commander Taussig, on his way to Guam. This of course is of no importance save from a strategical standpoint.‡

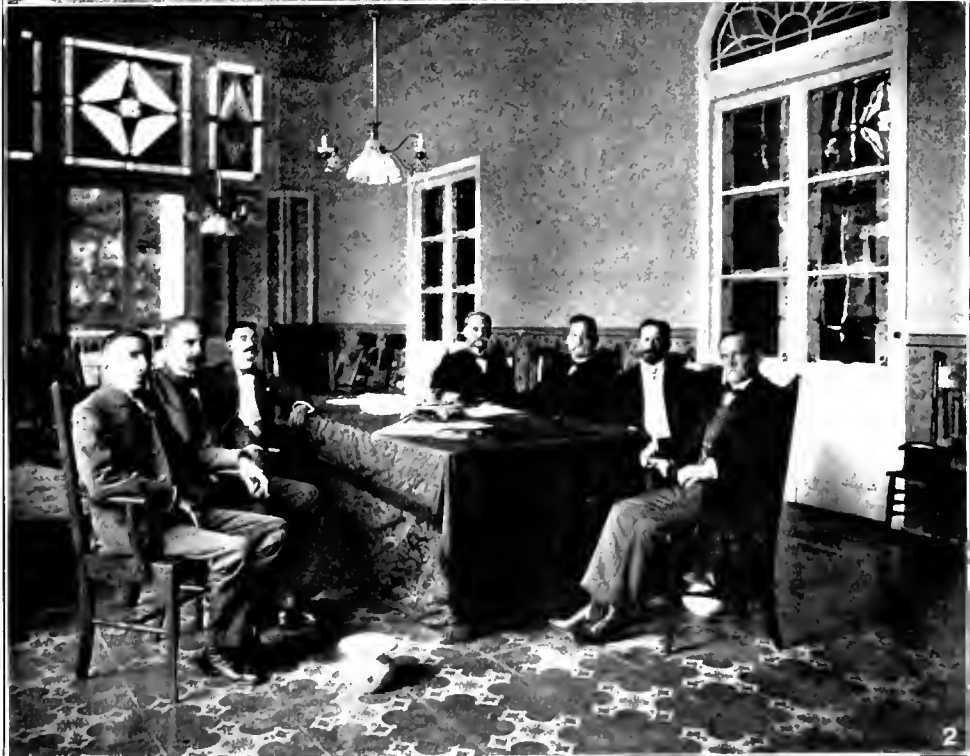
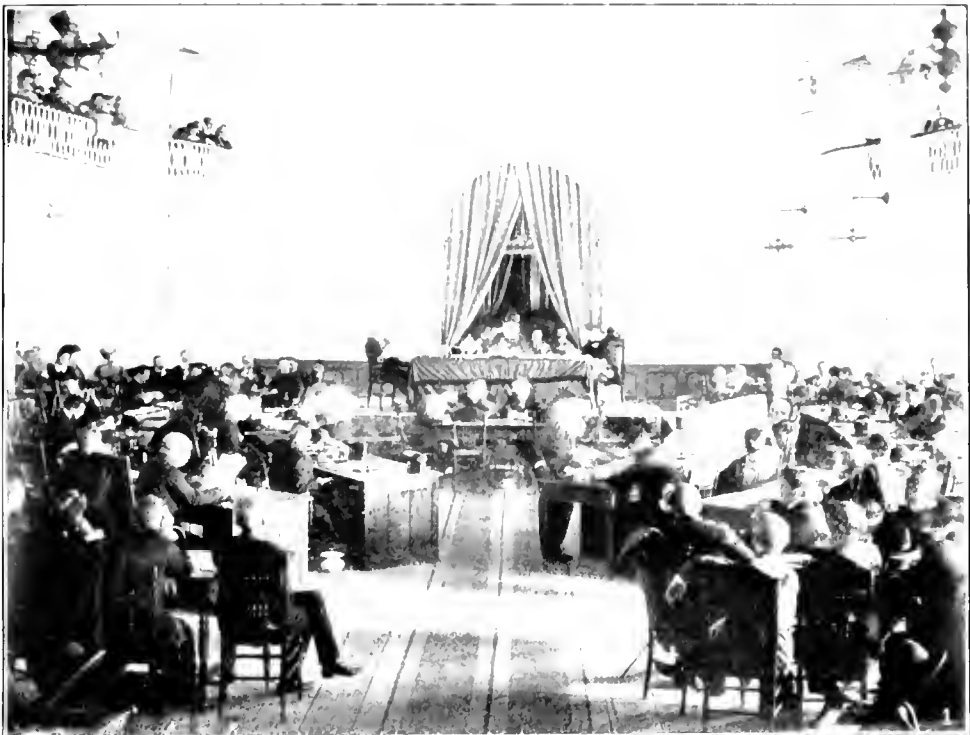
Thus suddenly did the victory of Dewey transform the relations of America to the Far East. While all of these readjustments were being made to insure defence of the Philippines, the nation itself was not sure that it desired to keep them. Imperialism and expansion became the is-

* The island of Guam, the largest of the Marianne or Ladrone Archipelago, lies in a direct line from San Francisco to the southern part of the Philippines, and is 5,200 miles from San Francisco and 900 miles from Manila. It is about 32 miles long and 100 miles in circumference, and has a population of about 8,661, of whom 5,249 are in Agana, the capital. The prevailing language is Spanish. Commander Taussig, of the United States gunboat *Bennington*, took possession of the island and raised the United States flag over Fort Santa Cruz on February 1, 1899.

* Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. 1, pp. 536-554.

† Ex-Chief Justice Chambers, of Samoa, says of Pago-Pago that "The harbor could hold the entire naval force of the United States, and is so perfectly arranged that only two vessels can enter at the same time. The coaling station, being surrounded by high bluffs, cannot be reached by shells from outside.

‡ See pp. 78-79.



By courtesy of Collier's Weekly.

1. SIGNING THE CUBAN CONSTITUTION AT HAVANA, FEB 21, 1901.
2. FIRST SESSION OF PRESIDENT PALMA AND HIS CABINET.



sues of the day and bade fair to play a prominent part in the forthcoming presidential election. During the progress of the war party lines were eliminated, and Democrats and Republicans joined in promoting the success of American arms. As soon as peace was declared, however, the lines of cleavage reasserted themselves, and again the party of Jefferson declared for a return to old and safer policies; the Republicans maintaining, in opposition, the principle that America could not avoid her destiny and that her duty was to carry her ideals of liberty to far-off seas, even to the mother nations of the world.

The close of the war and the return of those who had so signally distinguished themselves was the signal for an outbreak of enthusiasm almost beyond comprehension. Every city or community that had sent a hero to the front gave him a home-coming welcome that at times narrowly escaped hysteria. The extravagance of the admiring throng, so unrestrained, led to situations involving the object of their adulation that at times were little short of ridiculous, and, perhaps, to those without the saving grace of humor became a source of bitterness when the popular reaction set in.

The climax, to this season of national exultation was the celebration in honor of the return of Admiral Dewey, held at New York, September 28, 1899. It was a revival of the ancient Roman triumph on a scale and

with a theater that transcended even Rome. In every situation in which Admiral Dewey found himself he had acted with such skill, tact and bravery that he became to the American people in a sense the symbol of the American spirit in its new mission in world affairs. Honors in the fullest measure had already come to him, Congress having appointed him rear-admiral immediately after the victory at Manila, and on March 2, 1899, the highest naval honor in the gift of the country was awarded him by an act of Congress reviving the dormant rank of admiral of the navy and appointing him to the same. He was the third to attain this recognition, Farragut and Porter being the other two. This unusual official testimonial of national gratitude was, however, excelled by the ovations made him by the people of the United States. His return to America was the signal for a series of fêtes that extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The most magnificent of these was the celebration at New York City, May 29-30. During these days the victorious admiral was the guest of the city, the lavishness of whose display amazed the world. There were two monster parades; the first on the water, with the beautiful Hudson river as the setting, the other through the streets of the city. A magnificent triumphal arch was erected at Madison Square, through which the thousands of marchers passed. Later, as a further testimonial of the nation's respect, he was presented with a residence in

Washington, the money for its purchase being raised by popular subscription.

The welcome accorded Admiral Dewey was extended in a degree almost as enthusiastic to Schley, Sampson, Miles, Roosevelt, Hobson, Wheeler, and many others who had served their country with such signal results. In the midst, however, of these strains of national congratulation, notes occurred here and there that were not so sweet to the ears of American people. It was known during the progress of the Santiago campaign that there was friction, perhaps abuses, in the administrative bureaus of the war department, resulting in faulty transport service and inferior commissary supplies. These reports were, in a sense, corroborated by the returning soldiers. The scandal, however, was brought to an acute stage by the accusations of Major-General Miles, who maintained that the Beef Trust had provided the army with meat that was not only unpalatable, but positively injurious, owing to the chemicals with which it was treated. The term “ embalmed beef ” became a commonplace with the public, and so strong finally became the popular feeling that President McKinley was impelled to designate a commission (December, 1899) to inquire into the conduct of the war. The testimony presented justified many of the accusations, but powerful agencies were at work to hush up the affair and the result was a non-committal report by

the commission.* An unfortunate side-issue of the agitation was the controversy between General Miles and Commissary-General Eagan, in which the latter so lost his sense of personal dignity as to write a scurrilous letter to General Miles which led to his suspension from the army.

Of another type, yet equally distressing, was the quarrel between the adherents of Admirals Sampson and Schley, which for a while divided the entire nation into two factions and eventually forced the latter to call for a naval court of inquiry. Admirals Dewey, Ramsay and Benham were detailed to perform the unpleasant task of passing upon questions involving the honor and courage of a brother officer of equal rank. The decision rendered December 13, 1900, was unfavorable, although the court declined to pass on Schley's alleged disobedience of orders on the ground that the action of the administration in failing to discipline him at the time, and, in addition, of raising him to the rank of rear-admiral, had condoned any offense that may have been committed. They, however, reported that Schley, according to the facts presented, had failed to keep a close blockade, had not endeavored to determine the location of the Spanish fleet with sufficient energy, had not proceeded to Santiago with dispatch, that he had lost distance in the battle by the “ loop ” maneuver, and that his whole conduct during the cam-

* See *Commission on the Conduct of the War, Report and Hearings.*

paign had been marked by vacillation, dilatoriness, and lack of enterprise. The force of this arraignment, however, was softened by the statement that his conduct in the battle was self-possessed, and that he encouraged in his own person his subordinate officers and men. Admiral Dewey dissented from the findings of the other members of the court, and stated in closing that "Commodore Schley was the senior officer of our squadron off Santiago when the Spanish squadron attempted to escape. * * * He was in absolute command and is entitled to the credit due to such commanding officer for the glorious victory which resulted in the total destruction of the Spanish ships." Secretary Long, on December 21, approved of the decision of the majority members of the Court of Inquiry, censuring, at the same time, Admiral Dewey for giving an opinion as to the person in command of the fleet. At the same date, General Miles was disciplined by the Secretary of War for expressing views with respect to the Schley verdict.

While these events were taking place in the United States, the attention of the public was called again to the Orient, this time by the report that there was a well-organized and powerful movement on foot in China to exterminate all foreigners. The people of China for years had been showing evidences of restlessness due to the constant territorial aggressions of the European powers. This had been gradually growing in intensity

until it burst forth in an uprising during the month of May, 1900. The exact nature of this upheaval is difficult to determine, but the most active agency in fomenting the disorders was a secret patriotic society, the I-Ho-Tuon, or the "Boxers," as they have been styled. This was organized as a law and order league, and the number of its members is estimated to have been ten millions, comprehending people of all classes from royalty to the coolie. It is but a step from the love of one's country to the hatred of the foreigner, and the Boxers soon took it, and as the result reports came of persecutions and barbarities, to which, however, little heed was paid until the world was awakened by the report that the members of the foreign legations were at the mercy of a bloodthirsty mob, and that outrages were occurring in all portions of China. What was at first conceived to be nothing more than sporadic outbreaks of the mob spirit was soon revealed as a far-reaching pan-Chinese movement. The popular fury seemed to be directed primarily against the missionaries, but the movement was political as well as religious, as was evidenced by the fact that Prince Tuan, the uncle of the reigning emperor, was the head of the secret order, and the fact that the imperial guards took an active part in the atrocities at Peking. In fact, to the minds of the Boxers the expansion of Christian missions, Christian commerce, and Christian territory, were all one and the same thing

—a blow at the integrity of the Chinese empire. With the story before her of India, Egypt, and other countries that had come under the dominion of Occidental powers, China had determined to make a stern effort to evade a similar fate. The territorial encroachments of one European power after another had been steadily growing for decades, and with France on the south, England and Japan on the east, and Russia on the north, China felt herself but a banquet prepared for greedy watchers. Already she had yielded to demands for territory, railway and shipping privileges, and had submitted to more or less control of her national policy. In return for this she had gained the opium blight, a disastrous war with Japan, and the threat of imperial dismemberment that might be realized at any time.

The commercial interests of America in China were considerable, and she naturally desired to increase them, but it had been the policy to do this fairly, and with mutual benefits. Commerce with China had increased three-fold during the preceding seven years, yet it was believed that trade with that country offered enormous possibilities. Yet the United States had no desire to gain control of this at the disadvantage of other countries, so the "open door" policy was adopted*—a principle so just that the other powers were easily persuaded to conform to it. This policy,

more than anything else, has tended to preserve the integrity of China, yet those who revolted against foreign invasion of their institutions could not grasp this fact. They remembered each new power who came as a friend to remain as an enemy, if not to their political integrity, at least to their institutions, and hence the American representatives and missionaries came under the ban with the others. To the Boxer movement, the real ruler of China, the empress dowager, unquestionably gave her sympathy, and all the assistance she could, without seriously compromising herself. She despised these incomers who curtailed her privileges and overthrew her ancient institutions. With her it was "China for the Chinese," and against the modern world.

The seriousness of the situation, however, was slow in impressing itself upon the powers. Urgent calls for stronger guards for the protection of the legations were ignored, and they were almost without protection when the mobs were howling about their walls. The members of the various legations, themselves, did not appear to be aware of the scope of the uprising until it was too late, although a Shanghai newspaper had been prophesying the results that would follow the organization of the Boxers for months, and in vain. When, however, it became known that the situation was one that demanded immediate and positive action, forces were started towards Peking. Russia sent

* "Open door" policy announced by Secretary Hay, January 2, 1900.

a large contingent of troops through northern China. France, Germany, Austria, and Italy sent boats and marines, as did Great Britain, whose commander, Admiral Seymour, was selected to direct the operations of the allied forces. Japan not only sent troops but also began to mobilize her fleet, a movement that was probably inspired more by a fear of Russian aggression than of Chinese rioting. Rear-Admiral Kempff, with the flagship *Newark*, was stationed in Chinese waters, and detached a body of United States marines for coöperation with the forces of the allies, a few of these being in the little detachment of fifty soldiers who were able to reach Peking before the roads were closed. These did valiant service in the struggle with the mob that besieged the British legation. Admiral Kempff in the meanwhile had been sending urgent messages to Washington requesting reinforcements from the Philippines. The campaign against Aginaldo, however, was in activity, and in spite of the fact that there were 65,000 men there, and a strong fleet beside, Admiral Remy cabled (June 6) a virtual refusal to accede to Kempff's entreaties.* It seemed as if the commanders of the American forces in

the Philippines could not grasp the seriousness of the situation, and even as late as June 16, after massacres had been of daily occurrence, General MacArthur reported to the adjutant-general that "the loss of a regiment would be a serious matter, but if critical emergency arises in China can send a regiment (on) two days' notice." Again, on June 24, he cabled: "Another regiment cannot be spared for China." It was only after imperative orders had been issued from Washington that ships and reinforcements were on the way to Chefoo, the 9th Infantry, with Colonel Liscum in command, after many delays, sailing June 28. It was not, indeed, until after the death of this gallant officer on July 13 that adequate measures were taken to cope with the situation.

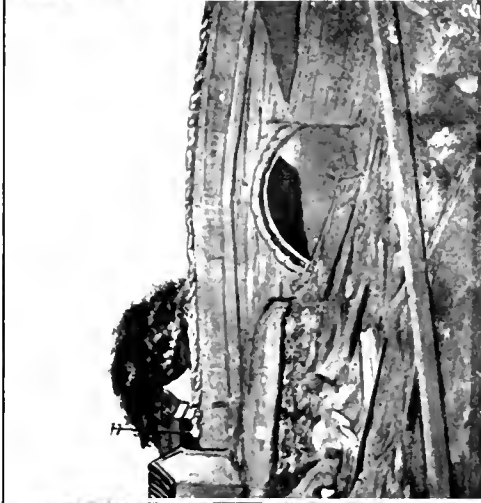
When a suitable force was gathered together to undertake an attack, the allied troops made an effort to disembark at Taku, but met so great a resistance that it was finally determined to shell the port. To this Admiral Kempff would not agree. The attitude of the United States in this affair was to be defensive, not aggressive. Little was to be gained by shelling the city, and such action, he reasoned, might infuriate the Chinese at Peking, who had our legations and missionaries there at their mercy. War had not been declared by our country upon China. The American forces were combating not the Chinese nation, but the Society of Boxers. Minister Wu was still in Washington,

* "Kempff reports conditions of affairs are very disturbed at Tientsin and persistently asks for reinforcements. I cannot supply them. Affairs in the Philippines are considered paramount. I fear he is coöperating (with) foreign powers to an extent incompatible with interests of American Government. I have advised him to withdraw all excepting force for protection of American interests. Remy." (June 6, 1900.)

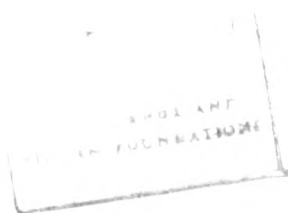
not yet having received his passports, which, in fact, were never presented him. An act of war when there was no war Kempff considered illegal. So the bombarding of Taku, which was successfully accomplished, was done without American assistance, and the troops landed and occupied the port. Kempff's course was heartily approved at Washington. His predictions were realized, for the rioting at Peking grew immeasurably after the arrival of the tidings of the capture of Taku. On June 16 the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, was cruelly murdered while on a mission of diplomacy to the Tsung-li-Yamen, and only a week previous the Japanese chancellor of legation had been murdered by the empress' own guards. The news of these outrages aroused the deepest grief and indignation throughout the civilized nations of the world. The situation was rendered doubly horrible by the period of doubt and fear which followed. One report of death and carnage after another reached the powers, only to be denied in the next cablegram, and replaced by others still more terrible. For weeks it was not known whether our ministers and their families were alive and under protection, whether they were being starved and besieged, or if they had shared the fate of the murdered German and Japanese officials.

Colonel Liscum landed at Taku with the Ninth regiment July 9. The battleship *Oregon* had set sail for Hong Kong, but the ship was un-

fortunately a victim of an accident, and did not arrive in time to aid. Before this, however, Admiral Seymour with a strong force of allied troops had set out to relieve the legations at Peking, but had met with reverses at every turn. They had only proceeded a little way by rail when they found that they could go no farther because of the damage done to the railroad by the Boxers. While repairing the road, they had an engagement with the Boxers and killed 30. By this time an army of 100,000 had assembled at the capital to resist the entry of the relief column, although "official" information had been received that their entry would not be opposed, and it was said that the empress had herself gone to disperse the Boxers. On June 19 and 20, when the allied troops had proceeded as far as Tien-Tsin, they were met by a formidable army of about 4,000 men, and on requesting reinforcements from Taku, 600 marines were sent forward to relieve them. These, unfortunately, were outnumbered and overpowered before they reached Tien-Tsin. On June 25 another relieving force reached Admiral Seymour and conducted him safely back to Tien-Tsin. His brave men had marched almost into Peking, but were obliged to abandon their hope of rescuing the legations, for they had neither food nor ammunition, and on every side were outnumbered by the swarms of Chinese. Many of this allied force were killed or wounded, of the num-



1. THE AMERICAN TROOPS ENTERING PEKING. 2. THE ELEGANT BRIDGE OVER THE GRAND CANAL, BY WHICH THE TROOPS ENTERED. 3. CHINESE TROOPING IN PEKING. 4. COURTYARD OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION. 5. PRINCE CHING, MINISTER OF THE BOARD OF WAR, WAITING OUTSIDE OF PEKING TO SIR CLAUDE McDONALD, AFTER THE LIGHT OF THE EMPRESS POWAGLER. 6. AMERICAN TROOPS IN CHARGE OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE AMERICAN LEGATION.



ber, 4 dead and 25 wounded being Americans, among the latter being Captain McCalla, whose vehement insistence upon the saving of the legations had inspired the immediate movement against Peking. About this time Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, of El Caney fame, was selected to command the United States troops in China, and set sail from San Francisco. He arrived in China in time to take charge of the final movement against Peking.

The powers were receiving a rude awakening regarding the Chinese army. Ever since the war with Japan, in which it is said many of the celestial troops went to battle "armed with fans," the Chinese had been considered a sort of military joke, to be feared like flies—only because of numbers. Yet it was in this war that the Chinese learned their bitter lesson, and following its close they had been making, quietly and surely, military strides that now amazed and startled the allied powers. The troops that the Europeans encountered had not only European arms of the latest make, but they were also versed in European military tactics, and fought with the zeal of fanatics. The revolutionized methods were mostly due to certain progressive viceroys and governors of some of the 18 provinces of China who had not only introduced modern equipments, but had also adopted methods of training that supplied the sole thing lacking to make the patient, obedient, and fatalistic Chinaman an admirable soldier. The

foreign powers, too, had done their share in working this transformation; from Germany had come 500,000 Mauser rifles, from England more than 500 cannon and machine-guns, with their ammunition; and, in addition, as the result of his journeyings in Christian countries, Li Hung Chang had established a military college at Pe-Chi-Li. The dragon's teeth had been sown, and now for the harvest.

The port of Tien-Tsin was stormed July 13-14 and the city occupied by the allied forces. It was during this affair that Colonel Liscum was killed. The tragic death of this brave officer was in accordance with the events of his whole career, for his death wound was received in protecting the flag of his regiment, when its bearer had been shot down. During the battles around Tien-Tsin the allies lost 800, of whom the Americans had 18 killed and 75 wounded. Of the conduct of the latter, one writer states: "These men marched ninety-seven miles in five days, fighting all the way. For six days they endured on one meal a day, and endured cheerfully." Admiral Seymour, in addition, paid the following tribute to the American soldiers in his command: "For dash and go, no one passed or perhaps equalled the Americans. The Americans were with us always."

After the battle of Tien-Tsin, the Chinese, through Minister Wu Ting Fang at Washington, requested that the President take steps toward declaring an armistice. Secretary Hay replied in terms of dignity and simple

firmness that no truce could be granted so long as America was denied communication with her envoys in China. It was well known that those ministers who had requested safe-conduct had been curtly denied it, and that the Peking authorities had desired the foreign envoys to leave the capital, when they knew that to comply meant death at the hands of the Boxers. He therefore demanded that the members of the American legation be delivered from their perilous situation, promising an active continuance of hostilities should this be refused. As no satisfactory reply was received, the allied forces under the command of Field-Marshal von Waldersee began the advance towards Peking.

In the meanwhile a message had at last reached Washington from Minister Edwin H. Conger which tended to relieve the situation, although it produced forebodings of disasters still to come. The members of the American diplomatic corps were still safe, but in a state of virtual siege. "Situation most precarious," he reported, "Chinese government insisting upon our leaving Peking, which would be certain death. Rifle firing upon us daily by the Imperial troops. Have abundant courage, but little ammunition or provisions. Two progressive Yamen ministers beheaded. All connected with the American legation of the United States well at the present moment."

It afterwards developed that so many of the embassies had been de-

stroyed that the members united for mutual protection within the British legation, where they were being besieged by a ferocious and relentless mob. So terrible were the atrocities already committed, and so grave the fears of the men lest a similar fate come to their wives and children, they had all resolved to kill their families, and commit suicide, should no relief arrive. This, however, was soon to come, for the second column of allies, 18,000 strong, was battering its way through the hostile hordes, arriving at the capital August 14. Through a breach torn in the wall of the city by artillery, the foreign forces entered and released the little band of diplomats from their fearful plight. They were immediately removed to safety at Tien-Tsin. In the meanwhile the emperor and the empress had fled, the Forbidden City fell into the hands of the allies, and the mobs, now thoroughly cowed and disorganized, melted away before the rescuing forces. Li Hung Chang had been appointed imperial envoy to arrange for terms of peace, but the outraged and indignant powers were now determined to consider no terms but their own, and as each one had experienced a different degree of injury, and each had a different trade interest to guard (and, if possible, to better) the quibbling and bickering promised to be long and bitter before the troops could be removed and conditions restored to their normal state. America had not been so far wronged as Germany and Japan, whose honor was affronted seriously in the murder of



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1. THE RUINS OF PEKIN. 2. INTERIOR OF THE TARTAR WALL OF PEKIN, FORTIFIED BY THE LEGATIONERS. 3. ANCIENT BRASS CANNON ON THE WALLS OF PEKIN. 4. FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED BY THE LEGATIONERS ON TOP OF THE TARTAR WALL. 5. THE AMERICAN FLAG OVER THE RUINS. 6. PORTION OF THE CITY OF TUNG CHAI DESTROYED BY THE ALLIED TROOPS.



their representatives, yet on the other hand she had never offended China as had these two, and what she had suffered had been unprovoked and undeserved. What trade interests she had were not to her a matter more monumental than the rights of the Chinese people, and beyond guarding what she felt to be her just due, she took no interest whatever in the despoiling of the Chinese empire, which the whole world felt was sure to follow. Her attitude and her subsequent action were noble and dignified; an example to the covetous powers and a just cause for pride on the part of her people. In every way possible the government of the States essayed to soften and humanize the demands of the allied powers, and that they were both cruel and humiliating even in their final form was a source of sorrow to the American people. China deserved a lesson that would prevent the repetition of the Boxer outrages, but beyond that punishment she should have been allowed to go unscathed. Little good can ever come of the monuments erected on the scene of the massacres, the enforced indemnity with all its exorbitance, nor the humiliating conditions of the treaty regarding the importation and use of arms by the Chinese. The bitter memory of these humiliations will burn in the oriental mind long after the lesson of the Boxers has passed, and who can say but that it may one day bear evil fruitage?*

The powers retained their control of the Chinese administration throughout the year 1901, during which time engagements occurred between the German forces and the Boxers at Chung-Shun Pass, March 8, and at the Great Wall, April 23, the Boxers being defeated on each occasion. The question of indemnity was finally settled by the agreement of China to pay

at the following as the basis of their demands upon China:

1. China shall erect a monument to Baron von Ketteler on the site where he was murdered and send an Imperial Prince to Germany to convey an apology. She shall inflict the death penalty upon eleven princes and officials already named, and suspend provincial examinations for five years where the outrages occurred.

2. In future all officials failing to prevent anti-foreign outrages within their jurisdiction shall be dismissed and punished.

3. Indemnity shall be paid to states, corporations, and individuals. The Tsung-li-Yamen shall be abolished and its functions vested in a Foreign Minister. Rational intercourse shall be permitted with the Emperor, as in civilized countries.

4. The forts at Taku and the other forts on the coast of Chi Li shall be razed, and the importation of arms and war material prohibited.

5. Permanent legation guards shall be maintained, and also guards of communication between Peking and the sea.

6. Imperial proclamation shall be posted for two years throughout the Empire suppressing Boxers.

7. Indemnity is to include compensation for Chinese who suffered through being employed by foreigners, but not compensation for native Christians.

8. China shall erect expiatory monuments in every foreign or international burial ground where the graves have been profaned.

9. The Chinese Government shall undertake to enter upon negotiations for such changes in existing treaties regarding trade and navigation as the foreign governments deem advisable, and with reference to other matters having in view the facilitation of commercial relations.

President McKinley, in his annual message to

*November 19, 1900. The German Imperial Chancellor, in the Reichstag, announced that, by a unanimous agreement, the powers had arrived

the sum of 450,000,000 taels (\$333,000,000) to the powers,* and Germany's honor was appeased by the visit of apology of Prince Chun, the heir to the throne, to Berlin. The indemnity was viewed by the majority of the powers as punitive,† but this construction was not placed upon it by Secretary Hay, and under the administration of Secretary Root, \$10,784,508 of the share of the United States was cancelled, thereby hasten-

Congress, December 3, 1900, made the following statement of the principles which animate the Government of the United States in dealing with the situation in China:

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

"Faithful to those professions which, as it proved, reflected the views and purposes of the other co-operating Governments, all our efforts have been directed toward ending the anomalous situation in China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its dependants was accomplished, we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving our legation under an adequate guard in Peking as a channel of negotiations and settlement—a course adopted by others of the interested powers."

* Amount of indemnity claimed: Russia, 130,000,000 taels; Germany, 90,090,000 taels; France, 70,878,000 taels; Great Britain, 50,712,795 taels; Japan, 34,793,100 taels; United States, 32,939,055 taels; Italy, 26,617,005 taels; other countries, 14,060,045 taels.

† "It is not surprising that upon a careful examination of its Boxer claims the Government of the United States found them excessive. They were compiled hurriedly soon after the stirring events of 1900, and were necessarily imperfect. Such has doubtless been the experience of other powers who shared in the indemnity. It has been hoped that they might be influenced by

ing the establishment of amicable relations between the two nations.*

As has been indicated, by the close of the Tagalog revolt the United States had more than 60,000 soldiers in the Philippine Islands, and the exigencies of the situation demanded the retention of the military régime until a definite policy regarding the islands could be formulated. Even at the time he was being condemned as a military despot by the anti-imperialists, President McKinley was planning to make use of the power given him under the Constitution to make use of the army itself in building up an administrative system that could be transformed into a purely civil government as rapidly as conditions would permit.

For the reason that there were no precedents to which he could refer,

the action of the United States and voluntarily tender to China the remission of whatever excess has been shown over their adjusted claims. But such action could hardly be expected if they were impressed with the fact that the indemnity was punitive in its character."—John W. Foster, *The Chinese Indemnity*.

* For further details regarding this unprecedented diplomatic act see: *House of Representatives, Report of Committee on Foreign Affairs*, February 27, 1908 (No. 1107); Message of President Roosevelt on Remission of Chinese Indemnity, January 4, 1909; also *Congressional Record*, vol. XLII, pp. 720-722; 6841-6845. The *Congressional Record*, vol. XLII, pp. 720-722, contains a full account of diplomatic proceedings regarding the indemnity. The effect of this action has been most salutary. It has placed the United States on terms of amity with China not enjoyed by other powers, and has cemented a friendship initiated by Secretary Hay's policy of the "open door" which saved China from territorial spoliation after the Boxer disturbances. The money returned has been set aside by the Chinese government as a fund for the education of Chinese youths in the United States.

President McKinley had a free hand in shaping conditions in conformance with this policy. It was something new in colonial methods, and failure was prophesied for it. The other nations had treated their colonies as either storehouses of treasure to be exploited for the benefit of the Mother country, or as integral parts of an empire, to be justly administered, perhaps, but always with the welfare of the latter in view. The idea of deliberately educating an undeveloped race, to the point of self-government was an experiment that no nation but the United States had the temerity to make. The results are still to be seen, but the plan has worked far better than was anticipated. Some early mistakes might have been avoided had warning been taken from the experience of other nations, especially England in their relations with native races; the whole miserable affair with Aguinaldo, indeed, might have been aborted, yet on the whole there is no question but what the Filipino is rapidly developing a national consciousness and honor under the freedom of the new conditions.

In his message to Congress, December 3, 1899, President McKinley says:

"Until Congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the Statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats. * * * No effort shall be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of mis-government. We shall not wait for the end of the strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue as we have begun, to open the

schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing."

Again in his next annual message, December 3, 1900, he repeats the same thought, adding:

"No contrary expression of the will of Congress having been made, I have steadfastly the purpose so declared, employing the civil arm as well as the military toward the accomplishment of pacification and the institution of local government within the lines of authority and law."

In consonance with the plans thus proclaimed, President McKinley appointed (March, 1900) a second commission to the Philippines, whose functions and powers were much more extended than those of the previous committee. As soon as feasible it was empowered to establish a civil government, and, beginning September 1, was authorized to exercise legislative power in the islands, which power was later restricted in the granting of franchises. This commission consisted of William H. Taft, of Ohio, president; Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Luke E. Wright of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Prof. Bernard Moses of California, to "continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact."

In his letter of instructions to the Secretary of War, April 7, 1900, President McKinley said of his commission and its purposes:

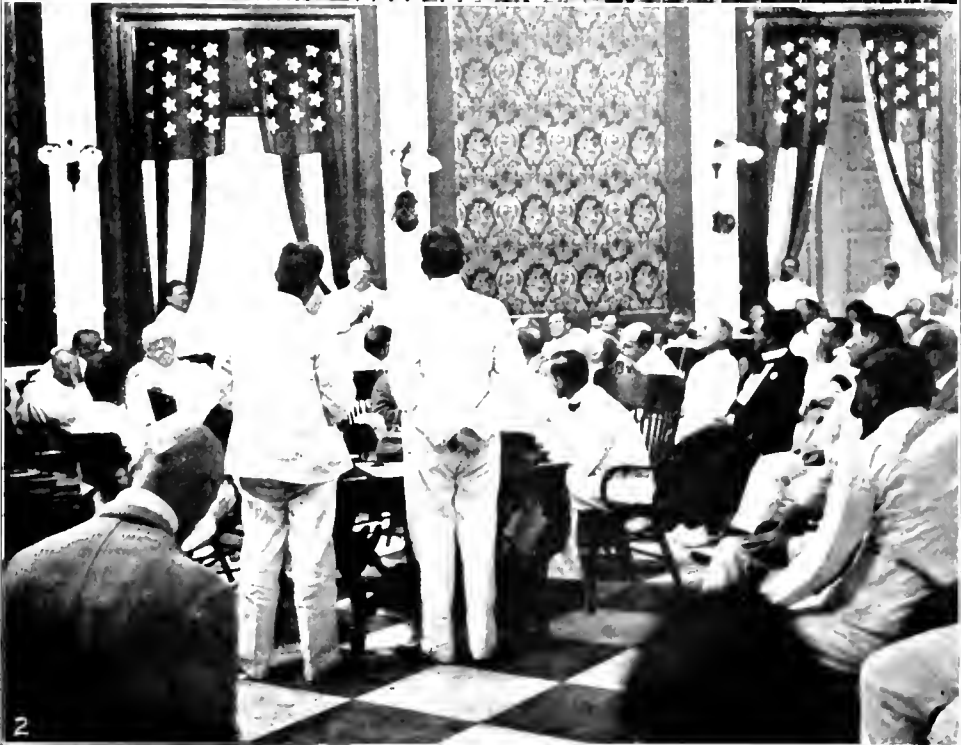
"The Commissioners named will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as President of the Board. It is probable that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers will be gradual and will occupy a considerable period. Its successful accomplishment and the maintenance of peace and order in the meantime will require the most perfect co-operation between the civil and military authorities in the island, and both should be directed during the transition period by the same executive department. The Commission will therefore, report to the Secretary of War, and all their actions will be subject to your approval and control.

"You will instruct the Commission to proceed to the city of Manila, where they will make their principal office, and to communicate with the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands, whom you will at the same time direct to render to them every assistance within his power in the performance of their duties. Without hampering them with too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the working of the native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty.

"The next subject in order should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions corresponding to countries, departments, or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines, or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subserved by a common administration. Whenever the Commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you, with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established."

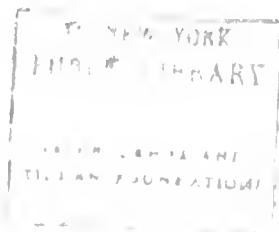
On July 4, 1901, the president of the commission became civil governor and the other four members were appointed on September 1 in charge of government departments. At this time also three Filipinos were added to the commission, which was again increased by act of Congress on May 11, 1908, to nine members. William H. Taft was appointed the first governor, but early in 1904 he resigned and was succeeded by Luke E. Wright, who held office until April 1906, when Henry C. Ide became governor-general, he in turn giving way to James F. Smith, the present incumbent, on September 20, 1906.

By the Congressional law of July 1, 1902, it was provided that, should the islands be peaceful for a period of two years after the publication of a census, the commission should call an election for delegates to a general assembly to take over the legislative powers hitherto exercised by the Philippine Commission. This census was completed and published in March 1907 and as the two years had passed without serious disturbance President Roosevelt issued a formal order for the election. The election law divided the 39 provinces of the islands (exclusive of Manila) not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes into 78 assembly districts, each province to constitute at least one district and the more populous provinces being divided into more districts in the ratio of one to every 90,000 inhabitants, or major fraction thereof,



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1. THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT MANILA.
2. SECRETARY OF WAR (LATER PRESIDENT), WILLIAM H. TAFT, ADDRESSING MEETING IN THE MARBLE HALL OF THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING.



remaining. The law provided that the Assembly should contain not less than 50 nor more than 100 delegates, and according to the census the number was fixed at 80, two of whom represented Manila.

The election was held on July 30, 1907, the Nacionalists, or party favoring immediate independence, elected 32 of the delegates, the other 48 being divided among the other parties as follows: Progresistas, 16; Independents, 20; Immediastas, 7; Independistas, 4; Catolico, 1. The Philippine Commission, which is the upper house of the legislature, has a veto on all measures passed by the assembly. Two resident commissioners to the United States were appointed by the assembly and the first of these were accorded seats in Congress in February, 1908. The assembly convened at Manila on October 16, 1907, and was formerly opened by Secretary of War Taft amid universal rejoicing.

Beginning with the close of the war with Spain the nation experienced an era of unprecedented prosperity. Contemporaneous with its entrance into a larger field of international affairs was an equally remarkable expansion of commerce. The export trade that had been averaging a billion dollars a year for the last decade suddenly increased during the years 1898 and 1899 until in 1900 it had attained the sum of a billion and a half. Every trade and industry felt the stimulus of "flush times," and

an epoch of industrial exploitation and concentration of wealth set in that astonished the world. For twenty years there has been a marked tendency towards the formation of the so-called "trusts" or organizations of corporate interests for mutual benefit, but prior to 1898 only a few powerful corporations like the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Combine and perhaps the brewing interests had succeeded in controlling the commodities in which they dealt. In the year 1899, however, fifty-one combinations, or one-fifth of the total number in the United States in 1907, were organized. Transportation, mining, agriculture, every phase, indeed, of economic life began to take on an exceptional life and the nation became drunk with its prosperity, indulging in schemes and enterprises tremendous in scope and apparently impossible of achievement. Many of them, nevertheless, did succeed, but at the penalty destined always to be paid when values assume fictitious and speculative proportions.

In spite, however, of certain menacing elements in this "new finance," there was much that was solid in the economic situation. A combination of causes joined in producing this condition; the most important, however, were the war, the enormous deposits of gold discovered in the new gold fields in Alaska, South Africa, Australia, and other places; the Dingley Tariff Bill of 1897 and finally the

death-blow dealt the free-silver proposition by the enactment of the currency law of 1900.*

Although free silver was killed by the currency act of 1900, it was not yet buried. This melancholy deed was reserved for the presidential election of November 3. The platform of the Democratic party reaffirmed the platform of 1896, calling for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the rate of 16 to 1, and with William Jennings Bryan as their standard-bearer the Democrats took up again the ungrateful task of being the party of opposition. The outcome of the contest was evident from its beginning. The cry "imperialism" fell upon the ears of a people who had tasted the fruits of victory, and they had no intention of inconsiderately throwing them away. The men who were destined to lead the dominant parties were likewise a foregone conclusion and both were virtually nominated by acclamation by their respective parties.

The Republican national convention was held in Philadelphia June 26, and the only issue apparently was the nomination of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Had Garrett A. Hobart lived to the end of his term, he would undoubtedly have been offered the honor again, but his death November 21, 1899, had rendered this impossible. The only other man considered sufficiently popular in all por-

tions of the country to prove an acceptable candidate was Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York. No one in the party had a record so remarkable, and so uniformly clear. As police commissioner of New York City, Assistant Secretary of Navy, colonel of the Rough Riders, and finally as governor of New York, his career had been marked by energy, originality, daring opposition to abuses, and above all by elements of success that rendered him a personality of especial interest not only to his own party but to the American people at large.

There were, however, certain facts that conspired against his election. These were: that he had made enemies by his activities during the war with Spain respecting abuses in the administration; that he had antagonized powerful interests and the party "machine" in his own State by his gubernatorial policy; and last that he was not acceptable to Senator Hanna and the President, who distrusted his progressive tendencies. The New York delegation headed by Senator Platt, in order to bury him in the Vice-Presidential chair, favored his nomination, as did Senator Quay, the "boss" of Pennsylvania, because he would thereby strike a blow at Hanna. The Western contingency was solid for him because they liked the man. In such wise, supported by his enemies and his friends, was Theodore Roosevelt nominated to the second place of honor in the gift of

* For discussion of this act see the Summary of American Finances in this volume.

his party — an honor that he accepted with reluctance for he knew history too well not to be aware of the disastrous experiences of former Vice-Presidents; and was too keen a politician not to grasp the true inwardness of the situation. Yet it was an honor that could not well be refused, and his name was accordingly linked with that of William McKinley as the nominee of the Republican party.

In its platform the Republican party called attention to the redemption of its pledges to establish the currency of the nation on a gold basis, and pointed to the increased prosperity as the result; the administration was commended for its triumph in the war with Spain; honest combinations of capital were approved, but trusts and monopolies condemned; the protective policy was reaffirmed; reciprocity, restriction of immigration, ship subsidies and liberal pensions favored; the civil service policy commended; restriction of suffrage in the South condemned; good roads, rural free delivery, reclamation of arid lands, statehood for the Territories, reduction of the war tax, the construction of an Isthmian Canal, the formation of a department of Commerce and Labor, improvement of the consular service were recommended and, finally, the whole policy of expansion was approved.

The Democratic national convention met July 5, at Kansas City, Mo., and after eulogistic speeches in favor of William Jennings Bryan, he was

nominated by acclamation, David B. Hill of New York, an opponent in 1896, seconding the nomination. The choice for nomination for Vice-President was Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, Vice-President in 1892-1896.*

The Democratic platform made im-

* Other national conventions:

At the national convention of the People's party (Middle-of-the-Road Anti-fusionists) held at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 10, Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania, was nominated for President on the second ballot. Ignatius Donnelly was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation. The Prohibitionist national convention at Chicago, June 28, nominated John G. Woolley, of Illinois, for President on the first ballot. Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot. The Socialist Labor Party national convention in the city of New York, June 6, nominated Joseph F. Maloney, of Massachusetts, for President, on the first ballot. Valentine Rummel was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot. The Social Democratic national convention, at Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for President and Job Harriman, of California, for Vice-President, by acclamation. The United Christian Party national convention at Rock Island, Ill., May 2, nominated Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President and John G. Woolley, of Illinois, for Vice-President, by acclamation. The Silver Republican national convention at Kansas City, Mo., July 6, indorsed the nomination of William Jennings Bryan for President and referred the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President to the national committee, which endorsed the Democratic nominee, A. E. Stevenson. The National Party convention in the city of New York, September 6, nominated Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana, for President and Archibald M. Howe, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President, by acclamation. These candidates declined and no other nominations were made. At a meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, at Indianapolis, Ind., August 16, William J. Bryan was endorsed for President. The national committee of the National Democratic party (Gold Democrats) at Indianapolis, Ind., July 25, adopted resolutions recommending that no candidates be nominated by the party, and opposing William J. Bryan.

perialism the paramount issue, thereby relegating the silver question to a secondary position. The Porto Rico law was denounced, the evacuation of Cuba demanded and the policy regarding the Philippines "condemned and denounced." Expansion that comprehended the accession of territory capable of being erected into states of the Union, was advocated, but the formation of a colonial empire was denounced as involving the very existence of the Republic. A strict adherence to the Monroe Doctrine was insisted upon, and militarism denounced; trusts and monopolists were denominated as intolerable and the Dingley tariff law condemned as a trust-breeding instrument. The Chicago free silver plank was reaffirmed and the currency law of 1900 denounced. In addition the popular election of Senators, the formation of a department of labor, liberal pensions, the Nicaraguan canal, statehood for the Territories, reclamation of arid lands, repeal of the war taxes, exclusion of Chinese immigrants and sympathy with the Boers were approved; and injunctions, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and all alliances with foreign powers were condemned. The platform concluded with the statement:—

"Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional Republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous

and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people regardless of previous party affiliations."

Democracy went into the contest with a forlorn hope, every condition opposing a change of administration at that time, yet Mr. Bryan, as before, made a splendid struggle against his odds. With remarkable endurance and enthusiasm he covered almost the entire country in his campaign, moving his hearers with his eloquence and the charm of his personality, even though he was unable to influence them by his logic to vote for his principles. During the last weeks of the campaign, the popular interest, which had at times been distracted by the Boxer uprising, the Galveston flood, and other startling events, rose to an unwonted pitch. Rallies were held in the cities throughout the nation, the most remarkable, perhaps, being the "sound money" parade of 100,000 voters which took place in New York, November 3. The result, however, was what had been evident from the beginning to all but the blindest adherents of Democracy, and President McKinley was re-elected by the tremendous plurality of 832,280 votes, receiving a popular vote of 7,206,677 to Bryan's 6,374,397. The electoral vote was 292 for McKinley and Roosevelt against 155 for Bryan and Stevenson. The "Solid South," of course, cast its vote for Mr. Bryan, and in addition he carried Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Colorado. One remarkable and somewhat

pathetic incident of the election was the fact that Bryan failed to carry Nebraska, his own state, his city, or his voting precinct.

As has been noted the public interest in the campaign of 1900 was deflected by other happenings, both internal and external. Of the latter the most sensational was the war between Great Britain and the South African Republic. The sympathy of the American people went out strongly towards the brave and hardy Boers in their dauntless stand against the unlimited resources of the English, but the memory of England's consistent friendship during the war with Spain prevented any official activities in favor of the people of the Transvaal. A delegation of the Boers* to America arrived in New York May 16, and were received with great cordiality by the citizens of New York, the freedom of the city being tendered them by Mayor Van Wyck. Subsequently they were unofficially received by the President, but their mission on the whole was a failure, in view of the fact that Great Britain had announced her refusal to entertain any proposition for mediation. Under the circumstances the attitude of the President was correct, for official action in favor of the Boers would have been a repudiation of the declaration of neutrality made by the United States at the outbreak of the war.

On September 9, the nation was ap-

palled by the news that Galveston, Texas, had been destroyed by a tornado and a tidal wave. Owing to the destruction of means of communication it was several days before the extent of the catastrophe was learned, wild rumors as to the utter annihilation of the the entire populace in the meanwhile gaining credence. The most exaggerated reports, however, were hardly less fearful than the truth. It was then learned that the town had been swept by a heavy storm throughout September 8, which gradually increased in fury, until about midnight it was submerged by a tidal that, unobstructed by any kind of breakwater, overwhelmed the city. When the storm passed it left behind a city of the dead. The waters slowly receded, sweeping with them into the Gulf the bodies of thousands who had perished, and leaving thousands of others among the wreckage and strewn along the beach. In this fearful cataclysm 7,000 people lost their lives; 4,000 more than at Johnstown. From eight to ten thousand houses were destroyed, and property aggregating \$30,000,000 swept out of existence. The reply of the nation for aid was immediate and generous. The Red Cross, under Miss Barton, again set to work in the cause of the suffering; over a million dollars for relief was raised by popular subscription, which was added to by large donations from all over the world.

Galveston had already been warned of the danger of its situation by dis-

* Members of the Boer commission: Abraham Fischer, C. N. Wessels and J. M. A. Wolmarans.

astrous storms, one of which had resulted in a loss of 38 lives and \$5,000,000 worth of property (1886), but she had not heeded, and now the hand of destiny seemed so strong that it was proposed to abandon the site of the city. The citizens, however, were disinclined to desert a situation that had so many redeeming features, including the finest harbor on the Gulf coast. With grim determination they went to work to build a city that would endure, however hard the elements might beat against it. The streets were cleared of debris, new buildings gotten under way, and plans were made for the construction of a great sea-wall which would prevent a repetition of the disaster of September 8. This was done at a cost of more than a million dollars, and to-day Galveston is one of the most prosperous, safest, cleanest and best-governed cities in the United States.*

President McKinley's second inauguration was a splendid pageant, and in its excess indicated the national desire to do him honor. The day, too, was symbolic of the experiences of the nation during the last few years, for although it was stormy for a while, as is its wont on March 4, yet the sun shone from time to time as if

prophetic of better days to follow. The army played a major part in the ceremonies, the military parade being the largest seen in Washington since the epoch of the Civil War.

For President McKinley, however, it was climax and completion of his career. Few of those in the great multitude that acclaimed his second elevation to the position of supreme honor in the gift of his country dreamed that before six months had passed he would be the victim of an assassin's bullet. On May 20, the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, opened its doors to the public. This exhibition was intended to represent and intensify a spirit of mutual interest that had been growing between the United States and the republics of Latin-America. To this movement President McKinley had given his cordial support, and accordingly was made the guest of the Exposition, September 5-6. On the former date he made an address before an audience of 50,000 people in which he summed up the ideals of his nation as he conceived them. The closing words of his last public utterance contain a message that should be treasured, coming at the time they did, at this time with a special benediction:

"Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in victories of peace and not in those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater

*Galveston was the first city in the country to adopt the commission system of government, the success of which has caused other cities to follow her example. During the eight years succeeding the disaster, the breakwater was constructed, the city was raised 17 feet above the former level and rebuilt, but the indebtedness of the city was sensibly diminished by an honest and business-like method of city government.

commerce and trade for us all, but more essential than that, these relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship, which will deepen and endure.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of the earth."

This was the final message of William McKinley to the American people. The next day, at a public reception given in his honor at the Temple of Music, he was shot down by an anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, who approached under the pretense of greeting him, as thousands were doing at the time. Czolgosz, it appears, was not the agent of an organi-

zation, but acted on his own initiative. He had been impelled to his insane deed by the teachings of Johann Most and Emma Goldman,—a deed that he expiated by his death October 29, 1901.

It was thought at first that the President's wound was not serious, and favorable reports were given to the public, but soon it was seen that his chances for life were growing less each day, and on September 14, President McKinley had passed away. His body was laid in state in Buffalo, and in the capitol at Washington, and was finally laid to rest in his home town, Canton, Ohio.

CHAPTER XVI.

1901-1904.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

President McKinley and President Roosevelt—The Trusts—Collisions of labor and capital—The great anthracite strike—Intervention of President Roosevelt—Friendly advances of Germany—The Panama Canal—The campaign of 1904 and re-election of Roosevelt.

It would be difficult to conceive two personalities more strongly in contrast than those of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. By origin, training, and by instincts they were antithetical. The former was born of a Scotch pioneer family that had sought, like many others, the Great West, finding there the freedom denied by the older communities. Neither rich nor poor, the McKinleys were of that sturdy middle-class who

form the solid, resisting material of the American people. The Roosevelts, on the contrary, had been city dwellers from the days of New Amsterdam, gaining generation by generation the accretion of wealth and culture arising from such environment. Yet strange to say the boy born in the little Ohio town, later became possessed of the characteristics assumed to mark the aristocrat, while his successor, more intellectual,

perhaps, nevertheless appeared to react from his type and take on the ideals and traits of the pioneer. In many other ways their careers were strangely at variance with their temperaments, for it was destined apparently that McKinley, a man of peace and compromise, should be the nation's executive in time of war; while Roosevelt, with ideals quite opposed, should control in times of peace. It doubtless is fortunate that such was the case; the cautious nature of the former served as a restraint upon rash and unwise spirits; while the radical and impetuous disposition of the latter drove him to exert his energies against those social abuses that arise and develop in times of greatest peace and prosperity.

President McKinley was not a man of genius, yet the very adaptability of his nature permitted him to attain his point when a more inflexible personality would have failed. This quality, too, explains the remarkable development he apparently experienced after he became the nation's executive. During the earlier years of his career, his affiliations and his record indicate that his horizon was that of the average American politician, but the stress of great events and great necessities appeared to broaden and deepen him, until the politician became transformed into the statesman. Yet in spite of this he owed much to his friends, and it is no secret that had it not been for the financial aid and personal efforts of one in particular, Mark Hanna, he

might never have attained the Presidency, and it may be that the price paid was a shutting of his eyes to certain tendencies just then revealing themselves in the social and economic fabric of the state. The debts made in 1896 are drawing interest to this day. The social conflict that was imminent at that time was aborted by the Dingley Law, the war with Spain, but above all by the yielding of a free hand to industrial forces and interests that have since assumed a magnitude that almost overshadows the state itself. These were the problems and conditions McKinley's successor had to struggle with during the seven years of his presidency.

Mr. Roosevelt was sworn in at Buffalo, September 14. After taking the oath of office he turned to the members of the Cabinet who stood around him, and stated his policy in the following words: "In this hour of national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my intention and endeavor to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policy of President McKinley, for the peace and prosperity of our beloved country." He then requested that each of his predecessor's official advisors retain his place as his own. These words and this act did much towards restoring the confidence of those who were at first dismayed by the sudden elevation of what they conceived to be a rash young man. His initial act thus was instrumental in gaining for him the good will of many who had previously opposed him. He knew very



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
Twenty-sixth President of the United States.

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well that by electing Mr. McKinley the people had approved his policies, and therefore to institute a policy of his own would be a virtual opposing of his own will to that of the public. That Mr. Roosevelt endeavored to do this exceedingly difficult thing during the three years that followed there is no doubt; that he failed in a measure to keep his pledge consistently was doubtless not due to intention, but to temperament and to the stress of unforeseen conditions.

The situation in which he found himself was little less exacting than that which confronted President McKinley at the outbreak of the war with Spain. The transformation that had taken place in the external relations of the nation found their reflection in its internal affairs, and Mr. Roosevelt came into office when these were in a state of flux and transition. Those who thought that he would make mistakes that would carry with them fatal consequences seemed to ignore the fact that he was one of very few Presidents of the United States who was adequately prepared for the position to which he had been so suddenly called. The majority of his predecessors had either been political leaders or soldiers. If these were prerequisites, he possessed both, and in addition he possessed a scholar's knowledge of the history of his country and of the principles that governed its development. He had followed with interest the movements that had marked the expansion of the nation, and had written with great

enthusiasm and scholarship regarding that tremendous enterprise that he calls so appositely "the winning of the West." The result of these studies was a breadth of vision and a knowledge of past affairs that tended to check the vagaries of a disposition that was far less erratic and impulsive than the public thought. In addition in President McKinley's cabinet were some able men, and in one of them, Secretary Hay, he found a mentor whose advice was always sane and in the highest sense patriotic.

It was a time that demanded sanity and patriotism, and most of all, courage—not the courage that leads wild charges up bullet-swept hills, but the kind that could meet the subtle and cunning attacks of vicious elements, great and small, that prey upon organized society. The tremendous upheaval produced by the war with Spain and its aftermath, brought as has been indicated an era of remarkable prosperity. Much of this was legitimate and wholesome, but along with it came an expansion of credit that was a god-send to every speculative spirit. Fraudulent enterprises were exploited in great numbers; corporations were capitalized beyond their earning power; and, in addition, the tremendous growth of pools and combines, so strong as to seem beyond the constraints of the law, and acting at times in positive defiance of it, menaced more and more the welfare of the masses of the people.

President Roosevelt in his first pro-

nouncement to Congress on the opening of the Fifty-seventh Congress brought these facts sharply before the people of the United States. After paying a tribute to President McKinley and calling upon Congress to pass legislation necessary to suppress anarchism and to prevent a repetition of what he termed "a crime against the human race," he proceeded to the topic he conceived to be the transcendent issue before the American people—that of corporations and trusts. He called attention to the fact that such prosperity as the nation was enjoying could not come from man's effort, unaided by the bounty of nature, nor would it be maintained if the policy of gain at another's cost were continued. He paid a tribute to the work of captains of industry who opened up new territories for homemakers, and discovered new methods for rendering life more and more beautiful. He warned against unwise attacks on corporate interests, but went on to say that there was a conviction in the minds of people that the great corporations known as trusts were in certain of their tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. He asserted that this feeling was not based upon prejudice, but upon the conviction that some sort of control was necessary. This was not to be obtained by abrogating property rights, but by insisting that these organizations do not work an injury to the people and to their institutions. President Roosevelt in this message recommended two methods of obtain-

ing this end—publicity of corporate activities and some form of national control over corporations doing an interstate business.

President McKinley's messages had contained statements similar to the one quoted, but they were generally appended to an enthusiastic account of the nation's great prosperity. They were fruitless appeals, however, for Congress took little notice of them if results are to be considered. Indeed no additional legislation was needed, for the Sherman act was still on the statute books, and if it had been applied would have proved sufficiently drastic to discourage the most enthusiastic "high financier." But it was not applied, and the trust promoters knew that it was not going to be. The late President in their terms was "safe and sane." With respect to his successor they were either very voluble or very silent, and the whole country waited to see whether the President would carry the threats contained in his messages and his speeches into effect. They must now determine whether Roosevelt's words were to be supported by deeds. The test was not long in coming. The Attorney-General in his Cabinet, Mr. Philander C. Knox, was a man who had spent his life as an attorney in corporation cases, and was thereby thoroughly prepared to deal with the problem from the point of view of wide experience. A suit was instituted against the beef trust in May 1902, and an injunction was granted May 20 by Judge Grosseup of the

United States Circuit Court forbidding its acts in constraint of trade. This injunction was declared permanent in February, 1903. An appeal was made to the Supreme Court and after two years of litigation a decision was rendered January 20, 1905, declaring the trust illegal.

It was the feeling of the public, however, that action directed merely at the trusts themselves would be unavailing unless the causes that tended to foster them were rendered inoperative. Two of these that recommended themselves strongly were the granting of rebates and secret freight rates to large shippers, and the pooling of railway interests, with the intention of controlling the traffic of a region. The new century was barely begun before it was clear that the railways of the country were rapidly passing into the control of a few individuals. One of the most dominating of these was J. J. Hill, whose wonderful enterprises had done so much toward building up the Northwest. Nevertheless when he and his associates endeavored to form a merger of three competing lines known as the Northern Securities Co., a halt was called under the provisions of the Interstate Commerce and the Sherman anti-trust laws. The decision, handed down April, 1903, was a victory for the people. The pool was dissolved and a precedent made for future activities against illegal operations of capital. Yet the victory on the whole was more apparent than real. The combinations hastened to establish

themselves on a basis of external legality, the laws being unable to prevent the formation of so-called "gentlemen's agreements," which effectually accomplished the object the corporate interests had in view. It was clear that the organization of capital was an assured fact, and one that could not be set aside by such indefinite legislation as the Sherman act. This is shown by the failure of all efforts made to destroy the trust principle by dissolving individual combinations. The Northern Securities, and numerous other decisions have been unavailing, and the trust, in its protean forms, controls the economic situation of America.

As the question of capital intimately involves that of labor it was to be expected that organization of the former along lines of such scope and comprehensiveness would produce a similar development with respect to the latter, and such has proved the case. The American laboring man had been organized for many years, but it was not until the last decade of the Nineteenth century that labor organization assumed the characteristics of a definite institution. The workingman saw the tremendous profits that arose from suppression of competition, and the economies of combined capital, and he saw in addition the possibilities inherent in such a system tending to limit his own freedom of action. To deal with many independent employers of labor was one thing; to deal with a few, or one group, was

quite another. Labor gained something in the industrial expansion inaugurated in 1899, but not, as it conceived, what it was entitled to. Hence the situation between the two primary elements of industrial life became more and more strained. The situation is best summed up by the statement that in 1881 there were 471 strikes and 6 lockouts; in 1903, 3,494 strikes and 154 lockouts. Some of the strikes of the latter period were of national importance and brought great loss and suffering, not only to the parties directly involved, but to the general public as well. Of these the most far-reaching was the strike in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.

In 1899 there had been much unrest in the region, which finally resulted in the formation of an organization known as the United Mine Workers of America. This association in 1900 demanded a 10 per cent. increase in wages, and owing to the political pressure exerted upon the mine owners, was able to make an agreement with them obtaining such increase until April, 1902. At the expiration of this period the miners endeavored to arrange for a settlement of the wage scale and hours of labor for the forthcoming year, but the owners refused to consider any propositions whatsoever. The leader of the miners was John Mitchell, a self-educated man, who had worked in the mines, and whose abilities as an organizer made him the logical spokesman of the movement. Opposed to him was

George F. Baer, president of the Reading Coal and Iron Company, whose tactless management of the situation led to disastrous results. His reply to the request to arbitrate the difficulty was characteristic of the man. "Anthracite mining," he said, "is a business, not a religious, sentimental, or academic proposition," which accurately complements another statement he is reported to have made, that he and his kind were "Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom had entrusted the property interests of this country." The miners appealed to Senator Hanna, whose efforts to bring about an agreement were without avail, so on May 12 a general strike was declared in which 147,000 men were involved. The coal operators, trusting in their resources, adopted a waiting policy, hoping to tire the miners out, but this was rendered fruitless by the passage of a resolution at a National Convention of Mine Workers at Indianapolis to appropriate \$2,000,000 a month to the support of the strikers. This startling testimonial of the faith the working men had in their cause had the effect of indefinitely extending the contest, and placed the owners at signal disadvantage. The strike dragged on into the summer, the situation becoming so serious that the President directed Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, to investigate and make a report with the view of remedying the same. Cases of violence against property and persons occurred, which resulted

finally in the dispatch of the state militia to the center of disturbance. On July 30 and on October 6 the entire national guard of Pennsylvania to the number of 10,000 were sent to the region.

The attitude of the laboring man is revealed by the following quotation from the *Scranton Labor Herald*:

"Yes, let us have more militia; let us have more and more military sent into the coal regions; let them come till every hill and vale is bristling with bayonets, and the 'tented cities' of our military power proclaim to the world that peace reigns, and no scenes of disorder mar the peaceful attitude of the mine workers now on strike.

"After this is done and the strike still goes on, let the representatives of the lawless coal trust get down from their exalted position, and meet the issues before them as men of intelligence, instead of continuing the chattering monkey act which they have been performing all these long months which have marked the progress of the strike.

"The calling out of the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania can not start the mines, as has been proved by the experience of the localities where the military has been stationed during the past few months.

"Some weeks ago THE LABOR HERALD stated that the coal strike was an educational contest. This has been demonstrated during the past few weeks. Labor has learned for the first time that the trust question is already beyond the control of our government officials. Here was a lesson worth the losses of the strike. The American people had been led to believe that there was some semblance of law which could be brought into force in curbing the trust evil when the necessity arose.

"The efforts of President Roosevelt to bring the coal strike to an end in the interest of the public has disproved the suggestions that any law exists whereby the people may be protected against the monopolistic development of recent years * * *.

"Let the mine workers stand firm with due regard for law and order, and it is up to the coal trust to prove the blatant boasts of its representatives at Washington. The mines will not be started till the mine workers decide to accept concessions offered by the companies."

In the meanwhile the price of coal in the large cities was soaring to an unprecedented point, 20 to 30 dollars for a single ton, and little to be obtained at that. Winter was approaching, and already schools and hospitals had been closed for want of fuel, and much suffering was being experienced. The mine-owners had declared that if protected by military force they would open the mines, but there was a Pennsylvania State law to the effect that no one could mine coal in the anthracite field without holding a certificate of experience, granted only after two years' apprenticeship and examination, and as all of these belonged to the United Mine Workers, the owners could get no men to do the work. The 40,000 holders of these certificates were all union men and the operators were helpless, and should have seen how untenable was their position, yet in spite of this fact, and in spite of tremendous pressure, financial, political, and above all, that of public opinion, which was brought to bear upon them, the operators became still more defiant, and refused to concede a single point. They assumed that the scarcity of coal would cause public opinion to react on the strikers, and hence would cause the dispatch of Federal troops to the region and the passage of legislation that would permit their cause to win. They however reckoned without their host, for public opinion took quite the contrary side. It was universally conceded that some way must be discovered to make the

mine owners come to terms, even if it involved the taking over of the coal properties by the government. By September the problem had ceased to be local and assumed such national proportions that it could no longer be ignored. President Roosevelt accordingly called a conference of the warring factions, October 3, 1901. This he did in spite of the fact that the mine owners had threatened his political extinction if he intervened in the affair. The President recognized his lack of power to intervene in an official capacity, but appealed to their patriotism, pleading that they sacrifice all personal considerations for the good of the country. Mr. Mitchel agreed to the appointment of a board of arbitration, and pledged his organization to accept its terms. The others, however, denounced the government as a "contemptible failure that was compromising itself with the instigators of violence and crime."

Their defiance and the arrogance of their attitude had but one result: the closing of the conference with nothing gained save injury to their cause. They had also made an enemy of a man who not only dearly loved a fight, but who had sufficient power back of him to carry the fight to a finish. In addition public indignation was rising to such a pitch that the President perceived that further temporizing would prove disastrous. The result was the immediate capitulation of the mine owners. What method was employed

by him in gaining his point is not wholly clear, the generally accepted theory being that he threatened to appoint a committee which would investigate the situation in the anthracite region, particular attention to be given to the relationship between the railways and the coal mining companies. Whether this is the explanation or not, suffice it to say that J. Pierpont Morgan, after a conference with President Baer, sought an interview with President Roosevelt and offered on the part of the coal operators to accept the arbitration of a commission to be appointed by him, the decision of the same to be binding for a period of three years. He endeavored to dictate the character of the personnel of this commission, but the miners refused to accept his proposal, declaring that the President should be free to appoint whom he pleased. The operators were forced to accept these terms, and accordingly, at a convention of the United Mine Workers at Wilkesbarre, October 20, the strike was declared at an end.

The President appointed on this commission Judge George Gray, of the United States Circuit Court; the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright; Thomas H. Watkins; General John M. Wilson; E. E. Clark, and Archbishop John L. Spalding. This commission was not only representative, but it was thoroughly equipped for the task before it. Exhaustive hearings were held, each side of the controversy being given ample

opportunity to present its evidence. The result, however, was a sweeping victory for the strikers. A 10 per cent. increase in wages was awarded; an eight-hour day after April 1, 1903; an increase of 1 per cent. in wages to all employees for each 5 cents added to the price of coal f. o. b. at the New York harbor. Other findings were also made, among which was the establishment of a permanent board of conciliation for settling future disputes, the removal of all limitations placed on the output of miners; and the cessation of discriminatory acts against non-union miners. The agreement was to remain in force until March 31, 1906. The commission also recommended the discontinuance of the employment of a "coal and iron police, a stricter enforcement of the law regarding the employment of children, and State and Federal machinery for the investigation of difficulties similar to those referred to this commission." (Report rendered March 21, 1903.)*

One of the most important results of this arbitration was unquestionably the hastening of the passage of an act organizing the Department of Commerce and Labor, an important function of which is to perform the duties defined in the quotation from the report of the Anthracite Arbitration Commission. This new branch

of the Federal service was formed by a law passed by Congress, February 11, 1903. Bureaus from several departments, especially those relating to industries, commerce and transportation, statistics, immigration, and other kindred phases, were united under the direction of a new Cabinet officer. The first secretary under this act was George B. Cortelyou, appointed February 16, 1903; who was followed by Victor H. Metcalf in 1904, Oscar S. Strans in 1907, and Charles Nagel in 1909.

The prestige gained by the United States in international affairs as a result of the war with Spain soon began to bear fruitage. One result was the restoration of amicable relations with the German empire, which had been disturbed by the activities of the latter in the Philippines. The German Kaiser made a number of overtures of friendship, one of which was the sending of his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, in January, 1902, on a visit to America. The ostensible purpose of this was the launching of a yacht which was being built near New York City, and which Miss Alice Roosevelt was invited to christen, but the underlying reason was clearly to remove a suspicion cherished for a long time by the American people with regard to the unfriendly intentions of the Emperor William.

The restoration of an *entente cordiale* between the two nations stood in good stead during another one of the perennial endeavors of the European

* Another strike took place in the gold mining districts of Colorado in 1903-4. Though local in scope this also commanded public attention by the extremes to which the leaders on both sides permitted themselves to go. These disturbances lasted until the autumn of 1904.

powers to collect pecuniary claims against Venezuela which took place during the same year. Great Britain, Germany, and Italy sent a joint expedition to Venezuelan waters early in 1902, and established a blockade of the ports. Barring the shelling of a few forts, the blockade was essentially a "peaceful" one, yet it had the effect, however, of bringing President Castro to terms. As the allies disclaimed any purpose of presenting claims for territory, the Monroe Doctrine was not involved, and accordingly no official objection to the movement was made at Washington. President Roosevelt was invited to act as arbitrator, but declined, using his influence, however, in hastening a settlement of the affair, which was accomplished February 28, 1903.

The most important and far-reaching event of the first administration of President Roosevelt was the successful inauguration of a movement for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. By the ratification of the Hay-Herran Treaty, March 17, 1903, the Senate of the United States virtually pledged that the nation would undertake the construction of the canal, thereby insuring the realization of a dream that had been present in the mind of man since Balboa struggled across the narrow strip of land, and caught the first glimpse of the Pacific. Thus in the Twentieth century the quest of Columbus for a short route to the

Indies bids fair to become an assured fact.

The first hope was for a natural strait, but a score of years of fruitless search proved its non-existence and therefore in 1529 Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, a follower of Balboa and cousin of Cortez, prepared a scheme for cutting a canal at the narrow isthmus of Panama. Four routes were proposed and it is interesting to note that they were identical with the four destined to be considered and examined by the modern engineers. The real beginning of the canal enterprise, however, was in 1534, when King Charles V. ordered surveys to determine the most feasible route. From then on the project alternately woke and slumbered, and though a king of Spain promised the headsman's axe to any one energetic enough to suggest even a revival of the scheme, the traffic needs of the South Sea country tended to keep the idea alive.

The era of Spain's commercial supremacy slipped by without advantage being taken of opportunity and until the beginning of the Nineteenth century a canal at Panama received scarcely a serious consideration. Alexander von Humboldt then put new life into the plan and in 1814 the Spanish crown, seeking to strengthen its weakening grasp upon its American colonies, determined upon the construction of an isthmian canal. A *cedula* was issued, but before practical steps could be taken the revolu-

tions of Miranda and Bolivar wrested Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia from Spain. Panama declared its independence in 1822, and allied itself with Colombia under the title of New Grenada. The turmoil of the political rearrangement that followed in Central America had hardly subsided before the first Central American envoy, Señor Antonio Jose Canaz, approached Secretary of State Henry Clay with the suggestion of a canal through Nicaragua, and though lacking official authority to enter into such a scheme, Clay's appreciation of the project was such that he ordered a survey of the route.

The Central American congress the same year granted a concession which was afterward transferred to an American company known as the Central American & United States Atlantic and Pacific Canal Company, among the members of which were De Witt Clinton, Monroe Robinson and A. H. Palmer.* This company's conception of the magnitude of the task may be gathered from the fact that it was capitalized at \$5,000,000. A concession to a Dutch company in 1829 proved an equal failure. A franchise for a canal at Panama was granted by Simon Bolivar, president of New Grenada, who, on the failure of the grantee undertook the work himself, but progressed no further than to obtain a faulty survey. For some years thereafter nothing

but futile projects based upon more or less honest intentions are to be noted and, until the gold excitement of 1849 in California, the United States had shown little more than an attitude of approval toward the canal question. In 1846, however, before any whisper of the presence of the yellow metal had been heard, the United States negotiated a treaty with the republic of New Grenada, consisting then of the two independent states of Panama and Colombia, obtaining for Americans entry-port privileges and transit rights, equal in every respect to those enjoyed by the Grenadian citizens, their vessels and merchandise. Under this treaty,* the Panama Railroad Company, composed of William Henry Aspinwall, John Lloyd Stephens and others, obtained a concession from New Grenada, and work on a line from Aspinwall (now Colon) to Panama was begun in 1849 and the first train was run over the entire line in January, 1855. The construction difficulties in this then stupendous work can scarcely be imagined. The country produced nothing, and was a desolate wilderness and every scrap of food and clothing had to come from New York.†

Great Britain's seizure of the Mosquito Coast and San Juan River roused President Polk to send a special envoy, Elijah Hise, to that coun-

* See *House Report* No. 145, 20th Congress, 2d session.

* New Grenada Treaty ratified June 10, 1848.

† An account of this first real struggle with the problem will be found in Wolfred Nelson's *Five Years in Panama*.

try in 1849 to examine into the situation with a view to discovering how far British actions were controverting the Monroe Doctrine. As a check-mate to Great Britain's designs, Hise negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua granting to the United States or its citizens exclusive right to construct a road, railroad or canal across the country from coast to coast, to fortify and protect the same and in return to guarantee to Nicaragua the maintenance of her territorial sovereignty. This treaty was rejected by the Senate and the diplomatic machinery at Washington set in motion by Secretary of State John M. Clayton. Negotiations on the subject were opened with the British Minister and E. G. Squier was sent to replace the embarrassingly active Mr. Hise. The meat of the nut lay in the possibility of interference by Great Britain with the canal project of the New York capitalists and her defiance of the Monroe Doctrine by her Mosquito Coast occupancy. Confronted by a Democratic majority in the Senate it was Secretary Clayton's pleasing task to obtain seemingly impossible concessions from Great Britain or, failing that, to present the possible in such form as would pass muster before the opponents of the administration. Clayton's offer was in the nature of a compromise; British right to control the Mosquito Coast would be diplomatically conceded provided such control would not interfere with the

construction and maintenance of a canal. This was acceded to, but the American minister at London, Abbott Lawrence, injected a strong dash of pepper into the fraternal pudding by declaring that Great Britain's claim to the Mosquito Coast was without right or reason, with no foundation in law or justice, and that it should be abandoned. Lawrence was ignored by Washington, a question of Nicaragua's right to the Mosquito Coast was raised as a foil, and Sir Henry Bulwer was sent to America to carry on the negotiations. The New York company had already established a line of transportation across the country by stages, and steamers on the Nicaragua lake with steamship connections between New York and San Francisco under a franchise which Squier secured, and his substitute treaty with Nicaragua varies but little from the Hise agreement as to neutrality and guaranteed sovereignty.

While Bulwer and Clayton were struggling with the preliminary draft of a treaty, Great Britain was pressing Honduras for payment of an old claim, and her designs embraced the seizure of Tigre Island and the Bay of Fonseca in default of payment. Squier endeavored to check this aggression, as Hise had done, by a treaty with Honduras which practically ceded both island and bay to the United States. A British fleet next appeared off the coast and forcibly seized the territory in ques-

tion and Squier's protests being ignored, he ordered the British to evacuate the position, giving them but one week in which to comply. When the news of this awkward situation reached Washington the Democratic majority in the Senate took up at once the Squier treaties and demanded all relating papers and documents from the President. The chance of embarrassing the negotiations then pending was so great that Secretary Clayton urged on Bulwer the signing of the treaty at once. This was done with an extraneous agreement of disavowal by the United States of Squier's Honduras treaty, while in return Great Britain withdrew from Tigre Island. The treaty thus concluded was duly ratified by the Senate July 4, 1850, and is known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It provided for the complete neutrality and mutual protection and aid by both the United States and Great Britain to any and every satisfactory attempt to construct a canal anywhere in Central America and served as a fruitful source of bickering and clash between the two nations for the next half-century.

In 1852 the American, Atlantic & Pacific Canal Company, dissatisfied with all previous surveys employed Colonel Orville Childs to make a complete and accurate survey of the Nicaraguan route. Colonel Childs' report, which was most exhaustive, embraced a plan of operation and design declared both practicable and feasible by the United States and

British engineers to whom it was submitted for criticism, but the turmoil and confusion caused by William Walker's filibustering activities put a stop to all practical work and also to the operation of the stage and lake steamer transportation; hence, in 1856 Nicaragua revoked the company's concession. The Panama railroad, meanwhile, instead of obviating the necessity of a canal, served to augment it, and various routes through the Darien region were examined with the idea of possibly finding an easier path than that already known.*

In 1858 Nicaragua and Costa Rica jointly granted a concession to a French company covering all rights previously granted to the New York company and in addition a permit to station two French warships on Lake Nicaragua. The prompt and vigorous protest of the United States to this had an unfavorable influence on the project and helped cause its failure before results were obtained. Louis Napoleon's schemes, which it is unnecessary more than to mention, were a source of small worry to the United States for some years until the Franco-Prussian war put an end to his capacity for mischief. The Tehuantepec, the Caledonian Bay and the Atrato-Truanto routes, and one adjoining the Costa Rica boundary came in for a share of attention but nothing beyond abortive exploring

* *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 1, 33d Congress, 2d session and *House Ex. Doc.* No. 107, 47th Congress, 2d session.

expeditions and the formation of companies was accomplished.

During the Civil War, of course, all ideas of a canal on the part of the United States remained in abeyance, but in 1866 the Senate called on the Secretary of the Navy for a report on the entire status of the Panama and Darien routes. Secretary Welles responded in 1867 with a report from Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis* which discussed in voluminous fashion nineteen canal routes and seven railway projects in the isthmian country and recommended further investigation of the region. In 1869 a treaty was negotiated with the United States of Colombia, which had been formed in 1861, against the emphatic though fruitless protest of Panama, as the independence enjoyed by the latter from the time of the revolt against Spain was considerably curtailed by the centralization of power at Bogota. From 1861 on, Panama, protesting and feebly struggling, was gradually reduced to the position of a minor dependency, ruled by a governor appointed from Bogota who was seldom other than corrupt and frequently tyrannical. The treaty of 1869 secured to the United States the right to construct a canal at Panama but the Senate refused the necessary ratification. President Grant in 1870 submitted a similar treaty which was also rejected, but his recommendation to provide for a survey of route was followed by the establishment of an

interoceanic canal commission, composed of the United States army chief of engineers, the superintendent of the coast and geodetic survey and the chief of the bureau of navigation of the navy department. The result from this commission was a minute and critical report* in 1876 recommending as the most feasible for a canal a line from Limon Bay via the Chagres and Obispo river valleys and across the divide to Panama Bay, and it further made a comprehensive report on the old Childs' route through Nicaragua with a detailed plan and estimated cost of a canal from Greytown to Brito via San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua and through the Rio del Medio and Rio Grande valleys. As between these two routes the commission was unanimously in favor of the Nicaragua one as possessing greater advantage of maintenance and less constructive difficulties from engineering, commercial and economic points of view.

The year before this report was made the *Congrès des Sciences Géographiques* at Paris had discussed the question of a canal at Panama and had recommended preliminary surveys. Acting on the idea, a company of French capitalists and speculators was formed to obtain concessions from Colombia. The enterprise was purely a stockholding concern and as a beginning a French naval lieutenant was sent to the isthmus to select a route and negotiate a

* *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 62, 39th Congress, 1st session.*

* *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 15, 46th Congress, 1st session.*

concession with the Colombian government. Ferdinand de Lesseps, at the height of his fame and Suez prestige, was interested in the company and disapproved of the lieutenant's report. Acting on his suggestion this lieutenant and another returned to Panama the following year where one of the two made a journey afoot along the line of the Panama Railroad and the other exerted himself at Bogota to obtain a concession. Successful in this, he returned home via Nicaragua, where he succeeded in undermining a concession to a rival French company, and New York, where he entered into a bargain with the Panama Railroad Company. On the return of these two energetic promoters the French company decided definitely upon the Panama route and issued a call for an international engineering congress to be held in Paris in 1879 under the presidency of de Lesseps to consider the entire project. This congress of 136 delegates, the majority of whom were Frenchmen, met May 15, 1879, and adopted a report in favor of the Panama route. In October, 1879, the Universal Interoceanic Canal Company was incorporated with de Lesseps at its head and at once began the extravagant and reckless expenditure that was to ruin the undertaking. De Lesseps went to Panama and inaugurated the work with a grand flourish, announcing the plan of a sea-level canal. The misstatements, intrigues, falsifying of figures, criminal negligence in preparation of

estimates and wasteful expenditure it is needless to detail; the record is nauseating and not worth an examination. We will turn to the struggles of our department of state under Secretary Blaine with the bogey of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty during this period of high financiering by the French.

The resentment aroused by the international congress had caused American enterprise to consider the feasibility of the old Nicaragua route and found expression in the joint resolution of Congress on April 16, 1881, requesting the President to secure the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which was considered an obstacle to the success of any attempt in canal construction by the United States. The methods adopted by Secretary Blaine to secure the desired result invited failure from the outset, and until Frederick T. Frelinghuysen succeeded Mr. Blaine, the United States cut a sorry figure in the diplomatic passages-at-arms. The new Secretary made the most possible out of a good case, hopelessly undermined by ill advised handling, and by great exertion succeeded in untangling the snarl though he failed to advance the negotiation a single point. Panama construction was begun by the French in 1881, and in 1882 a force numbering thousands were busy upon the Isthmus, but the weakness shown in the method of financing the scheme was as painfully apparent in the actual constructive work. A

great deal was accomplished but with enormous waste and extravagance. The oversubscribed capital of the first call for \$60,000,000, subscribed in large measure by the thrifty French bourgeois, was flung away with a prodigal hand. The initial impulse was sufficient for four years and then trouble seethed to the surface; more than the total original estimate had been expended and less than a third of the work could be shown for it. The computation of the *Congrès* of 1879 had been for a sea-level, 28 foot deep canal to cost \$114,000,000 and requiring eight years to build; six years after the work began the conclusion was reached that a lock canal 15 feet deep would cost \$351,000,000 and require twenty years. The frantic efforts of the company to bolster up the enterprise came to naught, the several contractors abandoned the work, and the company suspended payment and went into bankruptcy in February, 1889. It had received from the public and expended, since the beginning, \$393,505,100 and the surface of the earth had been barely scratched. The receivership which immediately took charge of affairs vigorously applied itself to saving the situation: extensions of time were obtained from Colombia that were stretched until they reached October, 1910, and a new Panama Canal Company was organized in October, 1893, with a capital of \$13,000,000. A *Comité Technique* was appointed, consisting of French and foreign engineers to ex-

amine the whole problem. Its report was to continue all work that could obviously be utilized no matter what type of canal was finally decided upon and it applied itself to rectifying the estimates and plans of the former company.* This revision was the first real scientific work accomplished by the French company, and its figures, conclusions and estimates later proved of great value to the United States enterprise. Its report, made in 1898, recognized two principal difficulties of the work, the cut through Culebra and the control of the Chagres River.

Meanwhile a bill had been introduced in Congress in 1888 for chartering The Maritime Canal Company of the United States and after a struggle with the lobbying interests of the new Panama Company work was begun at Greytown in June, 1890, and for three years pushed forward with breakwaters, wharves, a railroad and part of a canal until its entire capital of \$6,000,000 was expended, when it was compelled by the financial stringency in the United States to go into the hands of a receiver and work was never resumed; though for the next ten years the Nicaraguan project was persistently, and doggedly pushed by Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama. Influenced by his pertinacious methods, the Nicaraguan sentiment in the country at large gained such strength that the Panama

* General Henry S. Abbott, *Problems of the Panama Canal*.

Company was forced to submit the able *Comité* report in full, with all its accompanying documents, to President McKinley. In December, 1898, the Senate passed a bill, providing for governmental support of the Maritime Canal Company and the Nicaraguan canal project, but the French company secured a hearing before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee and succeeded in defeating it. The next year Congress authorized the President to make an exhaustive investigation of the most feasible route for a canal to be completely under United States control and ownership. This resulted in what is usually considered the first isthmian canal commission of which Rear Admiral John G. Walker was appointed president. The commission proceeded slowly with its work and the Spanish war intervened before anything of consequence was accomplished. The Walker commission reported in favor of the Nicaraguan route, without, however, eliminating Panama as an alternative, and in June, 1899, a new commission with Walker again at the head was created. The expiration of the Maritime Company's concession and the failure of another syndicate to convince the Nicaragua government of good faith practically eliminated every company from the field except the French Panama receivership.

The question of abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had been broached by Secretary of State Hay, at the suggestion of the Senate, and

through the joint efforts of Hay and the British minister at Washington the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was signed in February, 1900, but failed of ratification in the Senate. A second treaty followed which proved acceptable and was ratified December 16, 1901. This important agreement abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer instrument and acknowledged the exclusive right of the United States to build, operate and maintain a canal; guaranteed the neutrality of the work under all conditions and conceded the right of the United States to fortify for its protection.

The Walker commission again reported to the President in December, 1900. It had examined the Panama project both on the ground and at Paris and endeavored to obtain from the company a valuation of its property and cession rights looking to purchase by the United States. The company balked at submitting definite figures to a body unauthorized to negotiate a sale but offered to submit a tentative valuation. The commission would listen to nothing but a lump sum and the result of the negotiations was a schedule of property submitted by the company totalling \$109,000,000 in round numbers. The commission, figuring the difference in construction expense between Panama and Nicaragua, had settled upon \$40,000,000 as the highest price that could be paid by the United States in taking over the Panama route as the economical selection. The difference in cost as estimated being but \$58,000,000 in

favor of Panama, valuing the French company's rights and property at the assessment of \$40,000,000, the valuation of \$109,000,000 seemingly placed the shorter route out of the question and the commission's report was unanimous in favor of Nicaragua.

The situation that confronted the Panama Canal Company on the publication of this report was that of having its entire plant rendered valueless. It was evident there could be no competition against the United States and once that country commenced work at Nicaragua the Panama project was dead beyond all hope of revival. At a hurried meeting of the stockholders the French company voted to meet the \$40,000,000 price and cabled the commission to that effect; whereupon that body made a supplemental report stating the circumstances and recommending the selection of the Panama route. Before this supplemental report was announced the House of Representatives authorized the President to secure concessions from Nicaragua for constructing a canal but fortunately this resolution met with delay in the Senate and the publication of the supplemental report gave the matter a new aspect; it also started anew the grand climax of the Nicaragua-Panama battle that had raged so furiously in the past. The conflict was tremendous and the passion involved furnished several entertaining though scarcely edifying spectacles of Congressional gymnastics, until from the turmoil and wrath emerged the

so-called Spooner bill which passed both Houses on June 28, 1902, and directed the President within certain limits of discretion to adopt the Panama route.

After four hundred years of fruitless effort the project of a canal at Panama had, at last, started toward undoubted success.

The question of being able to obtain a valid transfer of title from the Panama Company to the United States was settled after painstaking investigation and a lawsuit through the highest court of France; negotiations were opened with Colombia to secure perpetual control over a strip of land sufficient in area to safeguard the canal along its entire line. Of the liberal terms proposed by the United States there is no need to mention other than the monetary consideration of \$7,000,000 in cash and an annuity after fourteen years of \$250,000 per year. This was refused by the Colombian government and matters assumed a character that but too plainly showed an intent to mulct America to the highest possible figure. The refusal to treat on the offered terms was made in November, 1902, but it should be noted here that Colombia passed through a revolutionary turmoil in 1898 and for the four following years the country showed signs of feverishness that by 1902 was concentrating in Panama. The interruption to traffic across the Isthmus had brought United States warships before both Colon and Pan-

ama and marines were landed who enforced the neutrality of the Panama Railroad for two months, preventing in turn both Colombian and insurgent troops from using it. Meanwhile negotiations which were to culminate in the Hay-Herran treaty were progressing at Washington; when finally signed the financial considerations were \$10,000,000 in cash to Colombia and \$100,000 yearly to commence nine years after the signing of the treaty. The Senate ratified this treaty March 17, 1903. To the astonishment of America, Colombia's ratification was delayed and despite Secretary Hay's plain-spoken dispatch of warning the Colombian Congress allowed the treaty to lapse, although the negotiations and terms of the treaty, with but slight modifications, had originated in that country.

The uneasiness of Panama during this time was extreme. Chronically dissatisfied with her political relations with Colombia, a dissatisfaction that had been shown by actual revolution, the prospect of losing the canal through Bogota's greed, from which she had suffered often in the past, was more than the province could stand. Early in 1903 she gave Colombia fair warning that trouble would follow a failure to ratify the Hay-Herran treaty and the political moves from the capital promising but little hope, a movement developed with Dr. Manuel Amador at its head looking to independence and successful

negotiation with the United States for the canal. Cautiously and gradually recruits were added to the movement from among the influential Panamaus and Dr. Amador went to New York for aid. His movements were reported to the United States state department by a friend of the Colombian government but Secretary Hay's only reply was to state the unconcern of the United States in such matters. Later Dr. Amador appeared in Washington but could obtain no assurances; on the contrary he was discouraged as the promoter of a revolution against a power, friendly to the United States, and thereafter discontinued his visits to the Secretary of State. He had, however, discovered that the United States felt bound to maintain neutrality on the isthmus and this was enough for his intended risk. That the American Government would read between the lines of all this pseudo-negotiation was to be expected and that it would refrain from proper action thereon would be more than could be expected. Through Dr. Amador's activities it had been placed in a position from which nothing but the most senseless Quixotism could prevent an advantage. Natural and proper precautions were taken as they would have been taken where American lives and property were concerned, even if a canal had been undreamed of at Panama. The gunboat *Nashville* was ordered to Colon and arrangements made to send a few other

warships in that direction as the talk of revolution was more than public property. Just how much inside information the United States government possessed may never be known, though a remembrance of the fact that the Panama Railroad was entirely in the hands of Americans who were more than friendly to any scheme calculated to throw the building of the canal into the hands of the United States is an interesting consideration; but that our government had anything to do with fomenting or instigating the revolution is an absurdity. There was no need for it to do so.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress in December, 1903, gave a chronological list of the disturbances in Panama and from the year 1900 they read as follows: "February, 1900, to July 1900 — Revolution; January 1901 — Revolution; July 1901 — Revolutionary disturbances; September 1901 — Colon taken by rebels; March 1902 — Revolutionary disturbances; July 1902 — Revolution." He further stated that "had it not been for the exercise of the police power in her [Colombia's] interest, her connection with the Isthmus would have been sundered long ago. In 1856, in 1860, in 1877, in 1885, in 1901, and again in 1902, sailors and marines from United States warships were forced to land in order to patrol the Isthmus, to protect life and property and to see that the transit across the Isthmus was kept open. In 1861, in 1862, in 1885 and in 1890

the Colombian Government asked that the United States Government would land troops to protect its interests and maintain order on the Isthmus."

On November 4, 1903, the independence of Panama was to have been declared but the Colombian government precipitated matters by sending troops to arrest the now known conspirators. When the commanding generals arrived in Panama via the railroad and minus their troops which had been craftily delayed at Colon by the railroad officials, they found themselves the arrested instead of the arrestors and the revolution an accomplished fact. When the news reached Colon the 450 Colombian troops thus deprived of their generals began to grow ugly and talked of seizing the railroad by force and threatened the life of every American in Colon. The utterance of this threat has been denied, but there is no doubt it was believed in Colon at the time. When appealed to, the commander of the *Nashville* landed a small force of marines at once which ended the disturbance and, with it, Colombia's influence in Panama. Both the arrested generals at Panama and their overawed troops at Colon left the country as soon as the means afforded.

Events then moved with speed and regularity. On November 7 the provisional government of Panama was officially recognized by the United States; November 13, Mons. Bunau-

Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, providing for the extradition of Criminals.

The United States of America and the Republic of Panama, being desirous to confirm their friendly relations and to promote the cause of justice have resolved to conclude a treaty for the extradition of fugitives from justice between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, and have appointed for that purpose the following Plenipotentiaries:—The President of the United States of America, William W. Russell Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the United States in Panama, and the President of the Republic of Panama Tomás Arias, Secretary of Government of Panama

Who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

Treaty shall be exchanged at Washington or at Panama as soon as possible, and it shall remain in force for a period of six months after ratification of the contracting Governments shall have given notice of a purpose to terminate it

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles, both in the English and Spanish languages, and have hereunto affixed their seals

Done in duplicate at the city of Panama on the twenty first day of May in the year of our Lord

Treatado entre los Estados Unidos de America y la Republica de Panama, sobre extradicion de Criminales.

Los Estados Unidos de America y la Republica de Panama, deseando confirmar sus amistosas relaciones y promover la causa de la justicia, han resuelto celebrar un tratado para la extradicion de los fugitivos de la justicia entre los Estados Unidos de America y la Republica de Panama y han nombrado al efecto los siguientes Plenipotenciarios:—El Presidente de los Estados Unidos de America, al Señor William W. Russell, Cargado de Negocios ad interim de los Estados Unidos en Panama y el Presidente de la Republica de Panama al Señor Tomás Arias Secretario de Gobierno de la misma

Quienes, despues de comunicarse sus respectivos plenos poderes, que encontraron en buena y debida forma, han acordado y concluido los siguientes articulos:—

Treatado se canjearan en Washington o en Panama lo pronto como sea posible, y este permanecerá en vigor hasta seis meses despues que cualquiera de los signatarios contratantes haya notificado al otro su intencion de ponerle termino

En fe de lo cual los respectivos Plenipotenciarios han firmado los articulos precedentes en los idiomas ingles y español, y puesto al pie sus sellos

Hecho por duplicado en la ciudad de Panama a los veinti uno dias del mes de Mayo de mil novecientos y once años

William W. Russell
Tomás Arias

Hecho en Panama, a los veinti uno dias del mes de Mayo de mil novecientos y once años

Incluido tambien a la comision

AS OF DECEMBER AND
TILMAN FOUNDATIONS

Varilla was received by President Roosevelt as the accredited representative of the new Republic and on November 18 the treaty was signed that is commonly known as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty; ratified in due course by both countries, it was proclaimed February 26, 1904. The first article of the treaty guarantees the maintenance of the independence of Panama by the United States. Full and free jurisdiction over a territory extending five miles on either side of the centre line of the canal, together with all necessary police and other rights and privileges is conferred upon America in perpetuity. The compensation granted to Panama was \$10,000,000 in gold and an annuity of \$250,000 in gold beginning nine years after ratification of the treaty and continuing during the life of that instrument; the neutrality of the canal is guaranteed and the right of the United States to fortify and establish a coaling station is granted. The various internal police arrangements and regulations governing the administration of affairs in the canal zone are to be found among the executive orders of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft and constitute the system upon which the zone is managed.

In February, 1904, President Roosevelt appointed a canal commission with Admiral Walker again at its head which began at once to organize the gigantic task before it; but the work had barely started before John F. Wallace, of Chicago,

was appointed chief engineer of the entire project. At the very beginning the characteristic impatience of the American people created a difficulty. The pressing need before all else at Panama was sanitation; to make the isthmus a fit place to live before fit work could be done, and the sanitation of an area that since the beginning of things had been given over to the fevers and miasma of the tropics could not be accomplished in a week. Wallace compromised with public opinion by commencing heavy excavation work at Culebra Cut which would be needed in any event and applied himself to the slower work of making the canal zone habitable. Sewage and a water supply were crying necessities and inexcusable delay was encountered by the hesitancy and slowness of the canal commission at their headquarters in Washington in filling requisitions for pipe and other needed material from its suspicion of every expense that did not seem to apply directly to the big ditch. But aside from the sanitation the main work, "the big job" was the canal itself, and for this four different plans were under consideration: an 80 foot, or high-level canal with three locks and a dam at Gatun to form a lake of the Chagres River which the commission estimated would take ten years to build and cost \$200,000,000; a 60 foot level with a dam and two locks at Gatun to take ten or twelve years and cost \$225,000,000; a 30 foot level with a dam and locks at

Gatun and Miraflores on the Pacific slope to take twelve to fifteen years and cost \$250,000,000; or, lastly, a sea-level canal with a dam at Gamboa to take twenty years and cost \$300,000,000. Though Wallace cut these estimates from thirty to sixty millions each he thought the estimated time of none of them could be safely lowered. The various plans were considered and debated with considerable heat by their several advocates, while the work pushed forward at Culebra with the decision in abeyance and the dragging influence of the canal commission having its headquarters in Washington came to be distinctly felt. The time and official red tape necessary when requisitions must go 1,500 miles for approval and then pass before a commission which, with the spectre of past extravagances at Panama ever before it, examined, questioned and re-examined while the workers toiling in the mud and silt of the big ditch fumed over delays and loss caused by the nonarrival of badly needed material was such that by the close of 1904 it became evident that the canal commission, as then formed, had outlived its usefulness albeit that usefulness was great. Resignations were sent in and on April 1, 1905, a new commission was appointed with Theodore P. Shonts, of Illinois, as chairman and Judge Charles E. Magoon, of Nebraska, as governor of the canal zone and others equally distinguished for ability.

This commission was to meet at

Panama quarterly and an executive committee therefrom was to remain on the ground and hold bi-weekly sessions. The Panama Railroad had been purchased by the United States which put the government in possession of a steamship line between New York and Colon, enabling it to break up traffic monopolies and materially lessen transportation costs. Another economy adopted by the executive committee was the decision to purchase supplies from anywhere in the world instead of exclusively in the United States as heretofore. This, as was to be expected, raised a political storm, but the only hardship inflicted upon the American manufacturer was to compel him to deliver his material in a shorter time and will result in a saving to the country of several million dollars and a shortening of the time required to finish the work.

In June, 1905, Wallace suddenly resigned under circumstances, questionable at least from the standpoint of good taste, and for reasons but vaguely hinted which afterwards developed as a personal objection to being under the orders of Chairman Shonts and the influence of William Nelson Cromwell, the agent of the Panama government. Wallace was succeeded by John F. Stevens and the work went forward without loss. Governor Magoon during this time had been accomplishing marvelous work. On his arrival he found Panama a pest-hole from the carelessness, ignorant fear and fatalism of a

constructive force completely disorganized so far as sanitation and the rules of health were concerned. The governor's first move was against the death-bearing, yellow fever mosquito. The Panamans succumbed to the governor's tact and ability and cooperated heartily with his measures. Screens were ordered and a penalty provided for their non-use, fumigating and other supplies were rushed to the isthmus and every house and building in the zone thoroughly cleansed. Panama and Colon were cleaned up; bottles, tin cans, water barrels and every article that could possibly furnish breeding ground for the pest destroyed; a water supply was planned and while building the people were furnished clean water from carts to make up for the removal of the filthy barrel-cisterns kept at each house, and hospital attention was thorough and prompt. The best epitome of the campaign is furnished by the statistics. In May, when Governor Magoon arrived, there were 38 cases of yellow fever in Panama; in June, 62; in July, 42; in August, 27; and in September, 6. The last case in Colon was on August 27 and in Panama September 14. The death rate on the isthmus from every cause is now so low that so far as health goes it is the equal of New York City and many other locations about which no question is ever raised.

The year 1905 also saw the appointment of the board of con-

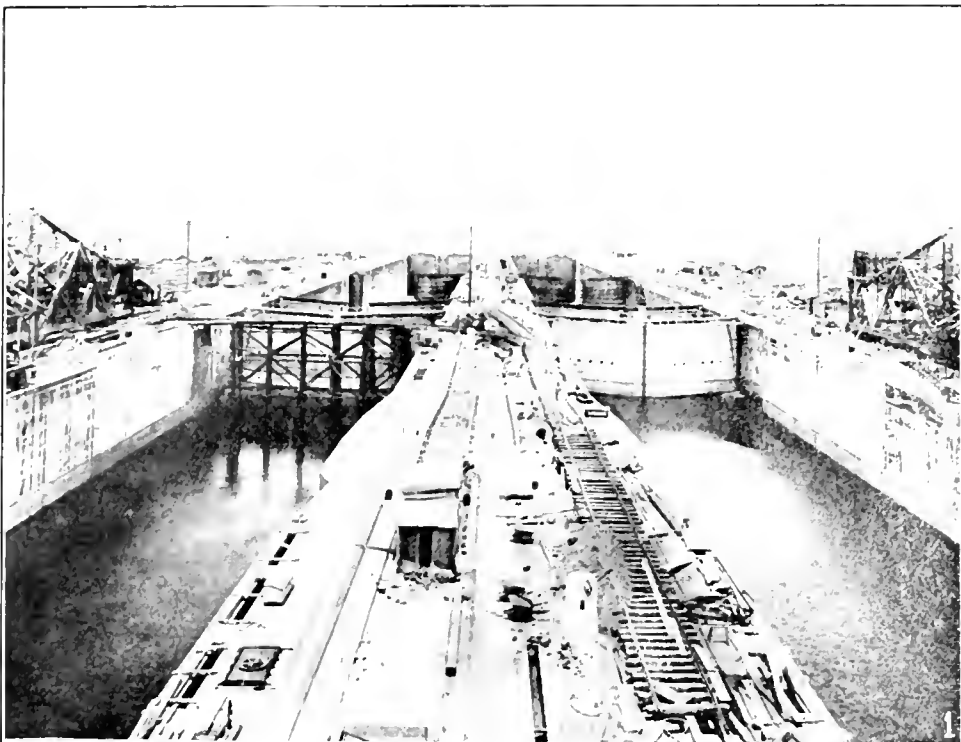
sulting or advisory engineers, created mainly for the purpose of deciding upon the type of canal from among the four previously noted. Of this board five were Europeans appointed at the request of the President by the various governments and all were engineers of accepted reputation and ability. After a study of the situation on the ground the board reported by a vote of eight to five in favor of a sea-level canal, their conclusion being "that such a canal can be constructed in 12 or 13 years' time; that the cost will be less than \$250,000,000; that it will endure for all time. The board does not believe that a provisional treatment of this great question would yield results which would be satisfactory to the American nation or advantageous to American commerce, or that such treatment would be in consonance with the increase of population, of trade, and of wealth which will surely take place during the next half century in the Western Hemisphere." The report of the minority of five was in favor of a lock canal on the ground of its costing \$100,000,000 less than one of the sea-level type, could be constructed in less time and be enlarged, if necessary, more easily, at less cost and less interruption to traffic. Engineer Stevens also made a report in which he advocated the lock type so strongly as to prefer it to the sea-level even if that type could be constructed as quickly and as cheaply.

The canal commission itself delivered a divided report upon these three reports submitted for its consideration. The majority agreed with the minority report in favor of the lock type, while the minority supported the majority report favoring the sea-level. The whole question was submitted to Congress by the President in his message of February 19, 1906, and in June Congress decided in favor of the high-level lock canal.

In 1906 Chairman Shonts resigned and a month after him Engineer Stevens withdrew; these and later vacancies were filled by appointments from the United States army engineers, officers from the medical corps and from the navy and the work was placed in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Goethals, U. S. A. The year 1908 saw a complete reorganization of the force and mapping out of the work. The zone was divided into districts and a rearrangement made of the sanitary, food and other responsibilities, a uniform wage scale was adopted and a system of advance audit inaugurated in place of the usual examination after payment. In this year came the slip of a portion of the Gatun dam and a consequent wild outburst from the press of the country. The accident was but one of the usual things from which no engineering work is free where great masses of material are moved. A special investigation board of engineers,

sent down by the President, made light of the matter. In their opinion the Gatun dam is more than usually well built, and the margin of safety in areas, loads, etc., is even larger than the most liberal estimate would demand.* At the close of the fiscal year 1912 a force of about 40,000 unskilled laborers were at work upon the canal under the day labor system and the men are well housed, well fed and well taken care of. Several miles of channel on the Caribbean side are completed and the work is moving steadily forward. Barring the unexpected, the canal will be finished and opened on January 1, 1915. In brief, it is a cut through an isthmus less than 35 miles in width in a straight line, the highest point of which is but 300 feet above mean tide. This high portion is about six miles long and is near the Pacific coast. The canal's direction is from northwest to southeast, Panama being 20 miles farther east than Colon. The great problem of the work is the Gatun dam, which has a base 1-3 of a mile wide, is 90 feet high tapering to a width of 100 feet at this height and is nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long. It forms what is known as Gatun Lake by damming the Chagres River into a sheet of water nearly 30 miles long and from 45 to 75 feet deep, and the first 16 miles has a navigable channel $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide. The next 9 miles it gradually diminishes

* *Senate Doc. No. 1458, 60th Congress, 2d session.*



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1. GENERAL VIEW OF THE UPPER LOCK GATES AT GATUN, LOOKING NORTH. TAKEN JUST BEFORE THE GATUN LOCKS WERE FILLED.
2. BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE PEDRO MIGUEL LOCKS AS SEEN FROM THE TOP OF THE HILL ON THE EAST BANK.

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in width to 300 feet until, through the Culebra Cut, the bottom width will be 200 feet. Roughly speaking the canal is formed by two artificial lakes, one at Gatun and one at Miraflores, connected by a cut through the Culebra divide; a channel 5,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep from the Caribbean to Gatun, three miles inland, where a flight of three locks rise to the 80-foot level of the lake formed by the Gatun dam across the Chagres River; then 25 miles of lake to the Culebra Cut 7 miles long, thence into the second lake and a descent to the Pacific level through the Miraflores and Pedro Miguel locks. Five-eighths of the entire distance is the lake formed by the Gatun dam.

The estimated cost of the completed work as given in the latest report of the canal commission is \$375,000,000 and to date Congress has expended \$300,000,000 in round numbers; subtract from this the millions expended of necessity in sanitation and the construction work accomplished bears the same relative proportion to the entire amount required. In other words, for every dollar expended in canal construction the United States has one hundred cents worth of work to show for it. It is a record in which we should take pride. The canal is being built rapidly, honestly and well, and its completion in the near future will mark the beginning of a new era of development in the United States and in this wise directly influence the his-

tory of the world. The opening of Suez forced a readjustment of traffic lines, and the resultant development of European trade showed plainly the effects. The long record of vicissitude through which the Panama canal has struggled is evidence of the world-wide effect its completion will demonstrate. Europe, with its older civilizations and greater experience, sees further ahead than America, and Great Britain, France and Germany have at one time or another, in open or secret manner, sought control of the isthmus and the canal which was bound to come; but a full view of the advantages to the possessor is only half understood even by these astute nations. Could the future of the canal be clearly and accurately forecast today it is conceivable that despite the strength of the United States the peace of the world might be rudely shattered. That Panama will directly influence the entire commerce of the world in a wider and broader way than Suez cannot be doubted. Midway, north and south, of two mighty continents and midway practically of the east and west transportation of civilization, its geographical position makes its importance universal. It is the gateway of the world and the United States is beside the gate and will control the opening and shutting thereof. What this means is stimulating even to the dullest imagination. The advantage to America is incalculable. Our South American

neighbors, who alone could compete with us in advantage of position, are so heavily handicapped in the race by youth and undeveloped resources as to be negligible quantities. America will be not only without a competitor but where she has been handicapped by distance she will be placed at once on an equal footing and where she is now equal will obtain a lead of from three to four thousand miles in almost every case. New York and Liverpool are today practically equidistant, via Cape Horn, from the west coast of South America and Liverpool, through the Suez has the advantage of distance to Yokohama, Shanghai and other Eastern ports. Panama will place New York over 4,000 miles nearer Valparaiso and practically equidistant with Liverpool from Yokohama, the Orient and even Australia. Where this means a colossal advantage to New York and the North Atlantic ports its means even more to the South for while the canal brings the rich markets of the west coast of South America nearer to New York it brings them to the very doorway of the South Atlantic and Gulf States. The raw and cheap cotton goods and hardware manufactures of the Southern States will enter the markets of western South America and the Orient with the enormous advantage that a short traffic haul gives; properly handled they can monopolize the entire field. With the steamships of the entire world pass-

ing through the canal the market of the century for the soft coal of the South lies at Panama; for the world will send its steamships through Panama as there is hardly a voyage of greater length than 5,000 miles which will not use the canal *en route*. A deep-water channel the length of the Mississippi would give Chicago advantage of position over London in the East Indies. Possession of the canal may come to mean the naval dominance of the world and prove the balance of power whereby the peace of the world is maintained. It is certain to strengthen the United States against future attack by completing her interior line of defense and permitting the cordon of her battleships to be drawn closely about her. Great opportunities for good and for evil lie in the canal; it rests with America as to how they shall be used. For four hundred years this work has struggled toward completion and that completion is now close at hand; through its narrow channel there is to come an era of expansion and development as mighty as that which followed after the day Columbus landed upon the beach of San Salvador.

The question of Cuba again became acute during the early months of 1903. This arose with regard to a reciprocity treaty, which had been ratified by the Cuban Congress on March 11. The Sugar Trust as usual made its influence felt and the result was an endeavor to prevent the rati-

fication by the United States Senate, but public demand was so emphatically in favor of the treaty that it was ratified March 19, with an amendment to the effect that "This treaty shall not take effect until the same shall have been approved by the Congress." This unprecedented action called up a storm of criticism in the daily press. The *New York Evening Post* called it ratification by burial, and the *New York Times*, more emphatic still, characterized it as "a shameful chapter of pure selfishness and greed." President Roosevelt was determined that this treaty should be ratified, and accordingly called an extra session of Congress to convene November 9, for the purpose of considering the same. He thus checkmated the plans of the enemies of the treaty, whose intentions were to defeat it by indirect methods. As it was, the usual wail of the infant beet sugar industry was so loud that the legislation failed of passage during the extraordinary session, and it was not until after the convening of the regular session of the Fifty-eighth Congress that the treaty was finally ratified (December 16, 1903). This agreement gave Cuban commodities imported into the United States an average reduction of 25 per cent. on the rates of the Dingley law.

When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, a controversy with Great Britain was also acquired that had remained unsettled since the Anglo-Russian treaty defin-

ing the boundary line between British and Russian territory was ratified in 1825. This treaty was somewhat obscure in its wording, the French term, *sinuosités* (windings) used in defining the line being variously translated by the two powers. The contention of Russia, and later of the United States, was that the word signified that the boundary line comprehended a parallel with the true indentations with the coast, ten marine leagues inland. This, of course would carry the line ten leagues from the headwaters of every bay and estuary. The Canadian authorities, on the contrary, claimed that the term referred to the general contour of the coast, thereby placing points at the headwaters of these inlets in British territory.

As long as Alaska was looked upon as a barren waste, valuable only for its furs and fisheries, the question was allowed to remain unsettled, although President Grant, foreseeing the possibilities of international misunderstanding in the situation, strongly advised in his message to Congress, December 2, 1872, that the line be surveyed and the question settled. But owing to the expense the survey was not made until 1892 and then no recommendations were made. Each nation seemed to think that the survey would settle the controversy, yet lack of interest prevented the project from being pushed to a conclusion. The discovery of gold, however, in 1896, put an

entirely new complexion on the affair. Alaska and upper British Columbia assumed new and immense importance, and the boundary question rapidly approached a crisis. The overland trails leading into the gold fields of the upper Yukon started at two settlements, Dyea and Skagway, on the headwaters of the long estuary known as Lynn Canal. Acting upon their theory of the position of the line, the Canadian authorities advanced their outposts to these points, which had long been considered within United States territory. Conflicts of jurisdiction arose which tended to become so serious that the necessity for an immediate settlement of the question became imperative. It was therefore referred to the Joint High Commission composed of representatives of the two powers which met in 1898 for the settlement of all differences between Canada and the United States.* The

point at issue was the proposal on the part of the British authorities to submit the matter to a disinterested arbitrator after the precedent set by the Venezuela case. The American members, however, asserted that the

ish-American Peace Commission, and Senator Charles J. Faulkner, of West Virginia, was appointed by the President to fill the vacancy.

Lord Herschell was chosen president of the Joint High Commission.

The principal questions submitted for the consideration of the Commission were as follows:

1. The questions in respect to the fur seals of Behring Sea and the waters of the North Pacific Ocean.

2. Provisions in respect to the fisheries off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and in the waters of their common frontiers.

3. Provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary by legal and scientific experts if the commission shall so decide, or otherwise.

4. Provisions for the transit of merchandise in transportation to or from either country, across intermediate territory of the other, whether by land or water, including natural and artificial water-ways and intermediate transit by sea.

5. Provisions relating to the transit of merchandise from one country to be delivered at points in the other beyond the frontier.

6. The question of the alien labor laws, applicable to the subjects or citizens of the United States and of Canada.

7. Mining rights of the citizens or subjects of each country within the territory of the other.

8. Such readjustment and concessions as may be deemed mutually advantageous, of customs duties applicable in each country to the products of the soil or industry of the other, upon the basis of reciprocal equivalents.

9. A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting naval vessels on the lakes.

10. Arrangements for the more complete definition and marking of any part of the frontier line, by land or water, where the same is now so insufficiently defined or marked as to be liable to dispute.

11. Provisions for the conveyance for trial or punishment of persons in the lawful custody of the officers of one country through the territory of the other.

12. Reciprocity in wrecking and salvage rights.

* Commissioners appointed by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, respectively, were as follows:

On the Part of the United States.—Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, chairman; Senator George Gray, of Delaware; Representative Nelson Dingley, of Maine; John W. Foster, former Secretary of State; John A. Kasson, of Iowa, and T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts.

On the Part of Great Britain and Canada.—Lord Herschell, ex-Lord Chancellor of England, chairman; Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of Canada; Sir Richard J. Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce; Sir Louis H. Davies, Minister of Marine and Fisheries; John Charlton, M. P., and Sir James T. Winter, Premier of Newfoundland.

Senator Gray resigned in September, 1898, to accept the appointment of member of the Span-

situation was different, and proposed to submit the question to a commission consisting of six eminent jurists from each contracting party, the existing settlements on the coast, in the meanwhile, to remain in the United States government. The British commissioners refused to agree to this, and the sessions adjourned without action.

The need for some kind of settlement persisted, so it was determined to reach a temporary settlement, at least, through diplomatic agencies. As a result, after much negotiation, a *modus vivendi*, or provisional agreement, was signed October 20, 1899. This convention was to remain in force at the pleasure of both parties, and, although certain concessions were made to Canada, the claims of the United States in the main were upheld.

But the principal question was as yet unsettled, and in order to reach a conclusive decision, the British Foreign Office decided to accept the proposal for a joint arbitration committee to consist of three British and three American members. Accordingly, a convention to this effect was signed January 24, 1903, by Secretary Hay and the British ambassador, Sir Michael Herbert. The commissioners were then appointed; President Roosevelt selecting Elihu Root, Secretary of War, Senator H. C. Lodge, and ex-Senator George Turner to represent the United States; the

British members consisting of Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Louis A. Jette, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and Allen B. Aylesworth of Toronto. John W. Foster presented the arguments for the United States, being assisted by J. M. Dickinson, B. T. Watson, Hannis Taylor and Chandler P. Anderson. The sessions of the commission commenced September 3, 1903, and lasted until October 20, when the decision was signed. The contentions of the United States were upheld in almost every detail, the final line as established, barring minor differences, agreeing with the old line. It is a testimony to the fair-mindedness of the British representative, Lord Alverstone, that he was able to rise above national considerations and vote for the American side of the question, thereby preventing a deadlock. The Canadian members refused to sign the decision.

The second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress was marked by a struggle between the President and the Senate which revealed in clearest light the affiliations of the latter body. It was able to block most effectually all of the legislation that indicated progressive tendencies, among which were bills for the protection of the forests in the Appalachian and the White Mountain regions, the reform of the consular service, pure food, and others of a similar nature.

The first-named bill was reported

favorably, and had public opinion strongly in its favor, but the forces opposing were too strong to permit its passage in spite of the fact that the forests of the country were rapidly being destroyed by the wasteful methods of the lumbermen and the paper mills. The nation had been listening so long to the cry that the natural resources of the United States were boundless and inexhaustible that evidence to the contrary came with a shock. For a number of years it had been evident to those who had knowledge of the fate of fertile and populous regions which had been transformed into deserts by such spoliation that a continuation of the policy regarding the natural resources would be fatal. From time to time movements favoring regulation were inaugurated, but nothing more than an act favoring passed March 3, 1891, authorizing the President to make forest reserves of public lands, resulted from the same. The question, however, became acute in the early years of the new century, and a resulting investigation by the forestry officials proved that the fears were well grounded. The bills that were introduced, however, were opposed on the grounds of economy; the \$15,000,000 appropriation that they carried being disproportionate, it was argued, to the good that would result. The real animus, however, of the opposition was a fear lest their enactment might lead towards a system of forest supervision and, in addition, a desire to place stumbling

blocks in the way of any legislation proposed by the President.

As the time for the national elections drew near it became more and more apparent that there was well-organized plan on the part of certain elements within his party to defeat Mr. Roosevelt's nomination for a second term. The problem they had to solve was a difficult one, for in spite of his mistakes, the President had impressed the country with his ability and his patriotism. These very mistakes, even, tended to strengthen his hold on the people, for it was clear that they arose from a frank and impulsive nature, that dared to go to any extreme in favor of a thing he conceived to be right. There is no doubt but that the opposition to his renomination gave the President considerable uneasiness, and had it not been for the death of the one man, Mark Hanna, who was capable of organizing the forces against him, there would have arisen a grave question of the ability of his friends to throw the nomination his way. The forces that fought him were powerful, politically and financially, and rumors were abroad of vast sums of money set aside for the purpose of insuring his downfall. The death of Mr. Hanna on February 15, 1904, however, was a blow to Mr. Roosevelt's enemies from which they never recovered, although there was still strong opposition to him by individuals who felt the repressing influence of his policies. They were, however, disorganized and without a

leader, and when the Republican national convention met in Chicago, June 21, President Roosevelt was nominated unanimously on the roll call of the States. The nomination for Vice-President was tendered to Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, by acclamation.

In its platform the Republican party reiterated its adherence to the gold standard; the policy in the Philippines was commended; the inauguration of the Panama Canal was referred to as being due to the Republican party; the protective tariff was again upheld, but a plank in favor of reciprocity was included; ship subsidies, a stronger navy, exclusion of the Chinese, enforcement of the Civil Service Law, and the encouragement of international arbitration were all favored, while negro disfranchisement in the South and combinations of capital and of labor were disapproved. The platform ended with an enthusiastic eulogy of President Roosevelt, closing with the following words:

"He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law; that there must be no distinction between the rich and the poor, between strong and weak; but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed or condition. His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people."

The Democratic national convention was held in St. Louis on July 6, and lasted for three days. It was evident from the very beginning that

the delegates were disinclined to nominate Mr. Bryan for the third time, although the convention was still sufficiently under the spell of his personality to eliminate a sound money clause that had been inserted by the conservatives. The theory of the Democrats, apparently, was to endeavor to capture the conservative elements of both parties who were displeased with the radicalism of Mr. Bryan and President Roosevelt. The Democratic party, however, was not only divided, but in desperate straits for a standard-bearer. A movement was instituted to nominate Mr. Cleveland for a third term, but antagonism of the Bryan wing of the party and the refusal, finally, of Mr. Cleveland to consider such a proposal, forced its abandonment. The choice then lay between Judge Alton B. Parker, chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals, and William R. Hearst, proprietor of the *New York Journal* and other papers of the so-called "yellow variety." The former was comparatively unknown, the delegates not even being aware of his position on the money question until after his nomination, while the latter was only too well known as an agitator. Judge Parker was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 658 votes out of 1,006, the minority giving a vote of 178 to Mr. Hearst. The nomination for Vice-President was tendered to ex-Senator Henry G. Davis, a retired capitalist of West Virginia. Just after the announcement of his nomination, a telegram

from Judge Parker was read announcing his adherence to the gold standard. This produced a sensation, yet the writer of it had carefully selected the wording, and the time for its presentation, and the result was the one anticipated. After a heated discussion, the following resolution was passed by a vote of 798 to 184, and telegraphed to Judge Parker:

"The platform adopted by this convention is silent on the question of the monetary standard because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in this campaign, and only campaign issues were mentioned in the platform; therefore there is nothing in the views expressed by you which would preclude a man from accepting a nomination on said platform."

The tariff, the trusts, and imperialism were the main issues in the platform of the Democratic party. It also declared for the enactment of laws regulating the relations of labor and capital; favored inland waterways and the reclamation of arid lands, the election of Senators by popular vote, and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine; ship subsidies were condemned, as was polygamy; and in its close paid its respects to the Republican administration in the following terms: "The existing Republican administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the Congress, the courts, and upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law."

Four other parties held conventions and nominated candidates: the

Populists nominating Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, and Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska; the Prohibitionists nominating Rev. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, and George W. Carroll, of Texas; the Social Democrats nominating Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, and Benjamin Hanford, of New York; and the Socialist Labor party nominating Charles H. Corrigan, of New York, and William W. Cox, of Illinois.

The campaign, like the one of 1900, seemed to inspire little interest until the date of the election drew near. It was, however, stirred up by two announcements; one by Thomas Lawson, who was at that time in the midst of his spectacular fight against the Standard Oil group and the the financial rottenness of the great insurance companies. In this address to the people, he stated that a vote for Judge Parker was a vote for Wall street and the corporate interests that centered there. In contrast with this was the statement made by the Democratic candidate himself a few days before the balloting to the effect that the Republican party, through Mr. George B. Cortelyou, had been soliciting contributions from these very corporations, thereby pledging the party to enact no legislation in opposition to the same. The President denounced this accusation as "Unqualifiedly and atrociously false, * * * if elected I shall go into the presidency unhampered by any pledge, promise or under-

standing of any kind, sort or description, save my promise, made openly to the American people, that so far as in my power lies, I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more."

That there were grounds for Judge Parker's charges, was fairly well established in the insurance investigations that took place in the succeeding year, but that the statement of the President regarding himself was true in every respect no one at the time or afterward had any doubt. The result of the voting was an overwhelming testimonial to his popularity. Mr. Roosevelt received a popular vote of 7,621,985, with an electoral vote of 336; that of Judge Parker being 5,098,225, his electoral vote being 140. The popular vote of Roosevelt thus exceeded that of Me-

Kinley in 1900 by 415,308; that of Parker falling short of Bryan's in 1900 by 1,276,172.*

This astounding victory was more than a mere expression of admiration for a popular idol; it was in addition the ratification of certain progressive policies that he advocated, which the reactionary forces were fighting with all their might. With this election a new era was instituted in the national life, and in his forthcoming administration President Roosevelt kept his promised word to give every man, as far as was in his power, "a square deal."

* The entire vote cast was 13,544,705. The following votes were counted for the candidates of the minor parties: Watson, 114,106; Swallow, 258,039; Debs, 397,208; Corrigan, 32,516. A large Republican majority was also returned to Congress.

CHAPTER XVII.

1905-1909.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

The Cabinet—The influence of Secretary Hay—The struggle with the trusts—Acts of the Fifty-ninth Congress—Amendment of the Interstate Commerce Law—The Pure Food Law—The Chicago stock-yards and the Beef Inspection Law—The conference of governors—Conditions in Porto Rico and Cuba—The statehood bill—Oklahoma admitted—Booker T. Washington and the Brownsville affair—Venezuela and the foreign powers—An era of catastrophes—San Francisco earthquake—The voyage of the American fleet—The currency bill—The campaign of 1908 and the election of William H. Taft.

Immediately after his inauguration President Roosevelt sent to the Senate for confirmation the names of those selected as his official advisors. These were: Secretary of State, John Hay, of the District of

Columbia; Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa; Secretary of War, William H. Taft, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton, of Illinois; Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of

Missouri; Postmaster-General, Robert J. Wynne, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, William H. Moody, of Massachusetts; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa; Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor H. Metcalf, of California. During the course of the administration the following changes occurred in the Cabinet, owing to resignation or death: Secretary Hay was succeeded by Elihu Root, of New York; Secretary Paul Morton by Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland; Postmaster-General Wynne was succeeded by George B. Cortelyou, and Attorney-General Moody by Philander C. Knox.

By the death in the office of Secretary Hay a vacancy was made that was almost impossible to fill. He had been the friend and counsellor of McKinley, during the trying days of the war with Spain, and during the equally trying time that immediately followed. These services continued when the death of McKinley placed Roosevelt in the executive office. During Secretary Hay's régime the United States gained some of its most notable diplomatic victories; his hand guided the delicate negotiations with the powers that led up to the treaty of Paris; to him was due the "open door policy" in China, and the rational settlement of the Boxer difficulties; the Hay-Pauncefote treaty that gave the United States a free hand in the construction of the Panama Canal; and finally, to him more than to anyone else is due the

adoption of arbitration methods in the settlement of national disputes that have become crystallized in the conventions established by The Hague. In fact, Secretary Hay may be considered the founder of the new diplomacy of the United States of America.

The twentieth century marked the entrance of the United States into the family of world powers. Its early years had been concerned with the conquering of the wilderness in preparation for the building of a great nation. The movement toward national coherence, however, was checked by the Civil War and delayed still more by the reconstruction policies. Nevertheless the wounds gradually healed; the North expanded industrially in a marvelous way, and the South applied itself heroically to the work of rebuilding its shattered institutions along new and unfamiliar lines. In the meanwhile the tide of emigration had for a century swept over the West, transforming wildernesses and desert lands into the dwelling places of millions of American men and women. Railways and telegraph lines brought these distant regions into that intimate touch out of which springs understanding and sympathy. The result was that the vast expanse of the nation was more united in 1900 than it had ever been, even when the Alleghenies formed its western boundary.

The solemn warning of Washington in his farewell address advising

the people to avoid entangling alliances had been obeyed as consistently as conditions would permit, and in fact had been accepted as a national policy. Temptations to intervene in favor of oppressed people of the old world, as in the case of Kossuth's appeal for Hungary, had been summarily resisted, and in general the relations of the United States with other powers had been largely concerned with boundary affairs and minor matters of international polity.

At the end of the war with Spain it became impressed upon the people that the nation could no longer stand apart from other nations. The exigencies of commerce and rapidity of communication had been emphasizing the need for a change of attitude, and preparing the way for the sudden transformation resulting from this war. It was therefore fortunate that at this time the chief executive should be a man who possessed in addition to a genuine enthusiasm for his native country, an international point of view. A man of action, and an advocate of war when imperative, his labors have nevertheless been for the cause of world peace. One of the final acts of President Roosevelt's first administration was the proposal made by him (September 24, 1904) for a second peace conference at The Hague. The first one, which had been held in 1899, had been called at the instance of the Czar of Russia and had resulted in a distinct advance toward the settlement of

international disputes by peaceful methods. The fact that this conference was called by the autocratic head of a great military power came with startling effect to the masses of the peoples who in accord with tradition had looked upon an opponent of war as a spineless sort of individual. Whatever may have been the motive of the Czar in calling the conference of the nations, the result was the same. The first conference concerned itself exclusively with questions of non-increase of armament and amelioration of war, the question of international arbitration being an auxiliary topic. The latter subject, however, assumed from the beginning of the sessions an importance not assigned to it, revealing the true work of the conference. The calling of a second conference at The Hague was considered highly desirable, yet action on President Roosevelt's proposal was deferred for reason of the war between Russia and Japan. It was deemed wise to wait until peace had been established before calling the representatives of the powers together. In addition, the nations of Latin-America had determined upon a meeting of the Pan-American conference in 1906. These nations had not been invited to take part in the first Hague conference, and it was the feeling of President Roosevelt that their voices should be heard. This was further justification for delay.

During the early months of 1905 it was clear that the position of Russia

was becoming untenable. Port Arthur had capitulated January 2; the battle of Mukden had been won March 15, and on May 27-28 Admiral Rojestvensky's fleet had been destroyed in the Sea of Japan. President Roosevelt took the initiative in restoring peace between the warring powers. In a note addressed to the Russian and Japanese governments he said: "The President feels that the time has come when in the interests of all mankind he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged." The two powers accepted President Roosevelt's intervention for peace, and his invitation to hold the treaty proceedings in the United States. Accordingly, envoys were appointed by each, the former Russian Minister of Finance, Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen for Russia, and Baron Komura, former minister of Foreign Affairs, and the ambassador to the United States, Mr. Takahira. The sessions lasted from August 9 to 23, when the treaty was signed. During this time a deadlock occurred on the question of the payment of indemnity by Russia, and the yielding up of warships that had sought refuge from the Japanese vessels. Again President Roosevelt intervened for peace and the terms of the treaty were finally determined upon.

The cessation of hostilities between Russia and Japan was a signal victory for the cause of peace, and

cleared the way for the second Hague conference, the date of which was set for June 15, 1907. In deference to his responsibility for the calling of the first conference, President Roosevelt yielded to the Czar the honor of sending out the rescript for the second. Several powers, particularly the Latin-American states, who were not represented at the previous meeting, sent delegates, the total number representing the different powers being 239. The American delegation consisted of Joseph H. Choate, General Horace Porter, David J. Hill, Rear Admiral Sperry, General George B. Davis, William I. Buchanan, James Brown Scott, U. M. Rose and Richard M. Bartholdt (M. C.). These conferences have resulted in one thing marking an immeasurable advance in the cause of world-peace — this is the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration, proposed by the American delegation, which has been given a beautiful home by the munificence of an American, Andrew Carnegie, at the cost of \$1,500,000, in 1903. This Court of Arbitration was first tested September 15, 1902, by the reference to it by the United States of the Pious Funds controversy with Mexico, and by the settlement of the Venezuelan claims. Although the proposals made by the United States delegation providing for compulsory arbitration failed to be adopted, the ratification of numberless treaties calling for arbitration of international disputes "not involving national honor" has

produced the same effect, and the day is not far distant when the causes for war will be reduced to a minimum.*

Less world wide in application, but no less significant, has been the organization under the auspices of the United States, of the Pan-American conferences and the Bureau of American Republics. The first conference was called at the instance of Secretary of State Blaine, in 1899, but, save for the establishment of the Bureau of American Republics, no definite results ensued, the project languishing from various causes for a decade. It was clear, however, that the Monroe Doctrine carried with it responsibilities that could not be ignored. Primarily a policy conceived for the purpose of protecting the interests of the republics of North and South America, it could become a source of injustice should unscrupulous nations avoid their obligations by claiming protection of the United States. In this respect, alone, the Pan-American congresses have proved of great benefit, for the gathering together of the representatives of the various sections of North and South America has tended to impress upon them their duties to each other, to the United States and to the holders of their national securities.

The second Pan-American congress was held in the city of Mexico in

1901, the United States sending a delegation consisting of ex-Senator Henry G. Davis, William I. Buchanan, Volney W. Foster, John Barrett and Charles M. Pepper. The most important result of the meeting was the adoption of a protocol declaring that the principles enunciated by the Hague conferences be considered as American public law. In addition, the Bureau of American Republics was continued. The scope of the latter was greatly enlarged by the action of the third conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, at which the United States was represented by William I. Buchanan, L. S. Rowe, A. J. Montague, Tulio Lar- ringa, Paul S. Reinsch and Van Leer Polk. Secretary of State Elihu Root, whose labors in the cause of Pan-American unity, and for the cause of international comity in general were epoch making, was also present, being then on a tour throughout the Latin-American States. Among other acts of the conference was the passage of a resolution recommending the erection of a building for the Bureau of American Republics at Washington. This recommendation was unexpectedly realized in 1907 by the gift of Mr. Carnegie of \$750,000 toward a million dollar building, \$200,000 in addition being contributed by the United States government, and the remainder of the million being raised by the various Latin-American states.

These movements toward the es-

* For list of arbitration treaties see *Treaties with Foreign Nations*, in this volume.

establishment of international relations on a higher plane were rudely disturbed in 1905 by the action of the United States Senate in refusing to ratify treaties of arbitration arranged with Great Britain, France and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Norway, Portugal and Mexico. These treaties provided that in each case, before appealing to the permanent court at The Hague, the nations involved in the dispute should make an agreement defining the scope of the matter to be submitted for arbitration. The Senate objected to the use of the word "agreement" which would empower the executive to make such arrangements without referring them to the Senate — a "treaty," however, would require the consent of the latter. Jealous of its prerogatives, the Senate amended the wording by substituting the word "treaty" for "agreement," despite the fact that there were any number of precedents for such delegation of powers to the President. President Roosevelt was disgusted by the action of the Senate, and refused to press the ratification of the treaties by the contracting powers, and in consequence the majority of them were not ratified until 1908-9.

The tendency of the President to take the initiative in foreign affairs was the cause of another difference with the Senate in January, 1905, regarding the Santo Domingo affair. In 1904 the United States had recog-

nized the régime of General Morales as the *de facto* government of Santo Domingo, but the latter soon became so entangled with his foreign creditors that he appealed to President Roosevelt for aid in establishing his credit and restoring order. The treaty drawn up was an endeavor to do this thing, the United States agreeing to take control of the revenues of Santo Domingo, until the creditors were satisfied. This agreement was made by the United States minister to Santo Domingo, and was denounced by the Senate as an attempt to make treaties without gaining its sanction. Not only was the act itself repudiated, but the wording of the preamble of the President's message was conceived to indicate an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to include the redress of the real or fancied wrongs of Latin-American peoples. The Democratic Senators were unalterably opposed to the treaty, and in conjunction with the Republican opponents of the President were able to prevent its ratification until February 28, 1905, when it was ratified with amendments mainly framed to protect the United States from any liability in the performance of its unusual task.

In spite of clashes between the executive and legislative branches of the government, and the failure of many of the President's proposals, the Fifty-ninth Congress was nevertheless remarkable for the progressive laws which were passed. The

most notable acts of the first session were: the amended Interstate Commerce Law; the Pure Food Law; reform of naturalization laws; removal of the international revenue tax on denatured alcohol; increase of the navy; forfeiture of railway land grants, where roads had failed to be constructed; liability of common carriers for injury or death of employees due to defective appliances or negligence; preservation of the Niagara Falls; travelling expenses (\$25,000) per annum for the President; statehood for Oklahoma; statehood for Arizona and New Mexico as separate States after popular vote; reorganization of the consular service; coinage for the Philippine Islands; ex-territorial courts in China; and the selection of a lock type for the Panama Canal. Equally important was the legislation of the second session, the most significant acts being: the prohibition of campaign contributions by corporations; the investigation of woman and child labor; the general service pension law granting pensions to all veterans over 62 years of age who had served in the military or naval forces of the United States whether wounded or not;* an act limiting labor law on railways to not more than 16 continuous hours; increase of the salaries of the Vice-President, Cabinet members and

Speaker of the House from \$8,000 to \$12,000, and Senators and Representatives from \$5,000 to \$7,500.

Much of this legislation was recommended by the President in his annual message. Many things he asked for were voted down or buried in the committees, others were emasculated almost beyond recognition, but on the whole the policies of the President received a greater measure of approval than might have been anticipated, considering the friction that developed from time to time between Mr. Roosevelt and Congress, and the fear of executive usurpation which was continually disturbing the latter. The work of this Congress received the following testimonial from President Roosevelt:

"I would not be afraid to compare its record with that of any of the previous Congresses in our history, not alone for the wisdom, but for the disinterested highmindedness which has controlled its action. It is noteworthy that not a single measure which the closest scrutiny could warrant us in calling of doubtful propriety has been enacted, and on the other hand, no influence of any kind has prevailed to prevent the enactment of laws most vitally necessary to the nation at this time."

Just how much of this legislation would have been enacted had the President not been solidly supported by the people, it is difficult to say, yet that it would have been epoch-making there can be no doubt. The President had grown steadily in popular respect, and when it was seen that his promises were followed as far as it was in his power by fulfillment, the people felt that at last they had found some one to lead them

* This legalized an executive order made by President Roosevelt declaring age a conclusive evidence of disability.

out of the wilderness. It was clear that unless they forced economic legislation of a character almost revolutionary, the influences that controlled the industrial world and had been making tremendous advances towards the control of the political, would become so entrenched that nothing save a revolution could dislodge them. Neither capital, nor labor, nor, indeed, the great mass of the people, understood as clearly as President Roosevelt the real issue of the struggle that was on. Nowhere has this been more definitely stated than in some brief remarks made by him during the proceedings of the conference of governors at Washington, May 15, 1908:

"I want to say one word about what has been called the 'twilight land' between the powers of the Federal Government and the State Governments. My primary aim, in the legislation that I have advocated for the great corporations, has been to provide some effective popular sovereign for each corporation. * * * I am trying to find out where one or the other *can* act, so that there shall be always *some* sovereign power that, on behalf of the People, can hold every corporation, every individual, to an accountability, so that its or his acts shall be beneficial to the People as a whole."

He saw that the ambiguity and compromise in the Constitution of the United States in delimiting the sphere of the Federal government and that of the States had been taken advantage of by the corporate interests in preventing legislative control of any sort. Some States, notably, New Jersey, have permitted the incorporation of industrial bodies with scarcely any conditions

attached, and when they have committed abuses and when an endeavor to discipline them has been made, they have sought the protection of the courts and in many cases escaped just punishment by questioning the right of the central government, under the Constitution, to act. With consummate skill, the dual nature of that document has been abused in the defense of institutions menacing to the principle of individual freedom. On the other hand, in a number of States the opposite extreme has been approached in the enactment of legislation so stringent that it has effectually prevented the construction of railways, and investment of capital, thereby preventing industrial development of the territory concerned. The result of these conditions was the formulation of the Interstate Commerce Law of 1897, which under the clause of the Constitution permitting the regulation of interstate commerce, aimed to restrict abuses by prohibiting secret rates and rebates, unreasonable rates, and local preferential rates. It was hoped that this law would be efficient, but its efficiency was dependent upon the power of the commission established under its provisions to determine what constituted unreasonable rates, and this was denied by a decision of the Supreme Court soon after the law went into effect. The commission thus became powerless, and the purpose of the law was largely nullified, hence a

strong movement was instituted to give the commission this power. The so-called Elkins Act (1905) was the result, which was not only a compromise, but one favored by the railways who feared more drastic measures. This legislation confirmed the right of the government to discipline common carriers guilty of giving rebates and secret tariffs; fines, however, were substituted for imprisonment.

Yet the problem was not solved by this legislation, for it failed to reach the owners of private freight lines of the great fruit and packing firms, the owners of pipe lines, express and sleeping car companies, etc. The former interstate legislation had, in fact, proved a protection to these corporations, for in another guise they were doing what was now denied the railways themselves. It was not long before the abuses resulting from the strategical position they had gained became so onerous, especially upon certain sections of the country, that there was unanimity of public opinion for an extension of the law to cover these corporations also. The result was the Hepburn Law, passed during the last hours of the Fifty-ninth Congress (June 29, 1906). This act was under bitter discussion during the whole of the second session, and in view of the powerful forces arrayed against it, came forth a far more comprehensive and stringent enactment than might have been expected. It gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to

prescribe rates, subject to court review; broadened the term "common carrier" so as to bring under the jurisdiction of the law all railways, private lines, express and sleeping car companies, and pipe lines. It forbade issuance of passes to any save employees, forbade the ownership or control of coal, iron, or other companies shipping commodities, required schedules of rates to be deposited with commission, demanded a uniform system of accounting, and made more severe the penalties for rebating.* The commission itself was enlarged, in addition, to seven members. Under the provisions of this law, action was brought against the Standard Oil Company of Indiana for accepting rebates on oil shipped over the Chicago and Alton between Whiting, Ind., and East Saint Louis. This case was tried by Judge K. M. Landis, of the United States District Court at Chicago, August 3, 1907, who fined the defendant the maximum fine of \$29,240,000. This was set aside July 22, 1908, by the United States Court of Appeals, on the grounds that the decision was confiscatory.

Another important case under this act was the investigation of the Harriman lines, in order to determine the methods by which he had gained control of one-seventh of the railways of the country. Mr. Harriman absolutely refused to testify on vital points, and his position was upheld

* In 1908, 46 indictments were made for rebating, 3 of which resulted in convictions and fines.

in a decision of the Supreme Court, December, 1908, which interpreted that the penalizing clause referred solely to failure to testify in cases involving a breach of the law.

In another case, decided September 10, 1908, the so-called "Commodities clause" was declared unconstitutional by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, at Philadelphia. This removed the restriction denying railways the right to mine and sell coal and iron, and other products. The courts have thus done everything possible to eliminate the extreme provisions of the law, and have cast suspicions upon the efficiency of the legislation as a whole, yet it is very evident that any activity leading toward further curtailment of the power of the commission would be strenuously opposed by the people, and would result, in the long run, in legislation still more severe. There are only two apparent solutions to the corporation problem: government control or government ownership, and if the former be impossible, the coming of the latter will be only a question of time.

Second in importance perhaps first, if its influence upon the welfare of the people be considered, was the National Food and Drugs (Pure Food) Act, passed June 30, 1906. This was a compromise, and far less stringent than food legislation that has been on the statute books of foreign nations for years, yet it was a tremendous forward stride in the direction

of protecting the people from the innumerable frauds that for years had been perpetrated by individuals and corporations whose morality has lagged far behind their desire for wealth. It had long been known that food, drugs, and other articles of consumption had been supplied to the public in adulterated form for years, but in absence of legislation there was no apparent method of stopping the practice. The matter was brought to an issue by the army beef scandal, and the evidence produced at the hearings of the commission of inquiry was of such a nature that a strong demand arose for action on the part of Congress. Session after session bills were presented, but the forces arrayed against them were too strong, and they were quietly shelved. But the issue could not be evaded longer, and the result was the passage of the law of 1906. This legislation was hastened by the publication of a book named *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair, which revealed a horrible condition of affairs in the stock-yards of Chicago. An investigation proved the relative truth of his accusations, and the result was the indictment of high officials of the beef companies. Public opinion became so strongly in favor of protective legislation, that the long-hoped for acts were finally passed. The Food Bill is primarily a publicity law, and provides a penalty only for using poisonous or otherwise injurious substances in adul-

teration, and for misbranding; the dealer is not denied the right to adulterate his product, if no harmful substance be used, but he is denied the right to offer it as the genuine article. The public must know what it is buying, being given the privilege of determining whether it wishes to buy adulterated food and drugs or not. The legislation, however, has forced all misbranded articles out of the trade, and along with them the self-advertised frauds. Thus, although indirectly, under the efficient application of the law by Secretary of Agriculture Wilson, and chief of the bureau of chemistry, Dr. Wiley, results have been gained almost as salutary as would have come from making adulteration of any sort primarily a criminal offense. To the end of 1908, 135 cases were brought to trial in none of which was there a decision adverse to the government.

Similar in intention, and passed at the same time, was the act providing for a rigid inspection of cattle slaughtered for food. The provisions respecting adulteration and misbranding were also applied in this law, and common carriers were subjected to heavy penalties for transporting such commodities. Several States had passed pure food legislation prior to the agitation of 1905-6, but by the end of the year 1907, 26 had passed pure food acts, the majority of which were modeled upon the Federal law.

The passing of these laws upon a

basis of more or less uniformity was a phase of a movement toward uniformity of State legislation which had long been deemed desirable. One of the movements tending most strongly toward this result was the conference of State governors called together at the instance of President Roosevelt, May 13-15, 1908. The prime object of this conference was to consider plans for the conservation of national resources, and grew out of a convention of the Inland Waterways Commission, with which the President took a trip of inspection down the Mississippi during October, 1907. The conference met in Washington, 40 States being represented by their respective governors. This was remarkable as the first gathering of the kind ever attempted, and its success probably means the injection of a new force into the national civic life. The first meeting confined itself strictly to the subject of conservation, but the possibility of coöperation of the States upon that topic, it is reasonable to suppose, will lead to coöperation on other subjects and future conferences will doubtless extend the scope and purpose of the organization so far as is consonant with the provision of the Constitution denying individual States the right to enter into agreements not authorized by Congress.

As a corollary to the conference of governors, and in response to a suggestion made at the time, President Roosevelt appointed, June 3, 1908,

the National Conservancy Commission. The objects of the commission, as stated by Henry Gannett, the geographer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, are: 1st. To collect and systematize information regarding national resources; 2d, to disseminate this information; 3d, to shape State and national legislation to carry out the ends of conservation.

In 1905 it became known that there was dissatisfaction in Porto Rico, and in November a petition from the citizens of the island was forwarded to the President asking that the people of Porto Rico be given a greater share in the government of the same. Later (January 15, 1906), Mayor Todd of San Juan appeared before the House Committee on Insular Affairs, and asked that an elective council be granted the island, protesting, at the same time, against the control of Porto Rico being vested in officials from the States. As the result of these protests, a bill was drawn up by the House committee recommending that United States citizenship be extended to the Porto Ricans. This appeared to be an act of mere justice to a people whose position was anomalous, to say the least. The citizens of this dependency had, not without reason, cause of bewilderment, for while they were declared by the Commissioner-General of Immigration to be aliens (August 2, 1902 — a decision supported by the Supreme Court) they were, on the other hand declared by the treaty

of Paris, to be living upon "territory of the United States." Moreover, the Supreme Court had declared them subject to taxation on commodities exported to the United States, like any foreign nation. The legislation establishing the exact status of this dependency, has, however, yet to be enacted.

Meanwhile the course of events in Cuba had not been as smooth and tranquil as had been anticipated when the reins of government were placed in the hands of Cuban officials. President Palma had conducted his office in a creditable and praiseworthy manner during his first term and in 1905 was again nominated by the Moderate party for the presidency. He was elected and again inaugurated in May, 1906, but the Liberal party charged that the Moderates had practiced gross frauds, bribery, intimidation, and illegal voting in the elections. After the inauguration the opposing party exhibited bitter animosity towards the government, and the insurrectionary spirit gradually gained headway until the smoldering flame of revolution broke out and resulted in armed clashes between the adherents of the two factions. By August the strife had assumed the aspect and proportions of a civil war. Palma several times requested intervention on the part of the United States but President Roosevelt declined to act until the state of affairs should prove to be beyond the control of the Cuban government.

Later, however, as the Cuban government confessed itself unable to cope with the situation, Secretary of War Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon were sent to arbitrate and if possible to amicably adjust the differences. At the conferences between Taft and Bacon and the representatives of the rival factions, the Liberals demanded that the previous election be annulled and a new election held, but this proposition the Moderates refused to consider. Rather than accede to the Liberal demands or accept the terms of peace offered by Taft, Palma, together with the vice-president and the Cabinet, resigned office on September 28. It was then incumbent upon the Cuban Congress, according to the provisions of the constitution, to appoint a successor, but that body failed to take the necessary action within the prescribed time and thereupon, on the 29th, Secretary Taft, in accordance with the instructions given him, and by virtue of the authority vested in him by President Roosevelt, declared Cuba under the authority of the United States government and proclaimed himself provisional governor. His proclamation reads:

"The failure of Congress to act on the irrevocable resignation of the President of the Republic of Cuba or to elect a successor leaves this country without a government at a time when great disorder prevails and requires that, pursuant to a request of President Palma, the necessary steps be taken, in the name of and by the authority of the President of the United States, to restore order and protect life and property in the island of Cuba and in the islands and keys adjacent thereto, and for this purpose to establish therein a provisional

government. The provisional government hereby established by direction and in the name of the President of the United States will be maintained only long enough to restore order and peace and public confidence, and then to hold such elections as may be necessary to determine those persons upon whom the permanent government of the republic should be devolved.

"In so far as is consistent with the nature of a provisional government, established under the authority of the United States, this will be a Cuban government, conforming as far as may be with the Constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the Government buildings of the island; all the executive departments and the provincial and municipal governments, including that of the city of Havana, will continue to be administered as under the Cuban Republic; the courts will continue to administer justice; and all laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent nature of the government will be in force.

"President Roosevelt has been most anxious to bring about peace under the constitutional government of Cuba and has made every endeavor to avoid the present step. Longer delay, however, would be dangerous, in view of the resignation of the Cabinet.

"Until further notice, the heads of all the departments of the central Government will report to me for instructions, including Gen. Alejandro Rodriguez, in command of the Rural Guard and the other regular forces, and Gen. Carlos Roloff, Treasurer of Cuba. Until further notice, the civil Governors and Alcaldes will also report to me for instructions.

"I ask all citizens of Cuba to assist in the work of restoring order, tranquillity and confidence.

"WM. H. TAFT,

"Secretary of War of the United States, Provisional Governor of Cuba.

"Havana, Sept. 29, 1906.

"F. R. McCoy, Captain, Third Cavalry, Aide."

Having assumed office Governor Taft called upon the warring factions to surrender their arms, and appointed a commission to receive them, a task that was accomplished for the most part without serious disorder or trouble. On October 9 Taft issued a proclamation of amnesty to all political offenders. He had re-

tained the assistant secretaries of the government under the Palma régime and had requested that all foreign representatives remain at their posts at least until such time as peace and tranquillity might be restored and the government placed in order.

On October 13 Charles E. Magoon succeeded Taft as provisional governor and on the same day Taft and Bacon returned home. On taking office Governor Magoon set forth his authority for the act in a proclamation in which, among other things, he outlined the policy he would pursue towards Cuba as follows:

"The policy declared and the assurances given by Secretary Taft will be strictly adhered to and carried out. As Provisional Governor I shall exercise the powers and perform the duties provided for by the third article of the appendix to the Constitution of Cuba for the preservation of Cuban independence and the protection of life and property. As soon as it proves consistent with the attainment of these ends I shall seek to bring about the restoration of the ordinary agencies and methods of government under the other and general provisions of the Cuban Constitution. All the provisions of the Constitution and laws which for the time being would be inconsistent with the exercise of the powers provided for by the third article of the appendix must be deemed to be in abeyance. All the other provisions of the Constitution and laws continue in full force and effect."

Aside from a few attempts to prolong the disorder throughout the island, the work of pacification was speedily accomplished and peaceful conditions were rapidly restored. A number of Cuban congressmen, however, caused the governor some trouble. They had failed to resign their seats though sufficiently broad hints had been given them that such a course of action on their part would

be gratifying and acceptable to the provisional government. The governor was, however, finally compelled on December 2 to summon these men to his residence and notify them that those seats that had been filled at the election of 1905 would be declared vacant the next day by a decree issued with the authority and at the direction of President Roosevelt. Thus nearly half of the legislative body was unseated and during 1907 all legislation was affected by decree of the governor as no legislative body was in session. The Senate, however, retained its validity though it did not resume its sessions during American occupancy.

The most important work accomplished during 1907 was the taking of a census upon which to base the elections for municipal, state and national officials and in order that after such elections had taken place the government might again be restored to the Cubans. The census was begun on October 1, completed on November 14, and the results published a short time afterwards. Upon the basis of this census the elections were ordered for November 14, 1908 and in March José Miguel Gomez was nominated by the Mignelista convention while the other faction of the Liberal party — the Zayista — nominated Alfredo Zayas for the same office. The latter, however, subsequently withdrew his nomination and the two factions formed a coalition, choosing Gomez for president and Zayas for

vice-president. The Conservative nominations were Mario Y. Menocal and Rafael Montoro for the presidency and vice-presidency respectively. The elections were comparatively orderly and lawful and resulted in the success of the Liberal candidates.

Arrangements were then made for the evacuation of the island by the United States troops, so that every vestige of American authority might have disappeared by January 28, 1909, when the inauguration was to occur; but this was later found to be impracticable and about 3,000 troops still remained when the inauguration took place. It was also determined to pay all debts incurred by the provisional government prior to this date before the inauguration, thus launching the new government upon its career under the most auspicious circumstances. This also was only partially accomplished. The inauguration took place on January 28, 1909, and Governor Magoon immediately departed for the United States.

The organization of States out of Territories, and their admission into the Union has always proved a source of prolonged and bitter controversy. This is due to the fact that the two great parties represent, roughly, the North and South respectively, and as a new State means two new Senators, who would perhaps represent a thinly populated region, and yet have a voting power equal to those sent in behalf of older and more highly populated States, its admission is usually

delayed as long as possible unless its citizens are of the political complexion of the majority in power. If this be the case there is little difficulty unless the minority is active, not only in admitting the same, but in dividing it up into two States if conditions at all warrant. Perhaps no legislation of the kind has been more protracted and more strongly opposed than the act for the admission of Oklahoma, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Arizona. As these were all situated in the Southwest, and were strongly Democratic in their policies, it is not strange that the Republican party should hesitate before cutting down its own majority in the Senate. Nevertheless, in an act passed June 16, 1906, it was provided that Oklahoma and Indian Territory should be permitted to adopt a constitution, and be enrolled among the States on its adoption. It was also provided that Arizona and New Mexico should be permitted to vote on the question of being merged into one State, or of remaining separate. The acceptance of Oklahoma as a State was deferred by the radical nature of its constitution, tending, in some details, towards socialism. It was signed after a four months session of the Constitutional convention at Guthrie (November, 1906 — May, 1907), and was submitted to the people, September 17, 1907. It was ratified by an overwhelming majority, and was signed November 16, 1907, by President Roosevelt, who issued a proclamation announcing the admis-

sion of the new State into the Union.*

The President was singularly unfortunate in his relations with the negroes of the United States. He had gained the admiration and good will of the South by his policy and the Federal appointments he made in the Southern States. This feeling was sadly marred, however, by his permitting Booker T. Washington, the President of Tuskegee Institute, a colored industrial school in Alabama, to dine with him. While President Washington was recognized both North and South as the most able man of his race, and whose work was doing most to uplift the illiterate negroes, nevertheless, this impulsive act of Mr. Roosevelt's gave umbrage to a great many people in the South. This incident had hardly passed before an entirely different one caused criticism of the President. This resulted from a riot in Brownsville, Texas, in which a colored battalion of the 25th United States Infantry was alleged to have taken part. Several citizens of the town were killed, and the entire community terrorized by the occurrences. The 25th had made an excellent record in the battle of El Caney, but this did not prevent a thorough investigation of the affair, and the issuance of an order by the President on November 21, 1906, disbanding the regiment

“without honor.” It was generally understood that there were just grounds for this action; nevertheless the opponents of the President sought to make capital out of the same, and the matter was agitated in Congress for several sessions. The leading champion of the cause of the regiment was Senator J. B. Foraker, and upon his retirement from the Senate, in 1909, under something of a cloud, owing to disclosures which had been made regarding his connection with the Standard Oil Company, the matter was allowed to drop from public attention. It was afterwards conclusively proven that certain companies of the regiment were involved in the affray, and while these were discharged, the innocent members were afterwards reinstated.

The state of Venezuela had long been a firebrand, and under the leadership of its president, Cipriano Castro, had menaced international peace on several different occasions. Its constant condition of internal ferment, which rendered property tenure and even human life precarious, had caused, as has been shown, intervention by foreign powers in protection of the rights of their subjects. After the arbitration decision of the Hague Permanent Court, rendered February 22, 1904, it was hoped that there would be no further trouble, but hardly had this been settled, than a long-continued dispute between Castro and the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company came to a crisis. The dispute had dragged

* A bill was introduced by Representative Hamilton of Michigan admitting the Arizona and New Mexico into the Union as separate States. This passed the House January 17, 1910.

along for nearly three years without any definite agreement being reached, but on July 25, 1904, President Castro placed the property of the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company in the hands of a government receiver and instituted a civil suit against the company for its alleged financial assistance to and promotion of the Matos rebellion in 1901. A strong protest was transmitted by the American government and arbitration was also requested, but this was absolutely refused by President Castro on February 15, 1905. The Supreme Court of Venezuela affirmed the decision sequestering the land and imposed a fine of \$5,000,000 on the company in payment of moneys which the government had been forced to expend in crushing the rebellion. Every resource of the American state department was employed in an endeavor to restore to the company its concession in Bermudez, but the efforts were fruitless as the Venezuela Supreme Court affirmed its decision on March 14, 1908. There were also several other claims against Venezuela for which no satisfaction could be obtained because of the high-handed methods of Castro. The Orinoco Corporation claimed that it had been deprived of the benefits of concessions granted for the development of iron mines, hardwood forests and asphalt deposits. The Orinoco Steamship Company claimed that its monopoly in the navigation of the branches of the Orinoco River had been re-seized. The United States and

Venezuela Company, also known as the Critchfield Company, contended that a concession to take out asphalt and to build a railroad had been granted to it but that it was not allowed to operate. Mr. A. F. Jaurett also had a claim for \$25,000 damages against Venezuela because he had been expelled from the country by Castro.

Therefore, as arbitration was refused and as no settlement of the claims could be forced, President Roosevelt ordered the American legation closed; on June 21 the American chargé turned over the legation to the Brazilian minister; and on July 9 the Venezuelan representative was recalled, thus completely severing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Castro had also become involved with France, England, and Germany, and the English and German claims were paid out of customs revenues which those countries had seized in payment. Furthermore, in 1908, Castro became embroiled in a dispute with Holland because of a decree issued on May 14 prohibiting the trans-shipment of goods from Venezuelan ports at the Dutch port of Curaçao which the Netherlands government wished revoked and because of an indiscretion on the part of the Dutch minister De Reus on account of which he had been dismissed by Castro. These acts of Castro's resulted in the termination of diplomatic relations with Holland, who revoked the compact of 1894 with Venezuela, and nearly resulted in war. Castro,

however, had been ill for some time and at this juncture decided that he would give up the struggle against such overwhelming odds, for his own people had now turned against him. Fearful for his own life, he gave out that he was going to Germany for surgical treatment, and departed for Europe, landing at Boardeaux, December 10, 1908. He left as acting-president, former Vice-President Gomez, who immediately adopted a more conciliatory attitude with respect to the other powers, and the problem of Venezuela, for the time being, ceased to be vexing.

The decade following 1900 will be memorable for the great number of fearful calamities that took place. These were of all kinds: fires, floods, tornadoes and earthquakes. The catastrophe at Galveston in 1900 has already been discussed. This was followed in 1901 by a disastrous fire at Jacksonville, Florida, which destroyed \$10,000,000 worth of property. In 1902 the world was appalled by the terrible volcanic explosions in the West Indies. These occurred on May 7 and 8, Mt. La Soufrière in the Island of St. Vincent becoming violently active on the 7th destroying 2,000 lives, and laying two-thirds of the island in waste. The next day Mt. Pelée in the island of Martinique destroyed the city of St. Pierre, killing 30,000 people and doing incalculable damage. A second eruption, which occurred August 30, and lasted nearly a week, closed the chapter of

horrors by devastating a region hitherto exempt, and killing 2,000 more. In 1903 the West Indies were again visited, this time by a destructive hurricane which on August 11 destroyed \$15,000,000 worth of property and many lives. The next year was marked by three disastrous fires. The first, occurring February 7, at Baltimore, Md., destroyed \$70,000,000 in property. The fire destroyed 75 blocks, comprising 140 acres, and 2,500 houses were swept away. The city has since been rebuilt, and like Chicago, has arisen from its trial by fire beautified and regenerated. Other extensive fires occurred during the same year at Rochester, N. Y., and Toronto, Canada, the latter entailing a damage of \$10,000,000. The year 1906, however, stands apart for its record of cataclysms. The first of these was the earthquake that occurred in the Japanese island of Formosa, resulting in the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of \$45,000,000 worth of property. Early in April of the same year Mt. Vesuvius became violently active, causing much destruction of life and property. Yet this was exceeded on August 16 in fearful consequences by the earthquake and fire that occurred at Valparaiso, Chile. All of these disasters, however, fade into comparative insignificance before the earthquake that devastated the Pacific coast of the United States.

At about five o'clock on the morning of April 8, 1906, the inhabitants

SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE.



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1. TOWER OF THE CITY HALL, LOOKING SOUTHEAST FROM GOLDEN GATE AVENUE.

2. RUINS OF THE SCOTT-VAN ARSDALE BUILDING AND SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH ON MISSION STREET.

of San Francisco were awakened by a terrific shock succeeded by a long tremor that lasted for 55 seconds. The earthquake did an almost incalculable amount of damage, not only in San Francisco but in the surrounding cities and towns and other places in the state. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Palo Alto were among the towns that suffered severely. Many of the buildings of the Leland Stanford Jr. University (the library, memorial hall and others) were damaged almost beyond repair and the University of California lost almost as heavily.

In the city of San Francisco the first shocks tumbled over many of the less substantial buildings that had not been erected to withstand earthquakes, but the buildings of modern design and construction sustained comparatively little damage. The greatest havoc was wrought by the fire which immediately started in the ruins and raged for over two days before a merciful shift in the wind stopped its course and it extinguished itself for lack of fuel. The upheaval caused by the earthquake had broken the water-mains and rendered them useless, thus making futile any attempt on the part of the fire department to head off the conflagration. Despite all efforts to check the flames by blowing up rows of buildings with dynamite, the fire gradually spread over the business section of the city, consuming block after block of office buildings and warehouses, many handsome hotels and residences, the

beautiful city hall that had cost over \$7,000,000, newspaper buildings, and in fact swept everything before it, but was checked at Van Ness Avenue.

No exact statement of the loss of life or property can be made but it is estimated that between 400 and 500 lives were lost and the damage to property amounted to between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 in San Francisco alone, while \$350,000,000 is not too small an estimate if the loss throughout the State be added to that of the city. It was also estimated that only about five per cent. of the damage was caused by the earthquake whereas the balance was due to the subsequent fire.

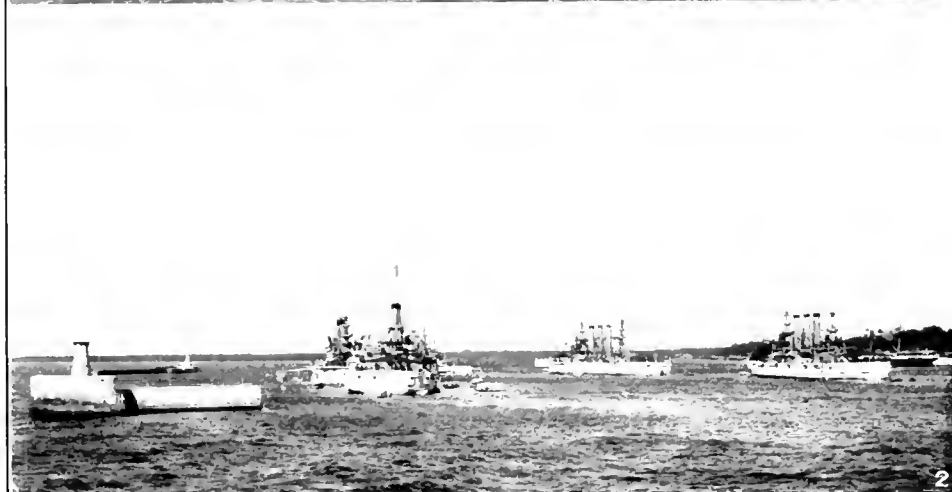
Immediately after the fire the city was placed under a guard of United States troops, and the parks of the city were placed at the disposal of the homeless. Tents were rushed to the city by the war department at Washington, supply stations were established by the military authorities and food given to the deserving who could not purchase it. Beside the tents the war department sent a vast amount of food supplies as did also a large number of business houses, corporations, and private individuals and from all sections of the United States, Canada and even from foreign countries came a flood of money contributions that totaled many millions. The tents constituted the homes of many of the citizens for a long time, but gradually the ruins were cleared away and soon a new and still more

imposing city sprang up. The architectural designs of the new buildings were much more beautiful and dignified than those of the structures destroyed.

"Speak softly, but carry a big stick." This aphorism, said to be a quotation from President Roosevelt, could well have come from him, for it aptly illustrates the character and policy of the man. Just how much of this spirit was responsible for the spectacular voyage of 16 battleships of the United States navy around the South American continent, to San Francisco, and thence home by the way of the Isthmus of Suez, it is impossible to say. There may have been diplomatic reasons for this remarkable display of America's power at sea, for there had been indications of restlessness in some of the South American republics regarding the policy of the United States, and an inclination on their part to reject the quasi-protectorate established over them by the operations of the Monroe Doctrine. This feeling had been in the process of incubation for a number of years in the larger republics of South America, such as Brazil, and Argentina, resulting in such purely Latin-American theories of international relations as the Drago Doctrine. Of course it is impossible to say whether this movement on the part of the republics rendered it necessary for the administration to give a signal evidence of the power of the United States, and at the same

time to pay them the international compliment of sending to their ports one of the most perfectly equipped and powerful fleets of battleships ever dispatched upon a peaceful errand.

In addition, too, there had been rumors that Japan was inclined to resent our new domination of the Pacific, and this, perhaps, had its influence in determining the extraordinary maneuver. Whatever may have been the diplomatic reasons, the fact remains that on December 16, 1907, in the presence of President Roosevelt and thousands of spectators this magnificent array of battleships broke anchorage and started on its long voyage. The ships were under command of Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, or "Fighting Bob," as he was affectionately called. The fleet consisted of the *Connecticut*, Captain H. Osterhaus commanding; the *Kansas*, Captain C. E. Vreeland; the *Vermont*, Captain W. P. Potter; the *Louisiana*, Captain Richard Wainwright; the *Georgia*, Captain H. McCrea; the *New Jersey*, Captain W. H. Sutherland; the *Rhode Island*, Captain J. V. Murdock; the *Virginia*, Captain S. Schroeder; the *Minnesota*, Captain J. Hubbard; the *Ohio*, Captain C. W. Bartlett; the *Missouri*, Captain G. A. Merriam; the *Maine*, Captain G. B. Harber; the *Alabama*, Captain T. E. DeW. Veeder; the *Illinois*, Captain J. M. Bowyer; the *Kearsarge*, Captain H. Hutchins;



By courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*.

1. THE AMERICAN FLEET STARTING ON ITS VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD.
2. THE FLEET AT COLOMBO HARBOR.
3. THE FLEET AT VALPARAISO, CHILL

and the *Kentucky*, Captain W. C. Cowles.

There were four divisions of the fleet: the first, under command of Rear-Admiral Evans; the second, under Rear-Admiral William H. Emory; the third under Rear-Admiral Charles M. Thomas; and the fourth under command of Rear-Admiral Charles S. Sperry. The fleet was manned by some 14,000 men, and the value of the ships and stores was estimated to be approximately \$100,000,000. The first point touched in its itinerary was Port au Spain, Trinidad, December 29, 1907. Leaving there, the ships proceeded to Rio Janeiro, Brazil, arriving January 12, 1908. Here they were royally entertained by the citizens of the Brazilian capital, and left on the 22d for the Straits of Magellan, arriving at Punta Arenas, Chile, February 1. At this point the ships commenced their northward journey to the Pacific Coast of the United States, touching at Valparaiso, Chile, and Callao, Peru, finally arriving at Magdalena Bay, Mexico, where a month was spent in target practice. The first part of the voyage was ended by the arrival of the fleet at San Francisco, May 6, the ships having been at sea over two months. On July 7, pursuant to orders from Washington, the fleet began the long voyage by the way of Europe back to its starting point. On this journey it visited Hawaii, Australia, the Philippines,

Japan, and Chinese ports, reaching the Suez Canal January 3, 1909.

After passing through the Canal, a month was spent visiting Mediterranean ports, during which time the fleet was honored by the crowned heads of Greece and Italy; the king and queen of Greece dining on board one of the battleships, and Rear-Admiral Sperry being entertained at Rome by the king of Italy. On February 6 the ships left Gibraltar on their homeward voyage across the Atlantic, arriving at Hampton Roads, February 22, 1909.

In this voyage, perhaps the most remarkable ever made by a fleet of battleships, 45,000 miles were traveled, the time occupied being a year and two months, or 433 days. Of these 190 were spent in cruising, and 243 in various ports. The fleet visited every continent on the globe, and sailed across every important sea. During the journey around South America the health of Admiral Evans became very precarious, and although he maintained command of his fleet, he did so during a period of great physical distress. On the arrival at Magdalena Bay, he relinquished the command, being succeeded by Rear Admiral Thomas, who, in turn, a few days later, was relieved by Rear Admiral Sperry, under whose command the fleet continued its circumnavigation of the globe.

The tremendous industrial expansion that set in soon after the close of the war with Spain, began as early

as 1904, to bear the logical fruits of such an era of prosperity. Many rumors gained circulation that there were men in the saddle at the financial center of the nation, New York City, who were apparently riding to a fall. These had failed to recognize the fact that deeds tending to throw discredit on the methods of business in vogue at that place would rapidly plunge the whole country into economic chaos. One of these accusations was to the effect that certain "high financiers" were gaining control of banks and insurance companies in order to use their surplus in furthering speculative enterprises of a decidedly questionable nature. The proof of this fact was brought to the public attention in a sudden and almost accidental manner, through the exposures developed by a noisome family quarrel in the Equitable Life Insurance Company. This company had experienced a long and very successful career under its founder and president, H. H. Hyde, whose share in the property had passed upon his death to his son, James H. Hyde, the presidency falling to J. W. Alexander. Mr. Hyde, it seemed, had but the slightest conception of his responsibilities and had abused his power over the resources of the company in a manner that menaced its integrity and threatened the savings of thousands of people. As the result a feud was inaugurated between the president of the company and himself that soon

reached the columns of the public press. The revelations were so extraordinary that an investigation became imperative, which under the skillful direction of Charles E. Hughes, was extended to all companies doing life insurance business. The report of the Armstrong Committee of the New York legislature (February, 1906), which had undertaken this highly desirable piece of house-cleaning, revealed a condition of affairs almost beyond belief. It was shown that many of the great companies were in the hands of officials who were guilty of every abuse from negligence to actual embezzlement; that vast sums of money were spent in bribing legislators, and still more vast ones paid to officials who did nothing more than sign the receipts; that schemes of promotion were financed by the companies through the influence of insurance officials who hoped to profit by the same. These and many other irregularities were brought to light, and as a consequence criminal action was brought against five of the officials, which with suicides, deaths, exiles, and resignations, effected a more or less cleansing of the insurance household. Legislation for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of such conditions has been passed by New York (1906) and the majority of the other States, that of Texas being so drastic that 14 companies left the State immediately upon its passage. A bill for Federal regulation was proposed

by Senator John F. Dryden, the president of the Prudential Company. This, however, was unfavorably reported upon by the committees to which it was referred, on the ground that insurance was not interstate business, and therefore Federal legislation regarding the same was not constitutional.

In spite of these revelations of the devious methods of modern finance, and the shock given to the credit of the financial center of the United States, the era of "flush times" still continued. The year 1906 was one of the most prosperous the country has known; there were splendid crops, wages were advanced, new records were made for iron and steel production, the railways had more business than they could handle, dividends were paid on stock that had never before earned a cent, and money was plentiful for promoting any kind of speculative enterprise. By the end of the year, however, it was evident that affairs were taking a downward turn, resulting during March, 1907, in a general unloading of speculative securities, producing a so-called "rich man's" panic on the stock exchange. In spite of the fact that the crops were as large, and industries as active as in the previous year, values continued to decline, producing a temporary stringency in August, which was followed by a financial crisis of unusual severity on October 14, precipitated, it is said, by an endeavor of the Heinze brothers,

Charles W. Morse (later imprisoned, but pardoned), and others to corner the copper market. The collapse of this pool, the tremendous unloading of securities, and the failure of speculators to meet their obligations, produced for a while a condition of affairs that threatened to close the stock exchange. This was prevented by the act of J. P. Morgan in coming to its rescue with \$20,000,000, and by the cessation of stock dealing on margin. As the men who precipitated the crisis had obtained control of a chain of banks by the questionable process of purchasing one with the funds and securities of another, the frightened public losing confidence began to withdraw its deposits from the banks in Manhattan and Brooklyn, which resulted in the suspension of the Knickerbocker Trust Company and some half dozen other banking institutions, and it was only by the most vigorous efforts on the part of Secretary of the Treasury George B. Cortelyou and the leaders of finance that more serious disasters were prevented. As it was the damage that was done was beyond calculation, and swept over the whole country, producing in every place of importance a repetition of the conditions in New York.

Various causes have been assigned for this panic, but none seem to explain why it should have occurred during one of the most prosperous years in the history of the country. One explanation is that President

Roosevelt's persecution of corporate interests was responsible; another that it was caused by the endeavor of these interests to discredit the administration, and force favorable legislation; the third theory was that it was due to vast increases in the gold supply, and the according decrease in its purchasing power, resulting in rising prices, speculation and undue expansion of business. Whatever might be the true explanation, one thing was conclusively demonstrated, this was that the currency system of the nation lacked the flexibility necessary to permit it to cope with conditions such as the 1907 panic.

Legislation had already been instituted in the Fifty-ninth Congress; two remedial systems being presented. The one that was finally passed, March 4, 1907, known as the Aldrich Bill, provided for the following modifications of the currency laws: the issuance of ten dollar gold certificates; of one and two dollar silver certificates, replacing the ten dollar silver certificates outstanding; the abolishment of the distinction between government receipts from customs and from other sources; and the giving of the Secretary of the Treasury discretion regarding the kinds of bonds to be required in securing public deposits in national banks; the publication of lists of such securities annually; the equitable distribution of deposits among States and Territories; and the increase of the amount of national bank notes that could be

withdrawn from circulation in any one month from \$3,000,000 to \$9,000,000.

While this plan gave the Secretary of the Treasury more freedom in dealing with situations such as the country was experiencing at the time of its passage, nevertheless it was still felt to be inadequate, and the demand for further currency legislation continued. This resulted in the presentation during the Sixtieth Congress of a number of schemes for improving the currency laws. The one that was adopted, the so-called Aldrich-Vreeland Act, provided for the issuance of additional emergency currency to the extent of \$500,000,000 in times of financial stringency, the banks issuing the same to pay a tax of not more than 10 per cent. for the privilege of issuing the same, and to deposit in the treasury United States money to the extent of 10 per cent. of the emergency notes as a fund for the redemption of the notes of failed banks. The privilege of issuing these notes was given to any national bank in good standing, and the officials of the Treasury Department were authorized to determine whether this emergency currency was necessary or not.

This bill was bitterly fought by the Democratic party in Congress, with whom were united a number of Republicans who conceived that such legislation might increase the hold that the moneyed interests had upon the country. The most active oppo-

ment of the bill was Senator R. M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, who conducted a filibuster against the same, during which time he held the floor of the Senate continuously for eighteen hours. His efforts, however, were unavailing, for the bill was finally passed on May 30, just before the adjournment of Congress.

In 1908 public attention was absorbed by the elections of President and Vice-President and numerous State officials. The greatest interest centered in the nominations of the Republican and Democratic parties, but more particularly the former because it was generally supposed that President Roosevelt would use his influence to insure the nomination of one who was favorable to his policies and who would carry them out to their ultimate successful completion. The first important party to hold its convention was the Populist party which at St. Louis on April 3 nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, and Samuel W. Williams, of Indiana. In May the Socialist party at Chicago nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, and Ben Hanford, of New York; on June 18 the Republicans at Chicago nominated William H. Taft, of Ohio, and on the 19th James S. Sherman, of New York; William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and John W. Kern, of Indiana, were nominated by the Democrats at Denver on July 16; Eugene W. Chafin, of Illinois, and Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio, were nominated by the Prohibition party

at Columbus, Ohio, on July 16; and the Independence party at Chicago on July 28 nominated Thomas L. Hisgen, of Massachusetts, and John T. Graves of New York (formerly of Georgia).

The Republican platform, beside indorsing the policies of the Roosevelt administration, declared "that the rules of procedure in the federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except when irreparable injury would result from delay," etc. The financial panic of 1907 was scantily and feebly dealt with, but promises were made, among other things, for a better currency system; for a complete revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately after the inauguration; for the "enforcement in letter and spirit of the XIII., XIV., and XV. amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro"; for the immediate admission of the territories of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States; and for free trade "with limitations" with the Philippines.

The Democratic platform protested against allowing the government to remain in the "grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations"; and denounced the increase of Federal office-holders, the "frightful ex-

travagances " of the party in power, " the absolute domination of the Speaker " of the House, and Roosevelt's interest in Taft's nomination as the " establishment of a dynasty." It demanded publicity in campaign contributions (although a law to this effect had been enacted two years before); a revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties and the adoption of a graduated scale to bring the tariff down to a strictly revenue-producing basis (as against the Republican plan for continued protective duties and the adoption of maximum and minimum rates in order to obtain concessions from other countries). It also proposed to license corporations doing 25 per cent. of the business of the country in their lines and to prohibit any corporation from doing more than 50 per cent. of the business. It demanded that bank deposits be guaranteed by the government as a means of preventing panics; and hinted at the exclusion of the Japanese by declaring the party " opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who cannot be

amalgamated with our population, and whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with Oriental powers."

The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for Taft, who received an electoral vote of 321 against an electoral vote of 162 for Bryan. Mr. Taft was inaugurated on March 4, 1909, and selected the following men for his cabinet: Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Franklin MacVeagh, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Jacob M. Dickinson, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; George von L. Meyer, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Frank H. Hitchcock, of the District of Columbia, Postmaster-General; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture; George W. Wickersham, of New York, Attorney-General; Richard A. Ballinger, of Washington, Secretary of the Interior; and Charles Nagel, of Missouri, Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1909-1913.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT TAFT.

President Taft's inaugural address — Enactment of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law — Revolt of the Progressives — Provisions of the new law — The tariff board and the corporation tax — Passage of the income tax bill — The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy — Prosecution of the Sugar Trust — The Mann-Elkins Act — Creation of the Commerce Court and other commissions — The Wickersham bill — The Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust decisions — Prosecutions of other trusts — The fisheries award — Dissatisfaction with the tariff — The overthrow of Speaker Cannon — Rise of the Progressive Party — Democratic gains — Defeat of tariff revision by Taft's vetoes — Defeat of the reciprocity treaty with Canada — The peace treaties with England and France — Abrogation of the treaty with Russia — Other measures, investigations and events of Taft's administration — The elections of 1912.

In the interval between election and inauguration — usually not so much a breathing spell as a breathless preparation for new duties — Mr. Taft conducted himself with becoming dignity and judicial serenity. His mid-winter sojourn in the South, ostensibly for rest, meditation and Cabinet-building, was nevertheless filled with duties that not only placed him in the public eye but proved the kindly disposition toward him of the great body of his fellow citizens. Probably no other President has entered office with so few enemies or so general a suspension of prejudgment.

The inauguration on March 4 occurred with a setting of spectacularly bad weather conditions, but was otherwise auspicious. The inaugural address, wise and temperate, "had not a word in it," said a leading New York paper, "to disturb the peace of mind of any honest man," nor, remarked another, "anything of the

heat and fury of the prosecutor." In the very first paragraph the new President declared it to be his unequivocal purpose to make the maintenance and enforcement of the Roosevelt reforms a most important feature of his Administration. All references to proposed changes in the interstate commerce and anti-trust laws contained a reassurance to business that they "shall conserve only stability and healthy growth." His well-known views on the tariff were restated as a conception of a "protection equal to the difference in the cost of production abroad and the cost of production here," and he added: "In the making of a tariff bill the prime motive is taxation and the securing thereby of a revenue" — stopping short of appending the word "only" which forms the crux of the Democratic view of the tariff. And in the handling of phases of the Southern question and of injunctions, Mr. Taft outlined a

well-matured, just, disinterested, constructive policy, that appealed to intelligent men regardless of party.

On March 6 President Taft issued a call for a special session of Congress to convene on March 15, on which day it assembled and reelected Speaker Cannon, somewhat dampening the choice, however, with slight modifications of the House rules as a precursor of greater changes to follow in succeeding sessions. The next day Sereno E. Payne, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a tariff bill embodying the results of several months of anticipatory investigation, in which hearings and documentary evidence covering over 4,000 articles had been under advisement; and the battle-royal over the tariff measure of 1909 was on.

After a long debate the House passed the Payne bill on April 9, and sent it to the Senate which, on April 12, reported a substitute measure known as the Aldrich bill. The Payne bill placed iron ore, and petroleum and its products, on the free list; made reductions on iron and steel and their manufactures, and on chemicals, coal, hides and lumber; and increased the duties on many textiles, and on gloves and hosiery—the two latter items to a startling extent. The Aldrich bill made even fewer concessions—the rate on lumber, for instance, being 50 per cent. higher than in the House bill. So extreme was the character of this bill that the powerful

group of Western Senators* (who dissented and made vigorous but unavailing protests against the provisions, finally voting negatively on the conference report) became known as "Insurgents" or "Progressives." These, with the twenty "Insurgents" of the House whose activities had thus far taken the direction of opposition to "rules," formed the nucleus of what afterwards came to be known as the Progressive movement, leading finally to the formation of a new party bearing that name.

In spite of strenuous opposition—more, in fact, from the new element just referred to, in the Republican party itself, than from the Democrats—the measure passed the Senate on July 8, and, four days later, went to the conference committee. Indeed the whole tariff campaign of 1909 was not so much an occasion for partisan strife as a contest among diversified interests or between the "interests" and public opinion. The ancient free-trade arguments were extinct; on the other hand, "the old idea of universal, all-around protection, every sin-

*The seven Senators who, though Republicans, finally voted against the bill in its completed form were: Beveridge of Indiana; Bristow, of Kansas; Clapp and Nelson, of Minnesota; Cummins and Dolliver, of Iowa; and La Follette, of Wisconsin. While all thus protested against the "upward revision" which they believed characterized the bill, Senator Beveridge recorded, by his vote, a special protest against the emasculation of the tariff commission feature, by which it was intended that the rulings of the commission should be restricted to the "maximum and minimum" clause.



gle product getting its 'just recompense of reward' in a perfectly equitable tariff, was admitted to have broken down. * * * At last the forgotten consumer had been given a thought." This tendency toward greater consideration for public opinion was not as marked as could be desired and showed itself, among other ways, in the somewhat belated efforts of President Taft to secure concessions from members of the conference committee looking toward the lowering of some of the schedules. Such efforts on the President's part were made, and, to some extent, effectively, for he obtained lower rates on iron ore, hides, coal, oil and lumber. With this the struggle ended; the conference report was adopted on August 5, and the Payne-Aldrich bill became the law of the land.*

The tariff schedules in which the greatest changes occurred were: metals and their manufactures; cotton manufactures; silk and silk manufactures; chemicals, oils and paint; lumber; paper pulp and paper; hides and leather. In the metal schedules generally lower duties prevailed, as was true of lumber and leather, with petroleum, hides, iron ore and ground wood pulp on the free list; while on silks and many of the chemicals and all of the better grades of cotton

higher duties were imposed or the old Dingley rates were retained. The "maximum and minimum" clause is a novel device for attempting to secure commercial concessions from other countries. The minimum rates are those of the current bill; the maximum rates add 25 per cent. to every duty in the dutiable list, and are applicable to the products of all foreign countries with which there are no commercial agreements. A tariff board was created to assist the President in administering the "maximum and minimum" provisions, but with no authority to constitute itself a commission for collating general data, as the President had requested and Senator Beveridge had battled for.* And lastly, in order to meet present and expected deficits (on June 30 the deficit was \$89,000,000) and to provide additional revenues, a corporation tax clause was enacted, providing that all corporations should pay a tax of one per cent. on all incomes in excess of \$5,000.

When the President signed the bill he accompanied it with an apologetic statement to the effect that the bill was "not a complete compliance with the promises made, strictly interpreted," but he claimed it to be the result of a sincere effort on the part of the Republican party to make a

* This act is officially designated as "An Act to Provide Revenue, Equalize Duties and Encourage the Industries of the United States, and for Other Purposes."

* In September the President appointed as the members constituting the tariff board Prof. Henry C. Emery, of Yale University, James B. Reynolds, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Alvin H. Sanders, of Chicago.

“downward revision.” The country, grateful to have at least a temporary quietus put upon the vexatious tariff agitation, seemed at first inclined to exercise a little auto-suggestion and good naturedly to acquiesce in the President’s opinion as to the actual downwardness of the revision. A veto had not been demanded even by the Insurgents, as it would have created needless confusion, and the apology was evidently accepted in lieu of a veto. But an entirely new note of irritation and dissatisfaction was sounded, at first against conditions and gradually against the President himself, on reading his “Winona speech” of September 17, in which he characterized the Payne-Aldrich bill as “the best tariff bill the Republicans had ever made.” This “best-ever” speech caused, to put it mildly, a gasp of surprise, and, while it cannot be said that a revulsion of feeling was at once aroused, the country began thoughtfully to ask itself whether a measure which not even its makers had been enabled entirely to justify and which contained so many palpable inequalities was indeed the country’s last, best word in tariff construction.

It was during the height of the discussion on the tariff that decisive action was taken on the income tax. The United States had once proposed, and twice passed, income-tax bills. The first of the two enacted was a war measure, and was in effect from 1861 to 1872. The second was supplementary to the Wilson Tariff Act of 1894,

as a precaution against the expected deficit caused by the reduction of import duties. But the deficit did not materialize, and as the apportionment among the States was not made according to population and representation, the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 20, 1895, declared this clause of the act unconstitutional. The law had proposed to levy a uniform tax of 2 per cent. on all incomes over \$4,000.

But the friends of the income tax idea, believing the Supreme Court decision was not aimed at the principle itself but only the method of its application, finally succeeded in having the following resolution passed by Congress on July 12, 1909, calling for an amendment to the Constitution as Article XVI:

“The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment, among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.”

It will be seen that the last two clauses are intended to meet the objections of the Supreme Court to the acts of 1894, but the clause “from whatever source derived” became the fruitful source of much controversy. It was held that this feature would bestow upon Congress the power to lay a tax on the income from State and municipal bonds, Governor Hughes taking the lead in opposition to the principle, although in favor of the amendment in general, fearing that it would endanger the borrowing power of the States. But Senator

Elihu Root and other constitutional lawyers took the view that Congress would not be required by this amendment to levy on such bonds, and would not be likely to do so; moreover, that the courts, following long precedent, would in all probability forbid such taxation.

The affirmative vote of 36 States is necessary for adoption, and, up to December of 1912, 34 States had voted in the affirmative, 4 had refused to ratify and the others had taken no action or only partial action.

But interest in the tariff as well as in other public measures was for a time diverted by a deplorable controversy that arose over conservation policies. This grew out of an attack made upon Secretary Ballinger regarding his relations to certain alleged fraudulent claims for mineral properties in Alaska. After the gold discoveries, this *terra incognita* was populated by thousands of fortune hunters, towns of considerable importance sprung up, and a more efficient system of administration was organized. The occupancy of the gold fields directed attention toward other mineral products, in search of which Alaska had been thoroughly explored, with the resultant discovery that it was as rich in other natural resources as in the more precious metals. Copper, coal, iron and other mineral deposits were found in abundance, and the "interests" quietly began to absorb enormous tracts through the operations of the land-grant laws. As

each applicant under the homestead law could obtain only 160 acres, and, under the law supervising mineral lands, could purchase only a certain maximum amount, it was the policy of unscrupulous men to obtain vastly more land than the law allowed by dummy entries and fraudulent claims.

The most active of these exploiters were alleged to be the Guggenheims who already had virtual control of the copper industry of Colorado. The charges against Secretary Ballinger were made public by a special agent of the Federal government, Lewis R. Glavis, who asserted that certain so-called "Cunningham claims" were fraudulent, and were in reality a part of an organized effort of the Guggenheims to obtain control of the most valuable mineral deposits of Alaska. Mr. Glavis alleged that not only was the Secretary of the Interior aware of the nature of these claims through knowledge gained by him when commissioner of the land office, but that he had been instrumental in furthering them. Glavis submitted his charges to Attorney-General Wickersham and, as a result, was deposed from his position by order of the President, who made a statement to the effect that he had full knowledge of Mr. Ballinger's acts and had utmost confidence in his integrity. This action was soon followed by a summary dismissal of Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, who, in a letter to Senator Dolliver, had rather broadly intimated that the President was somewhat mistaken as

to his facts. As a result of the charges of Mr. Glavis, a joint committee was appointed by Congress to look into the affair. After a protracted investigation lasting more than a year, a report was rendered by this joint committee through its chairman, Senator Nelson, fully exonerating Secretary Ballinger, thus settling the "Ballinger-Pinchot controversy" and establishing the principle that public lands are not to be subjected to private exploitation. Another excellent result of the acrimonious dispute was to establish upon a firmer basis than ever a wise and equitable policy of "conservation." The opponents of Mr. Ballinger, it should be remarked, were evidently actuated by over-zealous anxiety for the public welfare rather than by the extreme and harsh methods that President Taft denounced as the weapons of the "unscrupulous conspiracy."

On March 7 Mr. Ballinger resigned his office as Secretary of the Interior, with health impaired but no longer "under fire," and Walter L. Fisher of Illinois, was appointed his successor. Later in the year the new Secretary ordered the Cunningham claims cancelled, thus releasing the Alaska mineral lands which these claims had sought to control.

Aside from the corporation tax levy, which, however, was not primarily an anti-trust measure, though it was destined to have an important bearing on trust questions because of its publicity features, the first important

movement of the Administration in opposition to the trusts was the prosecution of the American Sugar Refining Company. There were two distinct lines of government procedure. One was to recover damages in a suit brought by the Pennsylvania Sugar Refining Company for the closing of its plant by the larger concern. Settlement was made out of court, but the government used this settlement as a basis of an indictment for fraud in violation of the criminal clause of the Sherman Law. The statute of limitations was invoked by the defendants and upheld by the United States Circuit Court, an appeal from which was immediately carried by the Government to the Supreme Court. Another class of cases against the "Sugar Trust" grew out of frauds in the weighing of imported sugar and also in paying duties on lower grades of sugar than those that were actually imported. In September, large sums were paid to the Government by two companies in the Trust as preliminary installments or settlement in full of all back shortages of duties on sugar.

Other policies became prominent. A special message of President Taft on January 7, 1910, made further regulation of railroads and certain modifications of existing anti-trust laws the leading order of business for the first regular session of the Sixty-First Congress — a message that has been pronounced worthy of "the highest place in his achievements as lawyer and statesman."

The views of the President with regard to railroad regulations were largely met in the Mann-Elkins bill, finally passed after a long and notable debate on June 18, 1910. It supplements the Hepburn Act of 1906 in greatly enlarging the powers of the Federal Government over railways, and makes it much more difficult than heretofore for the railroads to conceal rebating from the Interstate Commerce Commission. Among other powers the Commission was granted the right to suspend new tariffs for ten months, if necessary, while hearings were being held; and this provision was invoked when, shortly before the passage of the Mann-Elkins Act, several Western roads increased their freight rates between all points, to take effect July 1. These tariffs were therefore suspended, and on February 24, 1911, the decision was handed down refusing rate advances on eastern and western roads, but granting most of the increases asked by southwestern roads.*

The creation of the Commerce Court was one of the principal advances made by the Mann-Elkins Act, and one which the President had consistently striven for from the first.†

* Another important instance when this extension clause was put into operation was near the end of the administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission on August 31, 1912, extending until December 31, 1912, proposed increases in freight rates from eastern points to Pacific coast points.

† The members of the Commerce Court were Martin A. Knapp, formerly chairman of the

This court was designed to review cases on which appeal should be made from the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in lieu of having them passed upon, as formerly, by the United States Circuit Courts. This was not only in the interests of greater expedition but, it was hoped, of a more searching and painstaking adjudication than the busier courts could make. Up to the close of 1911 the Commerce Court had rendered decisions in 27 appeals from rulings, usually in favor of the railroads against the shippers, and in only three cases sustaining the original orders of the Commission. A distinct hostility against the court gradually grew up, and in 1912 only the utmost exertions on the part of President Taft saved it from being wiped out of existence by Congress. Other troubles culminated in 1912, when the House of Representatives presented to the Senate articles of impeachment against one of the judges of the court, Robert W. Archbald, for alleged business transactions with railroad companies at times when the railroads were litigants before the Commerce Court and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In accordance with another section of the Mann-Elkins Act the President, in 1910, appointed the Railroad Securities Commission to decide whether

Interstate Commerce Commission, John E. Carland, Robert W. Archbald, William H. Hunt and Julian W. Mack. The first public session was held in Washington, D. C., on April 3, 1911.

railway stock and bond issues could properly come under Federal regulation.* The committee reported on December 11, 1911, that it would be practically impossible to do so, but made several important suggestions for amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act, which should provide for giving the fullest publicity to every detail of railway financiering.

The second part of the President's message of January 7 dealt with proposed modifications of the anti-trust law. The message argued that large combinations of capital were not intrinsically unfair, yet it was necessary for judicial investigations to be instituted whenever suspicions of violations were aroused. This disturbance to business was to be deprecated and, it was thought, could be eliminated if the great concerns should subject themselves to Federal regulation under the terms of a National incorporation act. This would enable a line to be drawn between trusts that had nothing to conceal and those that employed unlawful methods — between "good trusts" and "bad trusts." A constructive bill was drawn by the Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham, and presented to Congress, but formal debate on it was soon withdrawn pending the decision of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases. This postponement, as well as

the provisions of the bill itself, were considered as a few among many hopeful indications of a much more reasonable spirit as regards the regulation of industrial corporations — a weakening of the demand for ruthlessly "smashing big trusts." In President Taft's "Lincoln Day Speech" at New York, for instance (in which, by the way, he reiterated his "best ever" characterization of the new tariff) he disclaimed "all intention of pursuing the corporations in a hostile spirit." The Administration's attitude toward the whole trust question made it more and more evident that regulation and publicity, properly applied, would be powerful factors in discriminating between lawful and unlawful combinations; and that was one of the chief aims sought by the Wickersham bill.

Prosecutions were continued during 1910 and the early part of 1911 against the Sugar Trust, the meat packers, the Window Glass Trust, the Electrical Trust, and many others, but although, in nearly all cases, the Government advanced inexorably toward the heart of the citadel and no truce was called, yet the chances of final victory or defeat could not be accurately gauged until the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust cases should be announced. So momentous and far reaching were the consequences of these decisions felt to be that a little more detail must be ventured in recounting the procedure and its effects.

* The members of this commission were: Arthur T. Hadley, President of Yale University, F. N. Judson, Frederick Strauss, Walter L. Fisher and Prof. B. H. Meyer.

In November of 1909, the United States circuit court at St. Paul, Minnesota, had declared the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey a "combination in restraint of trade" and therefore illegal under the Sherman Act as not only a combination but a monopoly, the decree of the court being an order for dissolution and an injunction against the formation of any similar combinations. An appeal was taken by the company, in December of 1909, to the Supreme Court of the United States, alleging sixty-five errors. The case was first argued in March of the following year, but owing to the death of Justice Brewer and Chief Justice Fuller, the illness of Justice Moody, and the fact that Justice Lurton had not been upon the bench when the first arguments were made, a reargument was heard in January of 1911.

The principal contentions of the defence were, briefly, that the Standard Oil Company was not a combination of subsidiary rival companies but only a natural, simple evolution of an expanding industry, a private undertaking that had a right to use trade devices in advancing its interests, not a public service corporation that would come under closer legal restrictions. The government, on the other hand, endeavored to show obvious "intent" to secure restraint of trade and monopoly, evidences being found, it was alleged, in transportation rebating, price discriminations, and other unfair methods that enabled the

company to establish and maintain monopoly.

The decision was handed down on May 15, 1911, written by Chief Justice White and concurred in by eight members (vigorously dissented from, however, by Justice Harlan), the crux of which was the now famous "rule of reason" principle that the Sherman Law should in each case coming up for adjudication be given a "reasonable" interpretation. The Supreme Court, nevertheless, found the Standard Oil Company guilty of illegal combination, and ordered its dissolution on September 1, 1911. The order of the court was strictly obeyed, and on that date the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey surrendered the ownership of the stock of other oil companies.

While the first effect upon business men of the decision was optimistic, there was a feeling of doubt whether the dissolution actually dissolved, although technically the law had been strictly complied with. There was a very general endorsement, too, of Justice Harlan's view that "reasonable interpretation" led, or might lead, to emendations of legislative enactments by means of the judicial construction placed upon them, creating "judge-made law" that would "in the long run prove disastrous for our political system." The uncertainty produced by the necessity of interpreting each particular case as it arose, rather than by a general principle applying to all cases, was deprecated also, and it was

feared that its effect upon the expansion of legitimate business would be hampering. But the country had not recovered from its rather dazed condition when, only two weeks later, the Supreme Court handed down a decision requiring the dissolution of the American Tobacco Company, suit against which had been begun in the circuit court for the southern district of New York in July of 1907. The higher court swept away the interpretation of facts made by the circuit court, as well as the interpretation of law, and held the combination unlawful "not only because of the dominion and control over the tobacco trade which actually exists" but because "the conclusion of wrongful purposes and illegal combination is overwhelmingly established by the undisputed facts of the evidence."

In June of 1911, the circuit court granted to the government contention a decree of dissolution against the Dupont Powder Company and, in October of the same year, decrees against the Southern Grocers Association and the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company, the latter commonly known as the "Bathtub Trust." It was in October also that suit was filed in the United States court at Trenton, New Jersey, against the United States Steel Corporation and eighteen individuals, seeking the dissolution not only of the corporation itself but of its constituent companies as well. This prosecution is perhaps the most important and far-

reaching yet started under the Sherman Law, not so much on account of the enormous capitalization of the Trust as its acknowledged freedom from some of the worst features that had characterized other corporations. Two suits, civil and criminal, were also begun against the Beef Trust, one result of which was that, in the summer of 1912, the corporation was obliged to publish its plan for dissolution. In the latter year the Attorney-General asked the Supreme Court to dissolve the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern railroads, and took decisive measures against the Harvester Trust.

One of the most important events of the second year of Mr. Taft's administration was the satisfactory culmination of the century-long and sometimes bellicose disputes between the United States and Great Britain regarding the North American fisheries. These disputes had resolved themselves into seven questions involving the interpretation of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818 and were referred to the Hague Tribunal for final settlement. It was a triumph for the cause of international arbitration that these vexing and sometimes threatening complications could be adjudicated so smoothly and that the result should be accepted with such entire acquiescence by the parties concerned. The decision was rendered on September 7, 1910, and became irrevocable on September 12. During the five-day period allowed by law for protest, no protest whatever, or even comment, was offici-

ally offered by either the British or United States governments.

There were five arbitrators on the board of award, the United States being represented by the Hon. George Gray, of Delaware, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; the leading counsel for the United States was Senator Elihu Root.* Of the seven questions, the first and fifth were decided contrary to the claims of the United States, the others in her favor. The first question involved the point whether any "reasonable regulations made by Great Britain, Canada and Newfoundland in the form of municipal laws, ordinances or rules must be submitted to the consent of the United States." Its decision in the negative appears to impartial observers a reasonable one, as any other view would have been, seemingly, an unwarrantable cession of sovereignty on the part of those countries. The fifth question involved the "headland doctrine." The British had contended that "the three marine miles within which the United States agreed not to fish should be measured from an imaginary line drawn across the

mouth of the bay, no matter how wide, from headland to headland," while America argued that the line should follow the coast's sinuosities. One of the judges, Dr. Drago, dissented from the majority opinion on this question — which was some consolation to American pride.

The other five points, on which the United States won, established that hereafter the British cannot compel our fishermen to report to custom houses; they cannot impose on these fishermen light, harbor or other dues when entering bays or harbors for shelter or other necessities; we may employ men who are not inhabitants of the United States on our fishing vessels, and these vessels have the right to purchase supplies and to enjoy other commercial privileges. The award provided also — and this was not the least of the benefits it wrought — that other disputed fishing regulations be submitted to a commission, the composition of which is stipulated, and recommended that a similar permanent commission be created for the settlement of future disputes.

One of the chief causes of the mid-administration revolt, so likely to occur against the party in power, had its inception in the tariff, that ancient trouble-maker for more than one President. While the business world had a sincere purpose to regard the new schedules as a fixed fact for at least some years to come and so adjust itself to changed conditions, the country as a whole, including many leaders in

* The other members of the tribunal were; President of the Tribunal, Dr. Heinrich Lammasch, of Austria, professor in the University of Vienna and member of the upper house of the Austrian Parliament; His Excellency, A. F. de Savornin Lohman, former Minister of State of the Netherlands; Canada's special representative, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of the Dominion Supreme Court; and Dr. Luis Maria Drago, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Argentine Republic, probably the most eminent jurist of South America.

the Republican party, felt, and suppressed no qualms in saying, that the party had not redeemed the promises made in the platform of 1908. The "iniquitous Schedule K"—the woolen section—which, with the cotton schedule, was supposed to keep up high prices on clothing—were both subjected to a galling fire; while as for the "rubber robbery," Senator Bristow, a leading Insurgent, laid the responsibility for its extortionate rates directly at the door of Senator Aldrich himself. The opponents of the tariff charged that the 1909 tariff, from which so much had been expected, was simply a new and aggravated example of log-rolling and inter-bargaining of special interests. Newspapers and magazines reiterated the question whether that could be considered a "reasonable" profit to American industries which increased the duties on cotton, for instance, by amounts ranging from 40 to 85 per cent. And Senator Dolliver, another Insurgent, related how the Diamond Rubber Company of Ohio had in ten years declared stock dividends increasing its capital from \$50,000 to \$10,000,000. Indeed this same Senator declared, shortly before the fall elections, that "the public has asked and asked again, in vain, for some one to point out a single reduction on any article ready to enter into consumption which has a commercial significance of any sort." This phase touched the public at a tender spot, for it seemed to indicate one source,

at least, of undeniable increases in the rates of many important articles of general consumption. The President, however, asserted that the general average duty was less under the Payne-Aldrich Act than under those preceding, as it embraced "decreases on 654 items, involving a consumption value of \$5,000,000,000." There being this radical difference of opinion, all parties agreed to leave the tariff question *in statu quo* until the electorate had expressed its opinion by the ballot. Certain it was that the new customs duties produced a revenue of \$15,000,000 over that of 1909, and the new corporation tax produced \$25,000,000 more, the latter item being a clear gain. Proclamations were issued and the entire machinery of the "maximum and minimum" rate clause put in operation, so that the entire import trade of the country was brought to the basis of the minimum rates.

The tariff board, it may be remembered, was created for the primary purpose of assisting to adjust the "maximum and minimum" rates, but the President, who had from the first been alive to the advantages of an expert tariff commission for wide researches on which to base future tariff legislation, asked and obtained from Congress an appropriation of \$250,000 to continue the board for another year. The scope of its field was not officially enlarged, but there seemed to be an understanding that a general quest for information should be carried on which should further the "ad-

ministration of the tariff law." The next year another appropriation, nearly as large, was voted, and Congress instructed the new board, now increased to five members,* to report on the wool schedule by December 1, 1911. The policy of a permanent tariff commission seemed thus to be practically established, and has raised hopes in the public mind that tariff revision may yet be based upon a non-partisan, business-like, scientific investigation rather than being the plaything of selfish interests.

The tariff agitation throughout the Taft Administration was a leading occasion, though not the only one, of the remarkable, almost spontaneous, development of "progressivism," which early manifested itself in a spirit of revolt against the rules under which the House of Representatives conducted its business. There had long been a Committee on Rules, consisting of four members appointed by the Speaker who was, *ex officio*, the fifth member of the committee and its chairman. This committee had entire charge of legislative procedure and was well-nigh able to dictate the bills which should, or should not, come before the House for action. But one day in the early spring of 1910, twenty Republican Insurgents joined with the Democrats in changing the rules, with

the startling result that the Committee on Rules found itself a body of ten men, *not* including the Speaker, whose selection was delegated to the House itself.* Mr. Cannon at once offered to resign the Speakership but was not allowed to do so; it was considered sufficient that the protest against Cannonism, the system, not Cannon, the man, should be registered.

Progressivism in the Senate, with which the forces of Insurgency soon united, found its special occasion for revolt in the tariff question. It was not so much the tariff itself — whether the schedules had been pushed upward or downward — as the methods by which it had been constructed, the Progressives believing that the Republican party was dominated by private interests. The Democrats, of course, were not slow to take advantage of this and other disaffection, and added their weight to the unmistakable swing of the pendulum, with such effect that the previous Republican majority of 40 in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority of 70 for the Sixty-second Congress. Legislatures were also chosen that would send 8

* The President appointed, as the two new members, Thomas W. Page, professor of economics at the University of Virginia, and William M. Howard, former Congressman from Georgia, both Democrats.

* The Republicans selected as their quota on the new Committee on Rules: Walter I. Smith, of Iowa, John Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, George P. Lawrence, of Massachusetts, J. Sloat Fassett, of New York, Sylvester C. Smith, of California, and Henry S. Boutell, of Illinois. The Democrats assigned as their choice: Champ Clark, of Missouri, Oscar Underwood, of Alabama, Lincoln Dixon, of Indiana, and John J. Fitzgerald, of New York. The committee itself elected John Dalzell as chairman.

Democratic Senators to take the places of as many Republicans, and 15 Democratic governors were elected, 7 of them to succeed governors of the opposing party.

The elections of 1910, nevertheless, widened the cleavage not so much between the two great parties as between the reactionary and progressive elements in the Republican party. In the Democratic party a similar but far less apparent division of opinion existed, which was destined to have its influence in shaping a course on the tariff in channels quite divergent from the party's traditional attitude. The views of President Taft toward the new movement were also somewhat modified, at least to the extent of publicly announcing a restoration of the patronage perquisites which he had formerly felt compelled to withdraw from those who gave indications of deserting the "Old Guard."

The Progressives continued to gain strength throughout the year following the Congressional elections, winning many adherents, especially in the Middle and Far West; while there were not wanting signs that, more slowly to be sure, but none the less irresistibly, the revolt against former procedures in framing public policies and against the control which special privilege and interests were claimed to be exercising over legislation, was extending to the more conservative East. Concrete evidence of this numerical gain, as well as of the ever widening scope of the new movement

of protest, was furnished early in the year by the formation of a National Progressive Republican League for "the promotion of popular government and progressive legislation" through five specific reforms. These were: Popular election of United States Senators; direct primaries for all elective offices; Presidential primaries for choosing delegates to National conventions; amendments to State constitutions providing for the initiative, referendum and recall; and an effective corrupt practices act. Nearly all the "Progressive" Senators, now far outnumbering the original seven, and many well known leaders in the Republican party, were included in the membership. They were loyal party men who, nevertheless, demanding that party pledges should be fulfilled, regarded a failure to do so sufficient reason for protest; while, as for the advanced ground which they took on new policies, their hope at this stage was to bring the party into alignment. This turning point was President Taft's second great opportunity. How he met it in his third year remains to be seen.

The general criticism of the Payne-Aldrich bill was now being directed against specific schedules, even the President admitting that some features of the wool schedule were "indefensible"; and, as an extra session of Congress had been called to deal with Canadian reciprocity, the Democrats seized the opportunity to strike at the root of reciprocity, the tariff.

They first attacked the wool problem and succeeded by midsummer, with the help of the Progressives, in compiling a bill that reduced the former average duty on wools from 44 per cent. to 29 per cent. This and the free list bill, which took the duty off many articles used by farmers, especially agricultural implements, were vetoed by the President on August 11, 1911, on the ground that both measures were loosely drawn, and that neither himself nor Congress had as yet adequate information as a guide to the real merits of any tariff measure. The only trustworthy data, he asserted, regarding the "difference in cost of production at home and abroad" and other necessary items, were being prepared by the tariff board, and he requested Congress to await with patience the report ordered to be made in December. Then, to prevent log-rolling, revision was to be taken up systematically, scientifically, schedule by schedule.

Whatever else may be said about these vetoes and their effect, the large fact seems to be that Mr. Taft had shut his eyes to the verdict of the country the previous year, which demanded, if it demanded anything, a general downward revision of tariff rates by a Democratic Congress, and could not see that the present mood of the public was one of quick impatience with a slow, "scientific" treatment of the subject by an academic board under Republican direction. Theoretically this was an ideal pro-

cedure, and, in the lapse of years, might prove to be the only just and equitable basis for tariff building; but what the people demanded just at that moment was relief from burdens that added to the "higher cost of living." This phrase touched a very sore and painful spot not only in social and individual life but in the issues of the day.

On the same day that the two vetoes were written, another bill was completed and sent to the President, who promptly vetoed it on the same grounds as the previous bills, adding that experts had discovered ludicrous discrepancies which made the bill, as he afterward declared, "impossible." This was the "cotton schedule" bill, which proposed much lower rates in cotton duties and included amendments reducing the iron and steel schedule, the chemical schedule, and the duties on all machinery used in cotton manufacture. This bill may have justified, more than the others had done, President Taft's insistence on a tariff board; but no one had claimed for any of these bills perfection or finality. All they were designed for was to meet a persistent public demand, although it cannot be denied that there was in them also an element of political play.

In December of 1911 the tariff board had made its report on the wool schedule, which was exhaustive and voluminous, going even into the details of sheep-raising and the manufacture of wools of all variety. The President

claimed that the report proved conclusively that the previous revision had been founded on insufficient data and, in particular, had not made accurate discriminations between grades of wool—the “washed” and “unwashed,” for instance; and he strongly recommended a new revision of this schedule as also of cotton, on which the board made a report early in 1912. The Democrats, assisted by many “Progressives,” accordingly essayed revision on wool, cotton, chemicals, iron and steel, sending a wool bill and an iron and steel bill to the President who promptly vetoed them on the ground that their low rates would bring disaster to, or at least insufficiently protect, home industries. The House passed both these tariff-revision bills over the President’s veto, but the Senate refused to do so.

Other important events of the year were on the plane of statesmanship rather than of politics—the reciprocity negotiations with Canada and an effort to arrange arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. Both failed of direct results, but were moves in the right direction, and it is not improbable that the way has been paved for more successful attempts later.

Since the termination of the Canadian treaty in 1866,* several overtures looking to new tariff arrangements have come to us from Canada, but accomplished nothing, and the later effort to establish closer relations

may be said to have received its first impulse from the visit of Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, to Ottawa. The next step was taken at the “Albany Conference” of March 30, 1910, when President Taft, Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada, and the Canadian Minister of Finance, Mr. W. S. Fielding, entered into a “gentleman’s agreement” to open negotiations for the drafting of a reciprocity treaty. Duplicate drafts were sent to the Senate and Parliament in January of 1911. The failure of the Senate to pass the bill at the regular session was made an occasion by the President to call Congress in special session on April 4 of that year. The measure was pushed to a conclusion and was signed by the President in August, and the country waited with much interest and curiosity for the action of the Canadian Parliament.

Bitter as was the opposition in the United States, that aroused on the other side of the border was still more intense. In the United States the objections, though inherently political, were nominally economic, the claim being the betrayal of the principles of protection and the injury done the farmers by having to meet the competition of fertile farms worked by relatively cheaper labor, and, in New England and the States of the Northwest bordering on Canada, the chief opposition was against the free admission of Canadian wheat and grain. The admission of paper and wood pulp, which was not dependent upon

* For the history of this and other reciprocity treaties see that title in index.

the acceptance of the reciprocity agreement by Canada, aroused much antagonism in Congress, and for this and other reasons the measure did not receive the support of the Progressives.

In Canada the opposition to the measure, though in part economic, was imperialistic, for it was made to appear that the United States was seeking to weaken Canada's bonds to Great Britain with a view to future annexation, or at least such intimate union with her powerful neighbor as would detract from her economic loyalty to England. The result of this feeling was seen in an overwhelming vote on September 21 that elected a new Parliament opposed to reciprocity. But the bill passed by Congress and signed by President Taft is still in force, and there are not wanting signs of a gradual change of sentiment north of the border that may yet reverse previous action.

The bill provided for the free interchange of the natural products of both countries, especially of food, and the reduction of rates upon the manufactures of such products. Such food products were: wheat and other grains, fresh fruits and vegetables, dairy products, fish, eggs, poultry, cattle, sheep, and other live animals. Agricultural implements imported from the United States met lower Canadian duties, and specified products that are now free in one country were to find admission to the other, as, for instance, cotton-seed oil going into

Canada and rough lumber coming into the United States.

"Twice within the last twelve months the President of the United States has sketched out a step in advance more momentous than any one thing that any statesman in his position has ventured to say before." These are the words of Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, regarding an act of the highest statesmanship, for which the administration of President Taft will undoubtedly be most celebrated in history. It was the successful termination of long negotiations for the arrangement of "peace treaties" with Great Britain and France. These provided for arbitration through the usual channels of all "justiciable" disputes that might arise between the United States and either of the other countries, and arranged that, in case of doubt as to whether any particular grievance was or was not justiciable, a joint high commission should be named to pass upon the question. The treaties were signed on August 3, 1911, on the part of the United States by Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State, and on behalf of England and France by their respective ambassadors, James Bryce and Jean Jules Jusserand. The promulgation of these treaties aroused great public interest in the three countries concerned.

When signed, the treaties were sent to the Senate, whose members, always sensitively jealous of anything that

looked like infringement upon senatorial dignity and "rights," began to take exceptions. The treaties were in two divisions, the first containing the ordinary provisions for bringing before the Hague Tribunal all justiciable questions arising between the respective countries, even "those of vital interest and national honor." It was this point that occasioned a parting of the ways for many public men, including Mr. Roosevelt. The second part of the treaties contained detailed provisions for a joint high commission to decide, when disputes arose, whether any specific action was justiciable and so subject to arbitration. Although the Senate was safeguarded by its "consent" to the appointment of the United States portion of the commissioners, as well as to every subsequent action of the tribunal, the fear that the joint high commission might prove to be a usurpation of senatorial treaty-making privileges aroused jealous antagonism. The following amendment was therefore made and incorporated in the treaty, on March 5, 1912, to the effect that this country

"Would not authorize submission to arbitration of aliens into the United States, or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States or the United States, or concerning the question of the alleged indebtedness or moneyed obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions commonly described as the Monroe doctrine or other purely governmental policy."

Another matter arose in our foreign relations that was of more than ordinary importance. It concerned Russia, which has long discriminated not only against certain classes of her own population but against members of these classes bringing passports from other countries. So many Jews from the United States designing to travel in Russia have been denied the right, that the matter finally reached the diplomatic stage in 1911, and although, early in that year, announcement was sent out from St. Petersburg that more liberal treatment would hereafter be accorded to Jewish travelers, formal protest was made to Russia that her autocratic claims and discriminations were contrary to the terms of the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1832. This treaty stipulated that the inhabitants of both the United States and Russia should mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of the territory of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. On the announced contention of Russia that her hesitation to admit American Jews was due to the fact that she would not extend to Jews of other countries rights and privileges which she denied to Jews of her own country, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives and promptly passed, calling for a revision of the treaty of 1832. But the wording of the bill was so radical as to receive a formal intimation that it was offensive to Russia; whereupon President Taft diplo-

matically sent a message to the Senate on December 18, 1911, notifying that body that, owing to Russia's construction of the treaty, the instrument was regarded by this Government as without effect, thus, by executive action, giving the stipulated one year's notice of its final abrogation. The Senate on the following day ratified his action without a dissenting vote, and the next day the House adopted the Senate's resolution.

These are the great overtopping measures and policies — tariff revision, prosecution of the trusts, the Mann-Elkins bill, Canadian reciprocity overtures, and negotiations of the peace treaties — that will be associated with the Administration of President Taft. These formed the backbone of achievement or well-intentioned attempts toward accomplishment to which he pointed as a "record" during his campaign for reelection. Yet there were many others of less importance, not so conspicuously in the public eye — homely "everyday" measures, like the bills for parcels post and postal savings banks, that may, after all, be found to be of large, practical utility, to which any administration might "point with pride." The public lands act was also beneficent, by which the President was authorized "at any time at his discretion to temporarily withdraw any of the public lands of the United States, and reserve the same for water power sites, irrigation and other public purposes. The with-

drawal remains effective until revoked by the President or Congress, but the lands withdrawn are open to exploration and to the purchase of minerals other than coal, oil, gas and phosphates." The Administration will be favorably remembered, too, for its sincere efforts to economize in administrative lines, and much real progress was made in greater efficiency and economy in the work of the departments, many millions of dollars being saved thereby. Among other achievements, the post-office deficit was, for a year, transformed into a surplus. The cause of civil service was advanced by an executive order placing the fourth-class postmasters under the classified service. Perhaps more open to question, though of undoubted patriotic purpose, was the increase of 20 per cent. in pensions over the previous budget of \$160,000,000. As commendable measures of administrative policy were the establishment of a Bureau of Mines under the oversight of the Interior Department; the creation, in the Department of Commerce and Labor, of a Children's Bureau whose province was defined to be "investigating and reporting upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life — infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accident and disease, employment and legislation affecting children;" and a much desired concentration of responsibility in a single

judicial body, the Customs Court, designed to obviate previous confusion in interpreting various provisions of the tariff law on appeal in contested cases.

This Administration will be noted also for the number, extent and thoroughness of Congressional investigations. Not only was the Interior Department under fire in the Ballinger controversy but every other executive department and the civil service as well—the case of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, head of the Chemical Bureau of the Agricultural Department, exciting the greatest public interest and resulting in his complete exoneration of all charges brought against him. It is well to note in passing that the Agricultural Department made a searching investigation of its own into the “high cost of living.” There were also investigations of the Steel Trust, the operations of the Sugar Trust, the alleged “Money Trust” and the methods of the Attorney-General in the enforcement of anti-trust laws; of express companies, the American Woolen Company and questions pertaining to employers’ liability and workingmen’s compensation; of the *Titanic* disaster, which resulted in efficient legislation safe-guarding ocean travel; of charges of bribery in connection with the election of William Lorimer, of Illinois, to the Senate, and of Judge Robert W. Archbald of the Commerce Court, for alleged illegal transactions—the former resulting in the defendant’s resignation,

and the latter in impeachment by the House. The important report of the Monetary Commission in the early part of 1912, while not strictly the result of an “investigation,” was made only after the most careful and thorough research, both in this country and abroad, under the conduct of the National Monetary Commission, of which Senator Nelson W. Aldrich was chairman. This report, in brief, recommended the establishment of a National Reserve Association, a union for holding a part of the cash reserves of National banks, for issuing circulating notes under government regulation, and for acting as fiscal agent of the United States Treasury to support the credit of the banks and Nation.

No other President since Washington has made so many appointments to the Supreme Court, and President Taft’s judicial temperament and training stood the Nation in good stead in selecting or promoting the following judges: In 1909, Horace H. Lurton, of Tennessee; in 1910, Charles E. Hughes, of New York, Willis Van Devanter, of Wyoming, Joseph R. Lamar, of Georgia, and Edward D. White, of Louisiana—the latter being an elevation to the chief-justice-ship; in 1912, Mahlen Pitney, of New Jersey. The President made only two Cabinet changes—the exchange of Richard A. Ballinger for Walter L. Fisher in the Interior Department, and Jacob M. Dickinson for Henry L. Stimson in the War Department.



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EDWARD D. WHITE.

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

TO A. H. B. P.
PUBLISHED BY
ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

There were three other events which will loom large in the history of President Taft's Administration. One was the decennial census that carried the population of the United States, including its dependencies, over the hundred million mark — 101,100,000 — the continental population, not including dependencies, being 91,972,266. This furnished a basis for a new appointment of 42 additional members of the House of Representatives, carrying the total to 433. Another was the passage of a bill submitting to the States the question of an amendment to the Federal Constitution in favor of the direct election of United States Senators — the culmination of years of discussion and hitherto fruitless effort. The admission of New Mexico (January 6, 1912) and Arizona (February 14, 1912) made intact the continental sisterhood of States and added two new stars to the flag — 48 in all.

The Panama Canal was practically completed by the close of the Administration, and plans were well under way for its formal opening in 1915. The total cost up to this time was approximately \$375,000,000 — “every dollar of which” President Taft proclaimed with pride, “has been honestly expended.” Preliminary expenditures for the fortification of the canal, to the extent of \$3,000,000, were appropriated in 1911.

In May of 1912 the House passed a bill admitting to free use of the canal all American-owned ships, de-

barring vessels owned directly or indirectly by railroads, and fixing a toll of \$1.20 per net registered ton on foreign merchant ships, and 50c per ton on foreign battleships, the former being based on tonnage and the latter on displacement. The toll for merchant vessels is the same as the reduced Suez Canal rates will be in 1913; but on the Panama Canal no *per capita* passenger tolls will be additionally assessed. Our battleship rates are, however, somewhat higher than those on the Suez Canal. It is estimated that the rates agreed upon will produce enough revenue by 1925 to pay the cost of operation and maintenance, the government and sanitation of the Canal Zone, interest on the capital invested in the canal, and the annual payment of \$250,000 to the Republic of Panama; and to place \$3,750,000 in a sinking fund toward the ultimate amortization of the investment in the project. Not only did the clause relating to railroad-owned ships hamper the coastwise trade of Canada, but the toll on foreign ships was held by Great Britain to be a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902, which declared specifically that the Panama Canal should be open to vessels of all nations “on terms of entire equality” and that there should be “no discrimination in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise.” President Taft asserted that the United States had full right to regulate traffic in the manner provided by the pending bill, but never-

theless sent a message to Congress asking the House and Senate to pass resolutions declaring that the United States had no intention of violating the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

The foreign relations of the United States during the years 1909-1912 were peaceful, and, in the main, cordial, and while there were no occasions for large achievements, the diplomacy of the State Department under Secretary Knox proved itself, in such opportunities for exercise as presented themselves, to be of a high order. The delicate and often trying questions that came up in connection with the Mexican insurrection and the mobilization of United States troops upon her frontier, were handled with conspicuous skill, as was the final settlement of the long pending disputes with Venezuela. The arbitration treaties with several countries, the new treaty with Japan, and especially the securing of a joint treaty between the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan forbidding pelagic sealing in the North Pacific for fifteen years, were noteworthy. Perhaps no other action of the State Department met with more criticism than the so-called "dollar diplomacy" (while the United States policy in Nicaragua is a phase of "dollar diplomacy," it, in reality, means much more, viz.: the giving of Government aid to American capital seeking investments in foreign lands and American producers seeking markets abroad for goods) which led to a

treaty with Nicaragua, and the negotiation of another with Honduras, on the successful plan of the San Domingo act of the previous Administration. The policy of these treaties for the United States is to liquidate the foreign obligations of the above-named South American republics with liens on customs receipts as security, turning over 55 per cent. to the foreign bondholders and 45 per cent. to the government of each republic concerned. The chief objection to this policy, as voiced by Senator Bacon of Georgia, is that "it practically compels the United States to take over these Latin countries one after another." The broad general answer of diplomacy and humanity is that, in the case of these small republics which are constantly involved in the naturally insistent attempts of creditor nations to collect their debts, the only desire of the United States is to "substitute economic prosperity for predatory strife"—which appears to be a broad, statesmanlike view.

Perhaps the greatest non-political event that will be forever associated with the Administration of President Taft was the announcement of Lieutenant Robert E. Peary, U. S. N., on September 6, 1909, that, on April 6 of the same year he had discovered the North Pole.* It was the

* Five days before Lieutenant Peary's announcement, Dr. Frederick A. Cook, another Arctic explorer, surprised the world by declaring that he had discovered the North Pole on April 21, 1908. His claims, however, have not stood the test of a rigid examination by scientists, while

culmination of a quest of centuries, beginning with attempts to find a short water route from Europe to the Indies. Previous to the Nineteenth century, Americans had done little or nothing in the Arctic regions; but, with the search for Sir John Franklin in 1850, American explorations in the North were unremitting and brilliant. Dr. E. K. Kane, chief surgeon of the Franklin rescue party, organized an expedition of his own in 1853, reaching north latitude $80^{\circ}35'$. He was followed in 1860 by Dr. I. I. Hayes; Charles F. Hall's three expeditions from 1860 to 1871; the *Jeanette* expedition in 1879, fitted out by the *New York Herald* and under the command of G. W. DeLong, who perished after the *Jeanette* was crushed in the ice; and the Greeley expedition of 1881, which, in spite of poor equipment, reached north latitude $83^{\circ}24'$, but endured terrible suffering, the few survivors being rescued by Captain W. S. Schley in 1884. Then began Lieutenant Peary's great attempts, to which he gave the best years of his life. His first expedition was made in 1886, and was little more than tentative. His next voyage was in 1891, when he crossed Greenland, and three other expeditions followed in 1894-96. The remaining voyages were undertaken under the auspices of the Peary Arctic Club, organized in 1898, and

were thoroughly equipped with all the scientific and practical appliances that a cumulative experience deemed available. In 1898-1902 Peary reached north latitude $84^{\circ}17'$; in 1905, sailing in a new vessel, the *Roosevelt*, built expressly for the service, he set a new mark of $87^{\circ}6'$; and in 1908 he left the United States on his last and final expedition. Wintering near Cape Sheridan, he started north on March 1, 1909, with a party of 7 whites, 17 Eskimos, 133 dogs and 19 sledges. After sending back his last supporting party from $87^{\circ}48'$, he pushed on for the last stage with his colored man Henson and four Eskimos. On April 6, 1909, the goal struggled for during three long centuries was reached, and the American flag was unfurled at the top of the world.

Other notable happenings were the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific exposition at Seattle in 1909 and the Hudson-Fulton celebration at New York in 1909—the latter in double commemoration of Hudson's discovery of the river that bears his name and Fulton's trip on the first steamship, the *Clermont*. The Administration's third year, 1912, was crowded with events. The *Titanic* was lost on her maiden voyage, on April 15, with 1,595 persons, many of international reputation; only 745 persons were saved. Floods in the Mississippi Valley covered a total area of 250 square miles, made 30,000 people homeless, and entailed an estimated loss of \$10,000,000. The remains of the martyred battle-

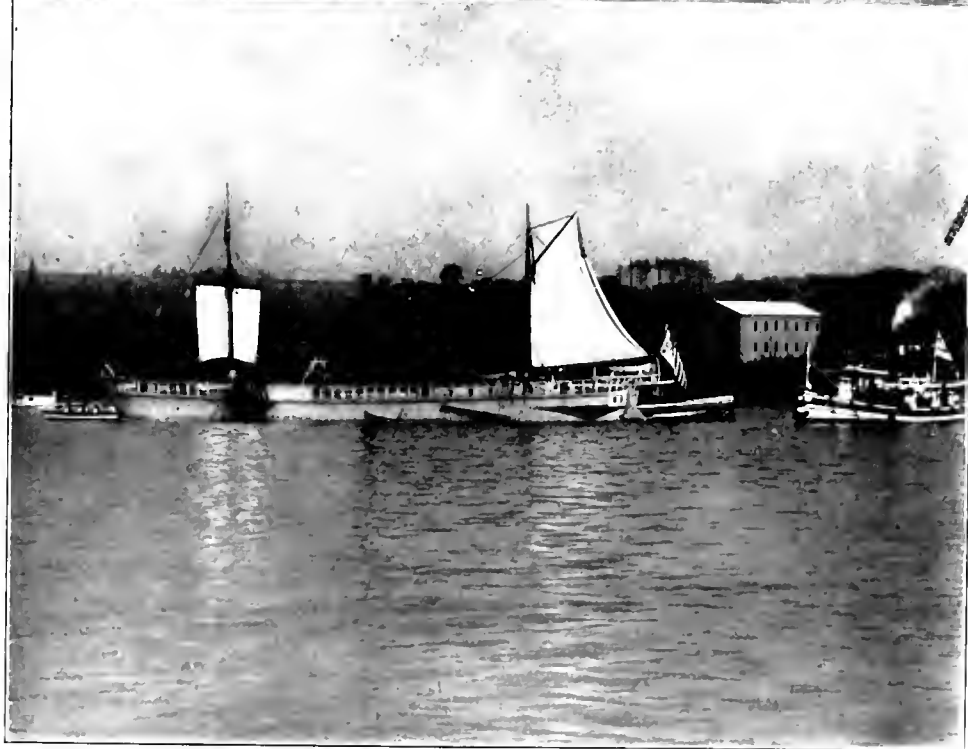
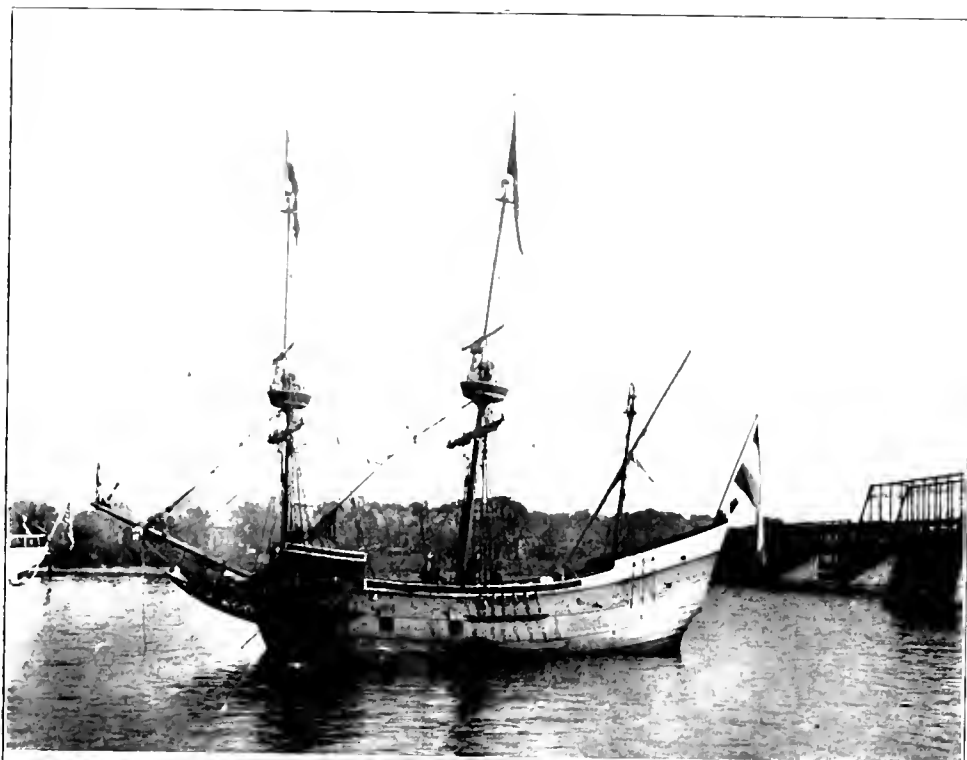
those of Lieutenant Peary, backed by ample proofs, have been fully substantiated, and the world has "officially" accepted him as the actual discoverer of the North Pole.

ship *Maine*, having been raised from the mud of Havana harbor where they had lain for fourteen years, were towed out to sea and buried with all the naval honors of war, while twenty-one bodies of her sailors were interred with highest honors at Arlington. The Olympic games at Stockholm in July were won by the American contestants, who gained 128 points; Sweden was second with 104 points; and Great Britain came in third with 66 points.

It was natural that President Taft, realizing that many of his most important policies were in an incomplete state, should desire a reelection. He laid his plans to this end with long foresight, and, early in 1912, had succeeded in having most of the Southern States call their conventions for the purpose of choosing delegates to the National convention. As time went on, a few other delegates favoring the President's reelection were selected by the new system of Presidential primaries in vogue in many States—a plan designed to give voters of every party an opportunity to send to the National convention delegates who should support for nomination the man designated by the majority of the respective party voters in the State. But the "preference primary" system did not always work out to the President's liking, and it is necessary to go back a little to find the reason.

As soon as ex-President Roosevelt landed in this country on June 18,

1910, after his African and European travels, although he disavowed all intention of reëntering politics, the public shrewdly forecast his homecoming as a "return from Elba." Curiosity and interest had not long to wait, for in October he made a tour of the country advocating the "New Nationalism," by which he meant increased concentration of power in the Federal Government and the hand of the Executive; and in the elections of that year, especially in New York State, he took an active part. During the succeeding year and the first part of 1912 he formulated many doctrines, more or less radical, under New Nationalism in his "Osawatimie speech," the culmination of his progressivism appearing in the "Columbus speech" before the Ohio Constitutional Convention in February of 1912, where he openly advocated the "recall of judges" and other startling innovations. It was evident from the first that he intended to take advantage of the Progressive movement in the Republican party to become its sponsor and leader. He had long ago broken with the President as too conservative and "reactionary," charging him with having proved false to "Roosevelt policies"; and when, about the time of the Columbus speech, the governors of seven States addressed him in a joint letter asking if he would allow his name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency, he expressed his entire willingness to do so. Then came



1. THE HALF MOON.

2. THE CLERMONT.



the Presidential primaries, and for many weeks both President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt toured the States in which such primaries were held, making pleas for instructed delegates to the National convention. The ex-President had decidedly the best of these pre-convention contests and secured many delegates, while the President added to his strength by many adherents elected in the regular State conventions.

The Republican convention was opened at Chicago on June 18, 1912. The machinery was entirely in the hands of the Administration. Nearly all contested cases were decided in favor of the Taft delegates, and, when the balloting began, 344 of the Roosevelt faction declined to vote. President Taft and Vice-President Sherman were then renominated without further opposition — by “steam-roller” methods, the Progressive element asserted, by “theft” Mr. Roosevelt charged. The disaffected faction withdrew after the balloting, and, meeting in Orchestra Hall, proclaimed Theodore Roosevelt as their choice for President of the United States. In August the new Progressive party met in Chicago and formally nominated Theodore Roosevelt as its candidate for President and Governor Hiram Johnson, of California, for Vice-President.

On June 25 the Democrats held their National convention at Baltimore and, with the Progressive element finally in control, nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New

Jersey, for President, and Governor Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, for Vice-President, on the 46th ballot. The nominations of other parties were as follows: The Prohibition party, Eugene W. Chafin, President, and Aaron S. Watkins, Vice-President; the Socialist party, Eugene V. Debs, President, and Emil Seidel, Vice-President; the Socialist Labor party, Arthur E. Reimer, President, and August Gillhans, Vice-President.

President Taft made his campaign “on his record,” pointing to evidences of present prosperity as a reason for continuing the Republican party in power, and renewing the platform promises of 1908 for tariff revision. Mr. Roosevelt said less about the tariff — that is a subject which has never interested him — but gave “regulation of the trusts” a prominent place, as also “social justice” under which head he included a vast number of social, economic, political, financial and judicial reforms. He bitterly assailed President Taft and many other public men who would not follow him in leaving the Republicans and forming the Progressive party.

Governor Wilson conducted his campaign on entirely different lines, avoiding personalities and discussing the issues of the day in a thoughtful and forceful way. He advocated a reduction in the tariff that should so readjust the schedules as to meet actual business conditions, to the end that the tariff “shall cease to be the wellspring of oppression, monopoly, and covert taxation of the many for

the benefit of the few." Democratic Progressivism, he declared, stands for taking government out of the hands of "special privilege" and restoring it to the people.

The election was held on November 5, 1912, and resulted in the choice of Governor Wilson as President and an overwhelming Democratic majority of Representatives in the House.

CHAPTER XIX.

1865-1912.

INTERSTATE CONTROVERSIES.*

The debt controversy between Virginia and West Virginia — The Louisiana bond dispute — The dispute between South Dakota and North Carolina over interest on bonds — Cases of fugitives from justice — Controversies over quarantine regulations — The dispute between Illinois and Missouri over water pollution.

During all these years disputes between the States continued to be a source of great annoyance. The most notable of these disputes were those over boundaries, of which all save one arose over water boundaries. In 1870 Virginia lost a suit against West Virginia for the possession of three counties. The suits on water boundaries have brought out no new principles, the courts holding that boundaries change by erosion, but not by avulsion.* A suit of this kind has recently been begun by Arkansas against Tennessee.

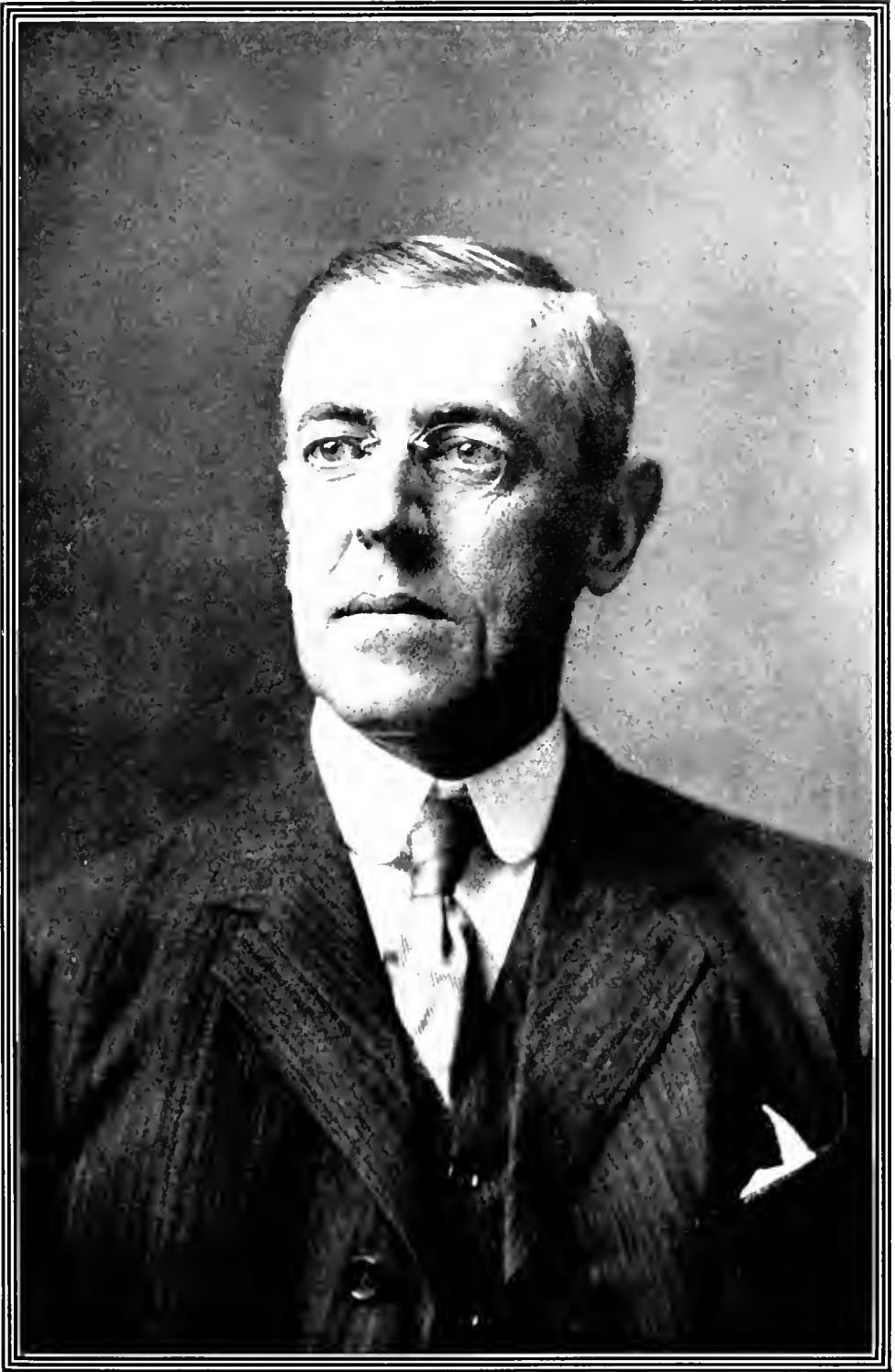
When West Virginia was formed into a State she agreed to assume some of the financial burdens of the parent State, but steadily refused to do so after the war, though Virginia repeatedly asked her to stand by her

agreement. The debt amounted to \$33,000,000 in 1861 and had increased considerably since then through accrued interest. In 1871 Virginia proceeded *ex parte* to determine her share and assumed two-thirds of the burden, leaving the rest for West Virginia. This still left a heavy burden on Virginia and gave rise to the readjuster movement in State politics. A new arrangement was made in 1892. After making repeated overtures to West Virginia and waiting 14 years, Virginia finally (in 1906) turned to the Supreme Court. West Virginia was ordered to appear and the Court held that she must assume a share of the debt and in 1908 appointed a special master to ascertain the facts necessary as a basis for an equitable distribution of the burden.†

* Ky. *vs.* Ind., 136 U. S., 479; Neb. *vs.* Iowa, 143 U. S., 359; Iowa *vs.* Ill., 147 U. S., 1; Mo. *vs.* Neb., 196 U. S., 23; Mo. *vs.* Kan., 312 U. S., 78; Wash. *vs.* Oregon, 211 U. S., 127; La. *vs.* Miss., 202 U. S., 1.

* Prepared for this History by David Y. Thomas, Professor of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas.

† 206 U. S., 290; 209 U. S., 535.



WOODROW WILSON.
Twenty-eighth President of the United States



The taxable values in 1861 were taken as the basis for apportionment and 23.5 per cent. of that debt was assigned to West Virginia.*

In 1879 the State of New Hampshire passed a law to allow citizens holding claims against any of the United States of America to assign them to the State. The Attorney-General was then to bring suit on such claims as he found to be valid and turn over the net proceeds to the original holder. The following year a similar law was enacted by New York. Some individuals then assigned certain Louisiana bonds on which they were unable to collect interest or principal, and the States began making suits. Speaking for the Court, Chief Justice Waite held that States could not prosecute such suits for their citizens when they had no interest in them.†

The next attempt of this kind came from South Dakota. In 1901 this State passed an act requiring the governor to accept bequests to the State and ordering proceedings for collection when necessary. Simon Schafer, of New York, at once gave the State ten North Carolina bonds for the benefit of the University or some of the asylums. He had held \$230,000 of these bonds for 30 years without being able to collect either interest or principal and had refused to compromise with the State. He seems to

have had an idea that a successful suit by a State would in some way enable him to collect on the rest. When South Dakota brought suit against North Carolina she tried to bring him into the suit, but the Court ruled him out. The Court held that the bonds were originally valid, that the transfer to South Dakota was genuine and in no way affected by the motive back of it, gave judgment for \$37,400 and ordered this sum to be paid by January of 1905, in default of which the marshal was to sell enough shares in the North Carolina Railroad, owned by the State, to satisfy the claim. Justices White, Fuller, McKenna and Day dissented.* This decision produced alarm in the other Southern States which had repudiated their bonds, but there have been no more such suits.

More or less ill feeling has been occasioned by governors refusing to deliver up fugitives from justice when demanded by the executives of the States from which they fled, but in no case has the trouble risen to the dignity of a controversy between the States as such. In numerous cases fugitives applied to the Federal courts in the hope of preventing extradition on requisition papers already honored by the executives. The most noted case of this kind was that of H. Clay Pierce, president of the Waters Pierce Oil Company, who was wanted in Texas, but in this and in all other

* *The Outlook*, March 25, 1911, p. 611.

† *N. H. vs. La.* and *N. Y. vs. La.*, 188 U. S.,

* *S. D. vs. N. C.*, 192 U. S. 286.

cases the court denied the relief demanded.* A near approach to an interstate controversy was made when the governor of West Virginia demanded the return of a man kidnapped in that State and taken to Kentucky for trial. On meeting with a refusal, he applied to the United States court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the prisoner was not discharged, on the ground that no law of the United States secured the right of asylum, hence the United States authorities could not interfere in a case of abduction.†

Several controversies or near controversies have arisen over questions of health and sanitation.

Quarantine regulations have been a fruitful source of public complaint, especially the quarantine against yellow fever in the South. These troubles finally led to a conference at Atlanta in 1897, which adopted certain regulations designed to make the quarantine interfere as little as possible with interstate commerce. To this agreement Texas was not a party. In 1899, when a few cases of yellow fever appeared in New Orleans, the health officials of Texas placed an interdiction on all commerce coming from that city. Louisiana then filed a bill of complaint and asked for an injunction against the Texas officials on the ground that the quarantine was being maintained,

not for the sake of health, but to favor Texan ports at the expense of New Orleans. Texas demurred and was sustained by the Court, which held that, to get a controversy between States, "something more must be shown than that the citizens of one state are injured by the maladministration of the laws of the other"; but the thing complained of here was only the malevolent action of a health officer.*

Shortly after this Missouri asked for an injunction against Illinois and the sanitary district of Chicago to prevent the latter from discharging its sewage into the Illinois River and thereby polluting the waters of the Mississippi, which would endanger the health of the people of Missouri. Illinois demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court, but the Court overruled this demurrer on the ground that, if the health of the people were endangered, the State was the authority to defend them, and Illinois was made a party because the sanitary district was its agent created by its statute and acting under its law. Six years later, when the case was finally decided (1906), the Court held that Missouri had not made out her case and the injunction was denied.†

Since then Georgia has secured an injunction against the Tennessee Copper Company, without making Tennessee a party to the suit, restraining it from spreading noxious fumes over the line into Georgia.‡

* See *Hughes vs. Pflanz*, 138 Fed. Rep., 980; *In re Strauss*, 126 Fed. Rep., 327; *Appleyard vs. Mass.*, 203 U. S., 222; *Pierce vs. Creecy*, 210 U. S., 389; *Marbles vs. Creecy*, 215 U. S., 63.

† *Mahon vs. Justice*, 127 U. S., 700.

° *La. vs. Texas*, 176 U. S., 1.

† *Mo. vs. Ill.*, 180 U. S., 208; 202 U. S., 496.

‡ *Ga. vs. Tenn. Copper Co.*, 206 U. S., 230.

SERIES NINETEEN

LECTURES SEVENTY-SEVEN AND SEVENTY-EIGHT

Modern Economic Progress and Problems, 1865-1915

- 77. Land System, Real and Personal Property Values; Wealth
- 78. The Production of Wealth: Industries, Agriculture, Commerce

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I.

1865-1912.

THE PUBLIC LAND SYSTEM.

The transformation wrought by westward immigration since Civil War — Ending of the public sales period in 1841 — The Homestead Law — The Timber Culture Act — Land entries to 1908 — Area of public domain in 1900 — Average acreage of farms — Tendency toward individual ownership of small holdings.

DURING the four and a half decades after the Civil War, the disposition of the public lands proceeded more rapidly and more systematically than ever before. An increasing population spread over the entire West and Alaska, and more land was taken up than in the preceding 80 years of the Republic. The laws which mostly affected the public domain subsequent to the ordinance of 1783 were enacted after 1860 and operated to transform what was once a vast desert territory into a land of cities and towns, flourishing farms, rich mining districts and seats of manufacturing industries. That is the one overwhelming fact in the land history of the country in this period.

In the first 60 years of the land policy of the United States the settlement motive gradually superseded the financial motive which at first controlled the disposition of the public domain. Various laws were passed

between 1800 and 1860, but most of these were of transitory character. All were based upon the idea of sales, by which the Government should draw money into the Treasury. The first plan of selling on credit was not successful, and the cash system adopted in 1821 resulted in wild land speculation and little actual settlement. The preemption act of 1841 marked the end of the public sales period. Thereafter the land was in theory open to actual settlers only, at a minimum of \$1.25 per acre, and under this system there was a steady and healthful progress in sales and settlements for 20 years.

The very considerable failure of these early laws to accomplish all that was desired in the making over of this new territory, provoked constant agitation in Congress for more than a quarter of a century prior to the Civil War. As early as 1852 the project of a homestead law was agitated and

shortly became a question of National politics. The Free Soil Democracy made that one of its leading political principles. For eight years legislation to this end was bandied about from one branch of Congress to the other, but not before 1860 was a homestead bill actually passed, and then only to be vetoed by President Buchanan.

In 1862 the Homestead Law was finally adopted. Under this law any actual settler could secure a section of 160 acres for nothing, provided only he should live upon and cultivate the land. This principle of dividing and distributing the land free of cost in order to promote general settlement has been adhered to as a definite governmental policy ever since. Its success in populating and developing a domain of princely proportions and in contributing to enrich and strengthen the Nation, despite failures and abuses that have been connected with it, has far exceeded the most extravagant prophecies made concerning its probable effects.

From 1863 to 1891 the Timber Culture Act was in effect. This measure provided specifically for the planting and cultivating of timber as a method of acquiring individual ownership of land sections. In 1873 a Desert Land Act was passed by Congress. This had liberal provisions intended to encourage the taking up of large tracks of undesirable land requiring irrigation to make them productive. Neither the Timber Culture Act nor the Desert

Land Act accomplished the ends for which they were designed, being among the many causes of the land frauds so conspicuous in this period.

Laws existing in the opening decade of the Twentieth century for the sale and disposition of the public domains permitted entries and locations by individuals, associations and corporations. Several classes of land were recognized, as follows: mineral, timber and stone, saline, town-site, desert, coal, and agricultural. In this period contention became rife over the mineral, coal and timber lands, and their preservation in the interests of the general public was a problem that loomed large in the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, who would keep them from the hands of promoters and corporations.

Land entries in acres to the close of the fiscal year June 30, 1908, were: homestead, 11,424,828; timber and stone, 11,832,131; desert, 4,869,368; coal, 474,834. The acreage set apart from National forests was 167,974,886. The unappropriated acreage was 754,895,296, and there were 655,040,084 acres of unsurveyed lands. In the two decades 1890-1910 the public lands continued to be taken up rapidly. In 1890 there remained unappropriated and unsurveyed 955,746,461 acres, which in 1910 had been reduced to 711,986,409. This area was largely in Alaska, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, California, Colorado, Oregon, Utah and Wyoming. More than one-half of it, 368,014,735

acres, was in Alaska. It is interesting to note that some of it still remains in a few of the older States — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Ohio, Michigan, Mississippi and Louisiana. Land offices are established in 28 States and Territories.

The total area of the public domain in 1900, grouped in five divisions and expressed in square miles, was: North Atlantic, 162,103; South Atlantic, 268,620; North Central, 753,550; South Central, 610,215; Western, 1,125,742. In the same year the farm acreage, improved and unimproved, in these five sections was, respectively, 65,409,089, 104,297,501, 317,349,474, 257,738,845 and 93,796,860; total, 838,591,774. In preceding decades the farm acreage, improved and unimproved, was: 1850, 293,560,614; 1860, 407,212,538; 1870, 407,735,041; 1880, 536,081,835; 1890, 623,218,619. During this half-century (1850–1900) the improved acreage showed a large and steady increase, from 113,032,614 acres in 1850 to 414,793,191 acres in 1900. In the North Central section there was the greatest advance in improved farm acreage, due in large measure to the phenomenal agricultural development of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and neighboring States.

From 1850 to 1900 there was an almost regular decrease, decade by decade, in the average size of farms. In 1900 the average acreage of farms in the different sections was: North Atlantic, 96; South Atlantic, 108; North Central, 144; South Central,

105; Western, 386. This record is especially interesting as an illustration of the gradual breaking up of large estates into small holdings. In the East this began early in the Eighteenth century, when the feudal properties and large land patents of thousands of acres were disintegrated and came into the hands of many small owners. In the South and the West, owing to the abundance of land in proportion to the population, the movement was later in starting, but it came inevitably with the increase in population. In the North Central and the Western regions the larger farm acre average remained in 1900 what it was in 1850.

The acreage of the Western farms was double and treble that of other sections, and yet it was much smaller than in the years immediately following the Civil War. In the latter period came the great grazing ranches, thousands of acres in extent, and the attempts of the cattle and sheep men to fence in tracts of land equal to small States. For at least two decades there was a steady warfare between the herdsmen on the one side and the Government, State and National, and the public on the other, in regard to this monopolizing of the public domain; the question of ownership by alien landlords entered considerably into the consideration of the subject. At the end of the first decade of the Twentieth century large ranches were still in existence. Many of them have since disappeared, however, and the

average size of farms in that section, according to the census of 1900, showed how the process of disintegration was going on.

During this period a similar movement was observable also in the South. After the war the plantation system was no longer supreme. In the social and industrial readjustment that came about in that section in this period, the plantations did not meet new requirements and were gradually broken up into small holdings. The impoverishment of many of the old land-holding families contributed to this condition, for they were no longer able to retain their vast estates. The wider freedom of occupation and the increase of the family unit in industry brought a demand for small farms. In Louisiana the big sugar plantations remained, but even in cotton and tobacco cultivation there was a considerable abandonment of the plantation system for the less extensive farms. The reduction of average farm size to about 100 acres shows the extent of this movement during this period. From 1860 to 1880 the decrease was regular and considerable, from 1880 to 1890 there was but a slight increase, and for the entire period 1860-1910 the record was one of decreasing average acreage.

Most farms in all parts of the country are operated by their owners. This was particularly true of the early years of the Western frontier

expansion. In the course of time, however, there was an increase in the number of rented farms. The percentage of rented farms and the rate of increase in this later period was greater in the South than in the West. The tendency throughout the entire country has always been toward individual ownership of small holdings, whether of farms or homestead plots. The events of the first years of the Twentieth century indicated no retrogression in this respect. The public sentiment and the industrial and political conditions that prevented the establishment of a feudal land system in New England, destroyed the manors of New York, overturned the proprietorships of Pennsylvania and Maryland, broke up the plantations of the South, and forced the division of the great grazing ranches of the West, were even more in evidence and stronger than at any previous time in the history of the country.*

* Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884); W. C. Ford, *Public Lands in the United States*, in J. J. Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States* (Chicago, 1884); S. Sato, *History of the Land Question of the United States*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. iv. (Baltimore, 1886); *Public Land Laws* (2 vols., Washington, 1838); B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest* (New York, 1888); annual reports and publications of the General Land Office; Census reports, 1870-1910; *Report of the Industrial Commission of the United States* (19 vols., Washington, 1900-1902); J. W. Powell, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* (Washington, 1879); *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, published annually by the Government.

CHAPTER II.

1865-1912.

REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY VALUES.

Renewed prosperity in the North after the Civil War — General depreciation of property in the South during Reconstruction — Property in the South in 1860 and 1870 — Property in the Territories in 1860 and 1870 — Remarkable growth in wealth within the next decade — Material conditions in the South after 1880 — Wealth in the United States in 1890 — Its general increase by the close of the century — Assessed valuation of property in the United States in 1909.

Despite the drawbacks incidental to the conflict, there was general prosperity in the North at the close of the Civil War. Real and personal property had increased in amount and value and most industries had developed to a remarkable degree. It is true that considerable of this prosperity was fictitious, but this was overlooked at first. War is always a source of gain as well as of loss. The North, profiting by the exceptional demands made upon its agriculture and industries to meet the needs of the Government during the conflict, and spurred on by the necessity of recouping itself for the enormous expenditures occasioned by the war, resumed the arts of peace with renewed energy. Much of this excessive activity proved, however, unhealthy in the end. The era of inflation which had already set in was destined to culminate in a serious financial panic, followed by years of financial and industrial depression. This was to come within a decade, but in 1865-1870 was not yet in sight.

Between 1860 and 1870 the true value — that is, the actual value as distinguished from the assessed value — of all the real estate and personal property in the 37 States and 10 Territories increased from \$16,159,616,068 to \$30,068,518,507. Although this increase was large (nearly 90 per cent.), it was a lower percentage increase than that of the preceding decade, when the figures rose from \$7,135,780,218 in 1850 to \$16,159,616,068 in 1860 — an increase of over 125 per cent. But the Northern States and the Territories in the decade 1860-1870 made the largest proportion of the increase for the entire country, the average being brought down by the extraordinary losses in the States of the South, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the war. A comparison of the figures of the ninth census of 1870 will indicate the extent to which the North had prospered at the cost of the South. The following table shows the true value of the real and personal property in 1860 and

1870 in the 24 States which were loyal to the Union cause:

	1860.	1870.
California	\$207,874,613	\$638,767,017
Connecticut	444,274,114	774,631,524
Delaware	46,242,181	97,180,833
Illinois	871,860,282	2,121,680,579
Indiana	528,835,371	1,268,180,543
Iowa	247,338,265	717,644,750
Kansas	31,327,895	188,892,014
Maine	190,211,600	348,155,671
Maryland	376,919,944	643,748,976
Massachusetts ..	815,237,433	2,132,148,741
Michigan	257,163,983	719,208,118
Minnesota	52,294,413	228,909,590
Nebraska	9,131,056	69,277,483
Nevada .....	.....	31,131,012
New Hampshire.	156,310,860	252,624,112
New Jersey	467,918,324	990,976,064
New York.....	1,843,338,517	6,500,841,264
Ohio	1,193,898,422	2,235,430,300
Oregon	28,930,637	51,588,932
Pennsylvania ...	1,416,501,818	3,808,340,112
Rhode Island...	135,337,588	296,349,533
Vermont	122,477,710	235,349,533
West Virginia..	.....	190,551,491
Wisconsin	273,671,668	702,307,329
Total	\$9,717,096,694	\$25,194,604,634

In the South an exceptional condition of things existed as a result of the war. In some sections property, except the bare land, had nearly all disappeared and in others what was left had depreciated in value. Even the land had become well-nigh worthless through devastation of military operations and the destruction of agriculture and other industries. Immediately after the war land prices were high, but by 1870 they had fallen in some States from one-fourth to one-sixth what they had been ten years before. In general, the land values throughout the South during this period averaged about 50 per cent. of

those of 1860, and the value of other property about 40 per cent. The condition has been concisely stated by a Southern historian:

"During the Reconstruction the value of real and other property declined in the black belt, the lands, buildings, cattle and implements, not being under proper care and the labor being inefficient; the emancipation of slaves had destroyed a form of property valued at about two billions of dollars; the coast districts producing rice and long staple cotton suffered the most rapid decline in wealth; the white counties during Reconstruction gained slowly in wealth, and in them developed a few cities like Atlanta, Birmingham and Galveston (some railway lines also being constructed); the census of 1870 showed that in the white districts economic conditions were becoming normal and by 1880 they were, on the whole, wealthier than in 1860." *

In the 13 Southern States the true value of real and personal property in 1860 and 1870 was:

	1860.	1870.
Alabama	\$495,237,078	\$201,855,841
Arkansas	219,256,476	156,394,691
Florida	73,101,500	44,163,695
Georgia	645,895,237	268,169,207
Kentucky	666,043,112	604,318,552
Louisiana	602,118,562	323,125,666
Mississippi	607,324,911	209,197,345
Missouri	501,214,398	1,284,922,987
North Carolina..	358,739,399	260,757,244
South Carolina..	548,138,754	208,146,989
Tennessee	493,903,892	498,237,724
Texas	365,200,614	159,052,542
Virginia	793,249,681	409,588,133
Total	\$6,369,423,614	\$4,627,930,506

In the 10 Territories the true value of real and personal property in 1870 was:

Arizona	\$3,440,791
Colorado	20,343,303
Dakota	5,599,752

* Walter L. Fleming, *The Effect of Reconstruction on Property Values in the South*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. vi., p. 390.

District of Columbia.....	\$126,873,618
Idaho	6,552,681
Montana	15,184,522
New Mexico	31,349,793
Utah	16,159,990
Washington	13,562,164
Wyoming	7,016,748
Total	\$245,983,367

The only Territories politically existing in 1860 and the true value of their real and personal estates were: District of Columbia, \$41,084,945; New Mexico, \$20,813,768; Utah, \$5,596,118; Washington, \$5,601,466; total, \$73,096,297.

The Northern States increased their real and personal estates from a value of nearly \$10,000,000,000 in 1860 to over \$25,000,000,000 in 1870 (over 150 per cent.). Every Northern State showed an increase. On the other hand, there was a decrease during the same period in every one of the 13 other States except Missouri, where there was an increase of nearly 140 per cent., and Tennessee, where there was a very slight increase (less than one-tenth of one per cent.). The total falling off in these States was from more than \$8,000,000,000 in 1860 to a little over \$4,000,000,000 in 1870 (about 50 per cent.). These figures of 1870 include the recovery after 1865 and therefore do not represent the gross loss of the South during this decade.

In the next decade, despite the business depression that began in 1873, there was another remarkable growth in the aggregate value of the various

forms of National wealth. The census figures of 1880 of property taxed were \$43,642,000,000. This was distributed as follows:

Real estate (with improvements) ..	\$22,078,000,000
Live stock, farming tools and machinery	2,406,000,000
Mines and quarries (including product on hand)	781,000,000
Specie	612,000,000
Railroads and equipment.....	5,536,000,000
Telegraphs, shipping and canals..	419,000,000
Average annual agricultural products, manufactures and imports on hand	6,160,000,000
Household goods and supplies....	5,000,000,000
Miscellaneous	650,000,000

In the South the population in 1910 was approximately 3,000,000 less than that of the entire United States in 1860, but its wealth in 1909 was \$6,000,000 greater than that of the United States in 1860. From 1880 to 1909 the increases in the South were:

Population	67 per cent.
Property value.....	182 "
Capital in manufacturing.....	720 "
Capital in cotton mills.....	1,239 "
Capital in oil mills.....	2,426 "
Resources of National banks.....	586 "
Capital of National banks.....	260 "
Deposits in National banks.....	824 "
Deposits in other banks.....	648 "

Between 1880 and 1909 the value of all property in all the Southern States increased from \$3,759,000,000 to \$21,211,179,600. Except in Texas, the wealth per capita was less than that in any other section of the country. In the South Atlantic States wealth increased more than one-third between 1860 and 1910.

The total wealth of the United

States, according to the census of 1890, was as follows:

Real estate (with improvements thereon)	\$39,544,544,333
Live stock on farms and ranges, and farm implements.....	2,703,015,040
Mines and quarries (including product on land).....	1,291,291,579
Gold and silver (coin and bullion)	1,158,774,948
Machinery of mills (including products on hand).....	3,058,593,441
Railroads and equipment (including street railroads).....	8,685,407,323
Telegraphs, telephones, shipping and canals	701,755,712
Miscellaneous	7,893,708,821
Total	\$65,037,091,197

It was then estimated that a little more than \$33,000,000,000 of this wealth was employed in productive industries, while the balance of a little more than \$31,000,000,000 was in the hands of those not engaged in productive industries. "The non-producers of the population control about 47 per cent. of the entire volume of wealth, exclusive of what shares they may have in the capital invested in productive industry. Or we might say that 47 per cent. of the total wealth is used exclusively for speculation and the exploiting of the industrial population." *

The agricultural property, including farms, stocks and implements, was valued at \$22,939,901,164, and of other industries at \$32,443,510,331, making the total of property employed in purely productive industries \$55,-

383,411,495. Government and other exempt real estate was valued at \$6,-212,788,930 and residential real estate at \$20,041,106,350.

According to the census of 1900, the wealth of the United States was as follows:

Real estate (with improvements) ..	\$52,537,628,164
Live stock	3,306,473,278
Farm implements and machinery.....	749,775,970
Manufacturing machinery, tools and implements	2,541,046,639
Gold and silver (coins and bullion)	1,677,379,825
Railroads and their equipment....	9,035,732,000
Street railways.....	1,576,197,160
Telegraph and telephone systems, shipping and canals, waterworks and electric light and power stations	1,919,031,191
Agricultural products	1,455,069,323
Manufactured products.....	6,087,151,108
Clothing and personal adornments ..	2,000,000,000
Furniture, carriages, etc.....	4,800,000,000
Miscellaneous	751,122,109
Total	\$88,517,306,775

The following table shows the number of farms in the United States, the total improved and unimproved acreage, and the total value of all farm property (including land, buildings, implements and machinery, and live stock) in 1870-1900.

Year	Number of Farms	Acres	Value
1870	2,659,985	407,735,041	\$11,124,958,747
1880	4,008,907	536,081,835	12,189,501,538
1890	4,564,641	623,218,619	16,082,267,689
1900	5,737,372	838,591,774	20,439,901,164

Between 1900 and 1911 the total value of farm property had more than doubled, but the total acreage had declined, showing an increase in value per acre. There was an enormous increase in value of all farm property

* J. A. Collins, *Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (Senate Doc. 75, 55th Congress, 2d session, January 19, 1898).

and a very considerable one in the wages paid for farm labor. The assessed value of property in the United States in 1909 was:

Alabama	\$484,350,190
Arizona	82,684,062
Arkansas	374,845,239
California	2,438,656,544
Colorado	400,671,647
Connecticut	922,071,592
Delaware	86,306,694
Florida	159,390,230
Georgia	723,654,331
Idaho	120,815,434
Illinois	2,158,648,450
Indiana	1,776,132,096
Iowa	487,221,300
Kansas	2,510,757,607
Kentucky	559,157,013
Louisiana	523,800,478
Maine	428,212,465
Maryland	820,831,339
Massachusetts	4,770,558,782
Michigan	1,734,100,000
Minnesota	1,108,605,752

Mississippi	\$393,297,173
Missouri	1,482,676,696
Nebraska	398,990,000
Nevada	79,610,202
New Hampshire	349,219,335
New Jersey	1,949,687,287
New Mexico	63,724,839
New York	9,822,251,554
North Carolina	493,889,202
North Dakota	278,400,230
Ohio	2,352,680,824
Oklahoma	868,126,700
Oregon	694,727,632
Pennsylvania	5,361,177,610
Rhode Island	511,630,520
South Carolina	271,106,302
South Dakota	321,070,665
Tennessee	444,186,729
Texas	2,306,648,129
Utah	172,526,155
Vermont	185,826,789
Virginia	577,750,407
Washington	790,419,826
West Virginia	1,072,508,128
Wisconsin	2,602,549,798
Wyoming	186,157,274*

CHAPTER III.

1865-1912.

WEALTH.

The growth of wealth since 1850 — Difficulty of exact comparisons — Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor — Our industrial advance — Railroad expansion — Growth in exports and imports — Multiplication of savings banks — Temporary setback to National prosperity — The problem of economic distribution — The concentration of wealth — Its National and State control.

The increase in the gross amount of wealth in the United States in the generation following the close of the Civil War and the average annual accumulations per capita furnish conclusive evidence of a wonderful National growth. Save for the break between 1860 and 1865, there was a steadily accelerated economic growth since 1850. Such fluctuations as did occur were generally slight; on the whole, the record was one of extraordinary advance. Since 1865 the

average annual per capita additions to our wealth were never less than \$30. Computed for various census esti-

* In addition to the authorities already cited, the following should be consulted: M. G. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics* (London, 1884) and *Industries and Wealth of Nations* (London, 1896); *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (63 vols., New York, 1839-1870); James Curtis Ballagh (ed.), *Economic History, 1865-1909*, vol. vi. of *The South in the Building of the Nation* (12 vols., Richmond, 1909); H. A. Hilary (ed.), *Why the Solid South? or Reconstruction and Its Results* (Baltimore, 1890); United States Census reports, 1870-1880-1890-1900-1910); E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United*

mates, they were: 1860 to 1870, \$22.56; 1870 to 1880, \$39.65; 1880 to 1890, \$34.69; 1890 to 1900, \$30.42; 1900 to 1904, \$57.42.

It is impossible to make exact comparisons of the wealth statistics as reported by the different census bureaus, because the various methods employed preclude any uniformity in results. To a certain extent this applies to nearly every census, but it is especially true of those of 1850, 1860, and 1870. In discussing this matter, Carroll D. Wright, the Commissioner of Labor in charge of this branch of the census work for 1890, said: "These admitted differences of method pursued in reaching the figures of true valuation for the several census periods, and the temporary character of the Census office, of themselves preclude any attempt of one census to revise the figures of a previous one; and the figures as published, if not so accurate as desired, can be accepted with safety as showing in a general way a continuous increase in the wealth of the nation, the exact proportions of which cannot be measured." *

The most reliable figures are undoubtedly given out by the United

States (New York, 1907); C. M. Depew (ed.), *One Hundred Years of American Commerce* (2 vols., New York, 1895); P. A. Bruce, *Rise of the New South* (Philadelphia, 1906); *The Manufacturers' Record* (Baltimore, 1890-1909); E. E. Sparkes, *The Expansion of the American People, Social and Territorial* (Chicago, 1900); William G. Moody, *Land and Labor in the United States* (New York, 1883); Francis A. Walker, *Discussions in Statistics and Economics* (2 vols., New York, 1899).

* *Report on Wealth, Debt and Taxation of the Eleventh Census, 1890*, pt. ii., p. 11.

States Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor. Some of these afford a good general view of the wealth of the people of the United States in various forms at different dates. In 1850 the total wealth was \$7,135,780,000; in 1880, \$42,642,000,000; in 1900, \$88,517,306,775; in 1904, \$107,104,211,917. In 1850 the wealth per capita was \$307.67; in 1880, \$850.20; in 1900, \$1,164.79; in 1910, \$1,319.11. The value of farm products was \$2,212,540,927 in 1880, \$3,764,177,706 in 1900, and \$8,760,000,000 in 1910. The value of manufactured products was \$1,019,106,616 in 1850, \$5,359,579,191 in 1880, \$13,014,287,498 in 1900, and \$14,802,147,087 in 1910.

The wealth of the country, measured by its productivity and accumulations, grew with such amazing rapidity in the quarter of a century preceding 1912 that the United States attained to a position where it was not only practically independent of the rest of the world in all the essential requirements of living, but was able even to help supply the needs of the other nations. Agricultural crops increased steadily in size and value, with only here and there an exception. The bulk of agriculture at the end of this period was larger than ever before. Coal production, which in 1899 exceeded that of Great Britain, increased actually and relatively in comparison with its closest rival during the following decade. In the same way the production of pig-iron and steel increased until the amounts surpassed the com-

bined output of Great Britain and Germany. In other industries the advance was equally marvelous—in many instances over 100 per cent. in ten years.

Railroad mileage increased until at the opening of the century it was 193,345 miles—40 per cent. of the world's total. In 1910 it had grown to 239,991 miles. The gross receipts of the operating roads in 1910 exceeded \$2,800,000,000. Our exports, which from 1891 to 1895 (both inclusive) increased 20 per cent., gained over 50 per cent. in the ensuing six years. In 1911 the total of domestic exports had risen to \$2,013,549,025. In addition, we exported \$87,259,611 of gold and silver. During the same period our imports increased but still lagged behind the exports in amount, as they had done almost every year since 1874. In 1911 they were in gross, free and dutiable, \$1,527,226,105—a decrease of almost 2 per cent. from the preceding year. Moreover, a large proportion of our imports in this period was of raw or partially manufactured materials, instead of wholly manufactured goods, as in previous years.

An analysis of these figures goes far toward demonstrating the self-sufficiency of the United States and their practical independence of the rest of the world. The domestic supply of raw materials was ample for present and future needs, even should the foreign supply be cut off. Fully 90 per cent. of the manufactures of the country were kept for home use. In

wheat and cotton a large surplus was annually sent to foreign markets, but most of the other cereals were consumed at home. Dairy products were almost entirely consumed for home needs. Domestic industry, the interstate or the inter-sectional exchange of products and money, far exceeded in amount and value that which fed the foreign market. The vast accumulation of wealth from all sources remained at home for the most part, greatly enriching the Nation. Much has been written about the millions spent abroad by traveling Americans and the millions taken away or sent away by a transitory foreign population, but these losses have had little economic effect upon the great total of National wealth.

The savings of the people constitute another factor in measuring the growing prosperity and the accumulating wealth of the country. Before the close of the Civil War savings banks existed principally in the Eastern and Middle States. In 1888 such banks existed in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan. The deposits in these banks constituted a considerable portion of the savings of the people of those States, although some had gone into life insurance, building and loan associations, real estate and industrial enterprises. In 1873-1874 the savings banks deposits in the entire United States were \$759,946,000, while in

1888 they had risen to about \$1,500,000,000 — an increase of nearly 100 per cent. and a proportionate addition to the tangible wealth of the country.

In 1890-1900, however, occurred the one serious break in this period's prosperity. In the preceding decade there was a great settlement movement to the West and Southwest which congested somewhat existing conditions. Land by the millions of acres was taken up and mortgages given for purchase price and working capital, resulting in an agricultural depression which spelt ruin to the farmers of Kansas, Nebraska and other States in that section. But the tide changed quickly and in the years following 1897, with good crops and higher prices, the farmers regained their losses. Mortgages were paid off and that part of the country again attained a condition of economic solvency. The incident is interesting and important from many points of view. It showed to what extent the prosperity of the country always depends upon its agriculture, notwithstanding its development in other directions, and demonstrated once more the wonderful wealth obtainable from that source. At the close of the first decade of the Twentieth century no section of the country was more prosperous than the Southwest.

At the beginning of the Twentieth century questions pertaining to the equitable distribution of wealth came into greater prominence than those re-

lating to its accumulation. A century had fully demonstrated the country's almost inexhaustible natural resources and the capacity, energy and enterprise of her people. There was no longer any uncertainty as to the wealth-producing power of the country or any reasonable doubt as to the permanency of its economic progress.

With the period of initiative, enterprise and energetic exploitation of opportunities nearly over and the fruit of this intense National activity fully ripened, it was natural that the economic questions of distribution rather than of production should have come to engage the minds of the people, especially of those who studied economic and sociological conditions. In regard to the general subject of wealth, this was one of the most striking manifestations of the period. The conclusions have been almost as various as the investigators and commentators have been numerous. Some facts, however, seem to stand out prominently. Vast wealth had become concentrated in the hands of comparatively few individuals, families and business combinations; and yet the great middle class has secured more of the common accumulation than is generally believed. Beyond this the subject has infinite ramifications. This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of a subject of such magnitude, even if space permitted. As a vital part of the history of the period, however, it is essential to record at least the agitation and discussion which

formed so large a part of the intellectual life of the period, affected legislation, and exercised profound influence on business.

In the opening years of the Twentieth century National thought was largely concerned with the subject of government control of wealth and its production. Periodical literature treated of this more than of any other single topic. National and State legislation favored a more comprehensive and more effective government control of business. It were not too much to say that in the two decades ending with 1910 more than one half the legislation of the country bore directly or indirectly upon this matter. The merest reference to some of the measures to this end will serve to indicate the importance this question assumed in our National life. The so-called "anti-trust" laws, State and National, were numbered by the score. Municipal control of ownership of public utilities was established in many commonwealths and municipalities. To the National Interstate Commerce Commission were given powers that made its members virtual dictators of the railroad business of the country. In 1910 Congress created a Commerce Court, with jurisdiction, as its title indicates—the only important addition to the Federal judiciary since the establishment of the District and

Circuit courts, inferior only to the Supreme Court itself. Most of the business that came before the Supreme Court was of this nature and the decisions of that body, almost without exception, favored government supervision and regulation of the business activities of the country. Inheritance taxes were placed on the statute books of nearly every State and early in 1912 the proposal to amend the constitution so as to authorize a Federal income-tax was so popular that it was ratified by many State legislatures.*

* C. B. Spahr, *An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (New York, 1896); *Statistical Abstract* (Bureau of Statistics, Washington, 1865-1910); R. R. Bowker, *Reader's Guide in Economic, Social and Political Science* (New York, 1891); H. Gannett, *Building of a Nation; Growth, Present Condition and Resources of the United States* (New York, 1895); J. J. Lalor (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States* (3 vols. Chicago, 1881-84); Sir S. Morton Peto, *Resources and Prospects of America* (London, 1866); Census reports, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910; T. D. Woolsey (ed.), *The First Century of the Republic* (New York, 1876); *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (New York, 1840-70); David A. Wells, *Recent Economic Changes* (New York, 1891); J. A. Collins, *The Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (Senate Doc. 75, 55th Congress, 2d session); *Wealth, Debt and Taxation* (Eleventh and Twelfth Census reports, 1890 and 1900); M. G. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics* (London, 1884); L. B. Ruggles, *The United States of America* (New York, 1880); L. H. Bailey, *Agricultural Cyclopedia of America* (4 vols., New York, 1907).

CHAPTER IV.

1865-1912.

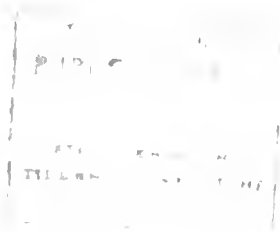
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.*

Our chief industries and their relative importance — Historical order of industrial development — Production of steel and iron — Importance of their manufactures — Progress in the cotton and woolen industries — Production of petroleum — The lumber industry — Factors favoring our industrial expansion — Exports of manufactures — Mining and mineral products — Statistical summary of manufactures.

The principal industries of the United States are agriculture, manufacturing, mining, forestry and fisheries. Were we to consider the subject from the standpoint of occupations rather than that of industries in the ordinary acceptance of the term, commerce and transportation should also be mentioned, since the number of persons engaged in trade and transportation ranks third in the great groups of occupations. Considering the number of persons employed, agriculture stands first, manufactures second, and trade and transportation third. The census of 1900 showed the number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, 10,381,765; in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 7,085,309; in trade and transportation, 4,766,964; in domestic and personal service, 5,580,657; and in professional service, 1,258,538. In value of products, however, manufactures stand at the head of the list, with agriculture second, mining third, forestry fourth,

and fisheries fifth. Moreover, the growth in value of products from decade to decade — and the figures for these various lines are based only on the decennial census — is more rapid in manufactures than in agriculture. The census of 1870 gave the number of persons engaged in agriculture as 5,922,471 and that of 1900 as 10,381,765. The value of the product in 1870 was \$1,958,030,927 and in 1900 \$4,717,069,973. Thus the number of persons employed has scarcely doubled and the value of the product a little more than doubled in these 30 years. In manufactures, however, the figures of 1870 showed the number of wage earners as 2,053,996 and in 1900, as 5,308,406; and the value of the product in 1870 as \$4,232,325,442 and in 1900 as \$13,004,400,143, the number of persons engaged in manufacturing having increased more than 150 per cent. and the value of the product more than 200 per cent. In minerals the value of the product was \$218,598,994 in 1870, and \$1,107,031,392 in 1900, having quintupled in the period under consideration. The census of 1910 shows

* Prepared for this History by Oscar P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor.



the number of wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries as 6,615,046, an increase of nearly 25 per cent. over 1900; while the value of the product the same year was \$20,672,052,000, showing a gain of more than 50 per cent. over 1900. The increase in the number of persons engaged in agriculture is as great as that employed in manufactures.

While the subject of agriculture in the United States is discussed elsewhere in this work, it may be proper to compare the growth in that industry with that in manufactures and mining, by way of indicating the relative importance (past and present) and the prospect of each. It seems not unreasonable to assume from an examination of the figures above quoted that manufacturing is to be in the near future — if, indeed, it be not already — the leading industry of the United States, although at the present moment the number of persons actually employed in agricultural pursuits is greater than that in manufacturing.

In many respects the industrial history of the United States is similar to that of other temperate zone countries occupied by occidental peoples. Agriculture was naturally the first occupation of the people. Food was the primary requirement; for, while clothing was necessary, a part of this, in the earlier stages of the history of the country, was produced from the skins of animals captured primarily for food. Thus man gave his chief attention to the development of the soil and

production of the type of food which it supplies. Later, with the increased supply of domestic animals and the developments in the production of cotton, the manufacture of materials for clothing began. Woolen goods were among the first. The necessities of everyday life required also manufactures of iron of the cruder type, and hence the manufacture of iron and, a little later of steel, came early, though in comparatively simple forms.

In the meantime man learned, after many years of experiment, that coal could be used in the manufacture of iron. For many years — decades, in fact — he had manufactured his iron by the use of charcoal. Later he learned to apply to coal a process somewhat similar to that by which wood was turned into charcoal, and by transforming the coal into coke produced iron and steel from the heat supplied by coal. Then came the Bessemer process of steel-making and other similar processes, by which the proper amount of carbon was combined with the iron by forcing air through the molten metal, and the production of steel was greatly cheapened and the quantity produced greatly increased. This process, while it developed in England somewhat earlier than in the United States, had been thought out almost simultaneously by Americans and came into general use in the United States but a short time after its adoption in England and the other manufacturing countries of Europe. Sir Henry Bes-

semer's process was developed in 1856, but so much time was occupied in perfecting the system that the world's product of steel in 1867 was less than 500,000 tons, of which about 20,000 tons were produced in the United States. By 1870, however, that process had become so generally adopted that our own production was 68,750 tons. This output has since grown with such marvelous rapidity that in 1875 it reached 389,799 tons; in 1880, 1,247,335 tons; in 1890, 4,277,071 tons; in 1900, 10,188,329 tons; and in 1910 26,094,919 tons.

The United States has thus become the world's chief producer of steel. In fact, this country now produces approximately one-half of the world's steel, the other chief steel-producing countries being Germany, the United Kingdom, and Belgium. During the last 20 years the United States has made much greater gains, proportionately, in the manufacture of iron and steel than any other country, though Germany's recent gains have brought that country abreast — and sometimes in advance — of Great Britain, formerly the leading iron and steel-producing country of Europe. The value of the principal manufactures of iron and steel in the United States, as reported by the census, grew from less than \$300,000,000 in 1880 to \$1,377,000,000 in 1910; the number of persons employed in blast furnaces, steel works and rolling mills, from 141,000 in 1880 to 278,505 in 1910; the wages paid, from \$55,500,000 in 1880 to \$187,-

808,000 in 1910; and the capital invested, from \$231,000,000 in 1880 to \$1,492,316,000 in 1910. These detailed figures include only blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills, and not the numerous industries handling the material as it passes further along in the stages of development — such as the making of bolts, nuts, nails, spikes, iron and steel pipe, the various classes of machinery utilized in industries and transportation, and the thousands of requirements of daily life.

So rapidly has the iron and steel industry developed in the United States that manufactures of iron and steel have become the largest single item in our export trade, with the exception of the one natural product — raw cotton — of which we practically have a world monopoly. The value of iron and steel manufactures exported now approximates \$350,000,000 per annum, while that of meats, which formerly exceeded \$200,000,000, has fallen materially below that figure and wheat and flour, which formerly approximated \$250,000,000 in favorable years, have now taken a much lower rank among the great articles of exportation, amounting to about one-half — in many cases less than half — the value of iron and steel manufactures exported.

Even these figures, which show enormous increases in the valuation of iron and steel production and exportation, fail to indicate their quantitative growth, since the enormous increase in production, coupled with the im-

proved facilities of manufacture and transportation, has resulted in much lower prices; and, as a consequence, a given number of dollars' worth of iron and steel produced or exported represents now a much larger quantity than formerly. Steel rails, which were valued at \$166 per ton in 1867 and at \$107 per ton in 1870, had by 1880 fallen to \$68; in 1890, to \$32, and during the last decade have averaged about \$28 per ton. A comparison of the value of product or of the commercial movements at the present time with those of earlier periods in the history of iron and steel production fails to indicate the full measure of growth in quantities, owing to the fact just hinted at—the fact that a dollar's worth of steel or of steel products at the present time represents from two to five times as much as it did in the decade ending with 1880 and fully double that of the decennial period ending with 1890.

This great growth in the production of iron and steel in the United States has been due, not merely to the development of the process of steel making, but to the cheapening of the processes of mining, smelting, and manufacture. In no line of industry has the use of machinery for performing work formerly done by hand been more rapidly extended than in the iron and steel industry. Enormous sums of money have been invested, not only in manufacturing lines, but in experiments for developing and adopting machinery to production in great

quantities and at lower cost of the various types of manufactures produced therefrom; while the discovery and development of enormous beds of iron ore lying near the surface and, fortunately also, near to water transportation aided greatly in the development of the industry. The great iron mines of the Lake Superior region, — vast iron ore deposits of the Lake Superior region, lying almost at the surface of the earth and within easy reach of water transportation on the Lakes — supply at a very low cost the ore which is carried across the Lakes to the section in which great quantities of coal were available (Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania). To this enormous natural advantage was added the use of huge machines for handling the material both in its natural state and in the various processes through which it must pass in its transformation into manufactures. Thus the production of steel and manufactures thereof was greatly cheapened, while the quality of the product greatly improved. Of pig iron, the basis of all iron and steel industries, the quantity produced in the United States amounted to but 1,666,000 tons in 1870, and to 27,250,000 tons in 1910, making the United States not only the world's chief producer of pig iron but, in fact, the producer of nearly one-half of the entire output of the world. Cheap iron ore, cheap coal, and cheap transportation to bring them into conjunction, coupled with the use of machinery of

the most efficient type at every stage of manufacture, have made the United States the world's greatest producer of iron and steel and their manufactures. And the vast supplies of raw material and fuel yet available, in conjunction with the excellent facilities already mentioned, assure an indefinite continuation of our distinction as the world's great producer of this class of articles. And this is the more important for the great increase that has come in the use of iron and steel in construction, transportation, and the daily requirements of life the world over. The big buildings in the world's great cities are now being constructed with steel frames. Steel has almost entirely replaced wood in the construction of bridges for railways and the heavier forms of traffic on streets and highways, while in the more numerous though less striking daily requirements steel is being more and more utilized to the exclusion of the classes of material formerly used at greater cost and with less durability.

Other branches of production and manufacture in which the United States has made remarkable progress are those of copper, petroleum, leather, and cotton manufactures. The same close study of the natural supplies of the country which brought about the increase in iron and steel production has developed a great copper industry equal to that of all the remainder of the world combined. The United States now produces from

its mines practically one-half the copper of the world, and in addition to this receives from adjacent countries large quantities of copper to be manipulated in the great manufacturing establishments which have grown up as a result of our own vast supplies of copper. The quantity of copper produced in the United States in 1870 amounted to but 12,600 tons and in 1880, to 27,000 tons; but by 1890 it had grown to 116,000 tons, by 1900 to 271,000 tons, and by 1910 to 482,000 tons. This great supply of the raw material developed in the same section in which the great iron ore deposits were found—the section fronting the Great Lakes—coupled again with cheap transportation to bring the raw material in touch with the section of the country producing great quantities of coal at low cost, rendered possible the development of a great copper industry in the United States, one upon which the world now relies for the copper which (through the recent development in the use of electricity in transportation and the industries) it is now demanding in constantly increasing quantities. This reliance of the world upon the United States for its copper is illustrated by the fact that the quantity of copper exported grew from 333,000,000 pounds of pigs, ingots and bars in 1900 to 639,000,000 in 1910, and the value from about \$55,750,000 in 1900 to about \$83,660,000 in 1910; though in one earlier year (1908) the quantity exported was over 700,000,000 pounds

and the value over \$100,000,000. The development of the copper manufacturing industries of the United States and the high qualities of the smelting and refining establishments built up in the meantime have been recognized in a very practical way by other parts of the world, which are now sending here large quantities, not only of the crude material to be smelted, but of the material in the more advanced state to be refined. Millions of dollars' worth of copper are now imported every year, chiefly from Canada and Mexico, and in some years more than \$30,000,000 worth of pigs, ingots, bars, etc., are imported into the United States chiefly from the European countries and such distant points as Australia, Peru and Japan, to be refined and the more valuable metal extracted in that process. As a consequence of these developments of the great copper industry, we are distributing to the world nearly \$100,000,000 worth of copper per annum, and the smelting and refining works alone of the copper industry give employment to 15,628 men, with wages amounting to \$13,396,000 per annum, and turning out a product valued in 1910 at \$378,806,000.

The cotton and woolen industries are of an earlier beginning, showing, perhaps, less marked development in recent years than is the case with those already mentioned. The cotton manufacturing establishments of the United States employed 387,000 wage earners in 1910, as against 185,000 in

1880; paid them \$133,000,000 in 1910, as against \$45,500,000 in 1880, and turned out \$628,000,000 worth of products in 1910, as against \$211,000,000 in 1880. The amount of capital invested in the cotton goods establishments was \$822,000,000 in 1910, as against \$220,000,000 in 1880; the number of establishments was 1,324 in 1910, as against 1,005 in 1880, the most striking development of the period being in the size of the establishments, the capital invested, and the value of the product. From these figures it will be noted that the number of establishments increased but slowly from 1880 to 1910, the figures being in 1910 but 30 per cent. over those of 1880, while the capital invested increased from \$220,000,000 in 1880 to \$822,000,000 in 1910 or nearly 300 per cent.; the number of wage earners employed, from 185,472 to 378,880 or about 100 per cent.; and the value of the products, from \$210,950,383 to \$628,392,010, or about 200 per cent. The most striking characteristic of the cotton manufacturing industry in recent years is the gradual extension of that industry from the Northern to the Southern States. "Plant the factory beside the farm," was the advice of William McKinley to the industrial interests of the United States and reiterated by him at every opportunity. And his advice has been literally followed by the extension of the cotton manufacturing industries to the South, which has literally planted the factory beside the cotton field and the coal mine. The

number of spindles in the cotton factories of the Northern States in 1880 was 10,092,000 and in 1910 17,217,000; while in the Southern States the number in 1880 was but 561,000 and in 1910 10,801,000. Thus the number in the Northern States increased only about 70 per cent. from 1880 to 1910, while in the Southern States there was an increase of nearly 2,000 per cent. Even a comparison of conditions in 1910 with those of 1900 shows a much more rapid gain in the Southern States, the figures for 1900 being: in the Northern States, 15,104,000, as against 17,217,000 in 1910; in the Southern States 4,368,000 in 1900, as against 10,801,000 in 1910, an increase during the ten years in the Northern States of but 15 per cent., and in the Southern States of about 150 per cent. Cheap cotton, cheap coal, cheap transportation, and cheap labor offer the explanation of the relatively more rapid growth of the cotton industry in the South. The cost of transporting the cotton from the place of production to the manufacturing establishment is minimized as compared with transporting it to the Northern States. The cost of coal for producing power is low, much lower than that which is required in the manufacturing establishments at the North, which are not able to rely wholly upon water power; while labor in the South is plentiful and obtainable at somewhat lower rates than in the North.

With all the development of the cotton industry in the United States, how-

ever, the value of the exports is but trifling when compared with the production or with the value of other lines of manufactures exported. This is due partly to the active competition of the great cotton manufacturing countries of Europe, which, in view of the small cost of transporting a raw material so easily transported as cotton, are able to buy their raw cotton from the United States, transport it across the ocean, manufacture it with the cheap labor obtainable in that part of the world, and put it into the markets of the cotton goods importing countries of the world at very little cost. Besides, the fact that they are manufacturing chiefly for foreign markets leads them to exercise more care in making the material in the form required by those markets than is the case in the United States, which manufactures primarily for domestic supply. In the case of European countries, England especially, a large proportion of the cotton goods manufactured are for the markets of foreign countries, chiefly the Tropics and the Orient, where light weights and special weights and patterns are required. In the United States a very large proportion of the cotton manufactured is destined for domestic markets, which require in this temperate zone climate comparatively heavy goods and goods made to suit the tastes and habits of Americans and are not, therefore, suited to the requirements, tastes and habits of that great cotton goods importing sec-

tion of the world, the Tropics and the Orient, to which the European countries (England, especially) cater by making goods especially suited to their climatic conditions, habits of life, and fashions of dress. It is not surprising therefore that, while the value of cotton manufactures turned out in the United States amounts to between \$600,000,000 and \$700,000,000 per annum, the value of the exports thereof seldom exceeds—and sometimes falls below—\$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 annually.

In the woolen industry the value of the product, the capital invested, the wages paid, and the number of wage earners employed fall considerably below that of the cotton industry. In the United States, as elsewhere, this industry has not kept pace with that of cotton. In the last few decades the world has substituted cotton for woolen goods quite generally, save where extreme climatic conditions or the dictates of fashion have hindered such substitution. The value of the woolen and worsted goods turned out by the factories of the United States grew from \$194,000,000 in 1880 to \$436,000,000 in 1910, while in the same period the value of cotton goods turned out grew from \$211,000,000 to \$628,000,000—a percentage of gain in value of product much greater in cotton goods than in woolens and worsteds.

Another of the important industries of the United States, both in the matter of production and manufacture,

is that of mineral oil. Little was known of mineral oil in any part of the world for practical use prior to the 60's, and the United States led the world in the development of this industry ever since. The quantity of petroleum produced in the United States in 1860 was but 21,000,000 gallons, and even as late as 1870 it was only 221,000,000 gallons. By 1880, however, the annual production had reached a billion gallons; in 1890 almost 2 billion; in 1900 2 2/3 billion; in 1905 5 2/3 billion; and in 1909 7 2/3 billion. While even a few years ago the United States produced more petroleum than any other single country, it now produces more than all other countries of the world combined. The value of the refined product was given by the census as \$85,000,000 in 1890, \$124,000,000 in 1900, and \$175,000,000 in 1905. The value of the exports of the various grades of petroleum for illuminating purposes and for lubrication, including naphthas and crude oil, has increased during the last decade from about \$70,000,000 to over \$100,000,000, with markets in practically every country of the world.

The lumber industry is another extremely important factor in the industrial and commercial development of the country. The census gives the value of lumber and timber products in 1880 as \$233,500,000 and in 1905 as \$580,000,000; and of planing mill products in 1880 as \$73,500,000 and in 1905 as \$247,500,000. The fact that lumber and other manufactures of wood ex-

ported are now approximating \$100,000,000 per annum indicates the importance of this industry in our foreign commerce as well as its relative place in the domestic market. The use of wood, however, as already indicated, is somewhat reduced proportionately through the increased use of iron in many lines for which wood was formerly utilized, while clay products (including bricks, tiles, etc.) and cement are now utilized in many lines of construction in which wood was formerly the chief material.

All this development in the manufacturing industries—a development more rapid than that of any other great branch of industry in the United States—is chiefly the result of the recent application of power and machinery to production in great quantities and at comparatively small cost of articles needed by man. Not only does this great increase in the supply of manufactures contribute more freely than formerly to his actual requirements of daily life, but it has very greatly added to the comforts of his home, improved his methods of travel, his methods of communication, his dress, has affected every day and hour of his life; and this applies not, as formerly, merely to the wealthy and the inhabitants of the great cities, but to the masses. The rag carpet which was formerly the chief covering of the floor of those in moderate circumstances is now a thing practically unknown in the

United States, and has been replaced by the work of the loom. The farm wagon is being replaced by the automobile. The telephone gives to the rural as well as to the city inhabitant instant communication not only with his neighbors but those hundreds of miles away, and this, in conjunction with the telegraph, enables the owner of the basic materials of the world's requirements—food, raw materials, and labor—to know the price which the material he owns is bringing in the markets of the world on the day and almost the hour at which he may desire to make his inquiry.

The development in all the great manufacturing lines, the causes of which have been suggested above, has resulted in bringing the United States to the head of the list of the world's manufacturing nations. This, it may be remarked, is not due altogether to superior workmanship, great energy, or greater combinations of capital and machinery, but largely to the greater supplies and better facilities which nature has given us. A country which produces, as does the United States, nearly three-fourths of the world's cotton, more than half of its petroleum utilized in the production of power for manufacturing and transportation, half the world's copper, approximately half of its pig iron, by far more coal than any other country, and which has two-fifths of the world's railways for bringing them together at convenient spots for turning them into the

finished product — such a country enjoys exceptional facilities for manufacturing. As already indicated at the beginning of this article, the order of development of industries in temperate zone countries is, first agriculture and then manufacturing. While we may expect, therefore, that agricultural production in the United States will continue at about its present rate through proper care of the soil, and hence intensification of production, we may also expect that the development of that section of our country not visible to the eye in the beginning — that which lies beneath the surface — will be proportionately more rapid than that of agriculture, and that this increased production of the mines will promote the relative growth of manufactures. We have but scratched the surface, apparently, in our studies and development of our mines and mining facilities; and, vast as has been the growth in the production and manufacture of iron, steel and copper and in the supply of coal, petroleum, the precious metals, and other articles of this character, we may expect, as a result, still further growth in the industries.

With this prospective further development in our products other than agricultural will come a continuation of the growth of manufacturing, and with this will come, as has already come, a rapid growth in the exportation of manufactures. The value of manufactures exported, exclusive of

the class known as foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured, amounted to but \$70,000,000 in 1870, \$122,000,000 in 1880, \$179,000,000 in 1890, and \$485,000,000 in 1900. Then came a remarkable development in the exports of manufactures, which in the short five-year period from 1900 to 1905 grew to \$611,000,000, in the fiscal year 1911 to \$910,000,000, and in 1912 to \$1,020,000,000. During this period, when the manufacturing industry developed more rapidly than that of agriculture, the share which manufactures formed of the total exports rapidly increased, having been but 18.62 per cent. of the total in 1870; 21.18 per cent. in 1890; 35.37 per cent. in 1900; and 47.02 per cent. in 1912.

It is only when we consider the great factors of the manufacturing industries, the number of wage earners employed, the wages paid, the value of the raw materials, the value of the products turned out, and the value added by manufacturing, and compare these with conditions at earlier decennial periods, that we realize fully the growth in manufacturing, which is becoming — if it has not already become — the great industry of the United States. The census of 1910 shows the number of wage earners employed in the manufactures of the United States as a whole to be 6,615,046, as against 2,053,996 in 1870; the wages paid, \$3,427,038,000, as against \$775,584,343 in 1870; and the value of products, \$20,-

672,052,000, as against \$4,232,325,442 in 1870. The value of the products turned out by the manufacturing establishments of the country have thus increased practically 400 per cent., while the increase in population was but 140 per cent.

While manufactures are now easily second and may soon become first in the list of the great industries of the country, there are numerous others whose history it is important to trace, especially for their relation to the general development of the country. As already intimated, the industry next in importance to those of agriculture and manufacturing is mining. Indeed, the value of the products of the mines of the country has shown nearly or quite as great a percentage of gain in the period under consideration as that of manufactures. Agriculture developed rapidly down to about the last quarter of the Nineteenth century, and about the same time manufactures began to develop with equal or even greater rapidity. Almost simultaneously with the development of manufactures came a similar growth in mining. The value of the minerals produced in the country was, according to the census reports, \$219,000,000 in 1870, \$365,000,000 in 1880, \$606,000,000 in 1890, \$1,107,000,000 in 1900 and, according to the estimates of the Geological Survey, \$2,003,000,000 in 1910. Thus the value of the mineral products of the country was nearly 10 times as great in 1910 as in 1870, while the

value of manufactures was ten times as great in 1910 as in 1870. All these figures, it should be understood, however, are but approximations. Dealing with such vast subjects, with information coming from such large numbers of people, stretching over large areas of territory and employing varied methods of calculation, we can only approximate absolute accuracy.

Looking into the details of the development of the mineral industry, it is interesting to note that the quantity of coal produced in the country has grown from 29,500,000 tons in 1870 to 64,000,000 in 1880, 141,000,000 in 1890, 241,000,000 in 1900, and 448,000,000 in 1910; that of copper, from 12,600 tons in 1870 to 482,000 in 1910; lead, from 17,830 short tons in 1870 to 372,227 tons in 1910; iron ore, from 3,031,891 long tons in 1870 to 56,890,000 tons in 1910; petroleum, from 220,951,290 gallons in 1870 to 8,801,000,000 gallons in 1910; gold, from \$50,000,000 value in 1870 to \$96,000,000 in 1910; and silver, from \$16,434,000 in 1870 to \$30,477,000 in 1910. In numerous other articles there are no available figures, but as the development of their production began since 1870 we must be content with a later date for comparative purposes. The production of cement, for example, was reported by the census of 1880 as 2,072,943 barrels, while in 1909 it was set down at 65,399,889 barrels. Of mineral waters the recorded production in 1880 was 2,000,000 gallons and in 1909

64,660,000 gallons; of natural gas, in 1882, \$215,000 value, and in 1909 \$63,200,000. Phosphate rock production in 1880 was reported at 211,377 long tons; in 1910 at 2,654,988 tons; salt, in 1880 at 6,000,000 barrels; in 1909 at 30,000,000; zinc (crude) in 1880 at 23,000 tons; in 1909 at 230,000 tons; and the value of stone in 1880 at \$18,000,000; in 1909 at \$71,000,000.

All these great developments in the industries of the country from 1870 to the present time are the result of natural conditions, coupled with the mental and physical activity which characterizes temperate, occidental man in all parts of the earth. With the great temperate zone area that the United States enjoys, a location remote enough from other countries to minimize the dangers of industrial competition from abroad, a single government extending over that vast area, instead of numerous governments (as is the case in a similar area in Europe, for example), and a people moved by a common purpose and speaking a common language — with all these, opportunities for the development of the industries are much more favorable than in countries having smaller areas and subjected to the competition of great masses of population separated from their own by only an imaginary line. This area and population of our own country, under a single

general government, has been put into close physical and business relationship by the construction of nearly 200,000 miles of railway for use in the interchange of their products and the mingling of the people. The railways in operation in the United States in 1870 covered 53,000 miles and in 1912 approximately 250,000; and though we cannot measure the growth in freight or passenger movement over the entire period, it is interesting to note that the number of passengers carried by the railways of the country grew in the short period from 1890 to 1911 from 492,000,000 to 998,000,000, and the freight carried by them, from 632,000,000 short tons in 1890 to 1,826,000,000 short tons in 1911. With this development of the railways has come a great reduction in the cost of transportation, both of people and merchandise, as is illustrated by the fact that the freight rates on wheat from Chicago to New York by rail have fallen from over 33 cents per bushel in 1870 to less than 10 cents per bushel in 1910.*

* Census reports of the United States (1905 and 1910); *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1911); *Commerce and Navigation of the United States* (1911); *Statistical Record of the Progress of the United States, 1800-1912* (all of which are issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor); *Year Book of the Department of Agriculture* (1911); *Mineral Resources of the United States* (1911) issued by the U. S. Geological Survey.

SUMMARY OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1910.
(Compiled from official figures of the U. S. Census.*)

Year	Number of establishments	Number of employes	Capital	Wages and salaries	Miscellaneous expenses	Cost of materials used	Value of products
1850	123,025	957,059	\$533,245,351	\$236,755,464	Not stated....	\$555,123,822	\$1,019,106,616
1860	140,433	1,311,246	1,009,855,715	378,878,966	Not stated....	1,031,605,092	1,885,861,676
1870	252,148	2,053,996	2,118,208,769	775,584,343	Not stated....	2,488,427,242	4,232,325,442
1880	253,852	2,732,595	2,790,272,606	947,953,795	Not stated....	3,396,823,549	5,369,579,191
1890	355,405	4,712,536	6,525,050,759	2,283,194,326	\$631,219,783	5,162,013,878	9,372,378,843
1900	512,276	5,711,631	9,831,486,500	2,731,498,339	1,027,865,277	7,346,358,979	13,010,036,514
1904	216,180	5,987,939	12,675,581,000	3,184,984,000	1,453,168,000	8,500,208,000	14,793,903,000
1909	268,491	7,405,313	18,428,270,000	4,365,613,000	1,945,676,000	12,141,291,000	20,672,052,000

CHAPTER V.

1865 - 1912.

INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.†

"Trusts" vs. "Industrial Combinations"—Their faint beginnings prior to the Civil War—Their subsequent growth—Evolution of the terms "capital" and "capitalism"—"Earning capacity" as a corporation asset—Tariff and other legislation as a factor in trust development—Capitalization of public franchises and public utilities—Statistical summary.

The terms "industrial combination" or "trust" are so common in the United States to-day that at first blush it may seem unnecessary to define them. But just because the terms are so general in their use while the common understanding of their genesis and character is so confusing and

indefinite it is necessary to define their meaning with care and precision.

In the common mind, "trust" and "industrial combination" are practically interchangeable terms, but a little reflection will show that they are not quite so. A "trust" may be a combination of other things than industrial enterprises. An industrial combination is generally limited to consolidation of manufacturers or producers of consumable goods, while a trust may be a combination of transportation companies (such as steam railroads or steamship lines), a combination of public utility undertakings (such as gas or water supply, electric light, telephone or telegraph serv-

* The censuses for 1904 and 1909 differed from the census for 1900 and those for earlier years in that they excluded the hand and the building trades and the neighborhood industries, and took account only of establishments conducted under the factory system. For more detailed explanation of the variations in classification and scope of inquiry under the various censuses, the student is referred to the Twelfth Census, vol. vii., pp. xlvii., 58, and vol. viii., p. 17.

† Prepared for this History by John Moody, author of *The Truth About the Trusts, Masters of Capital*, etc., editor of *Moody's Magazine*, and *Moody's Analyses of Investments*.

ice), or a combination of banking interests seeking the control or regulation of credit or exchange. Thus, while we find that up to a certain point the two terms may be used interchangeably, the term "trust" is the more inclusive. "Trust" is the generic while "industrial combination" is the specific term.

But not all industrial combinations are trusts *per se*, any more than all trusts are industrial combinations.*

Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, solicitor of the Standard Oil Company, says:

"The term Trust in its more confined sense embraces only a peculiar form of business association effected by stockholders of different corporations transferring their stocks to trustees. The Standard Oil Trust was formed in this way, and originated the name 'Trust' as applied to associations. * * * The term 'Trust,' although derived as stated, has (now) obtained a wider signification, and embraces every act, agreement or combination of persons or capital believed to be done, made or formed with the *intent, power or tendency to monopolize* business, to restrain or interfere with competitive trade, or to fix, influence, or increase the prices of commodities."†

In short, the one characteristic which differentiates the "trust" from the mere "industrial" or other combination is the element of monopoly. When a concern or combination possesses any form of monopolistic power, or is believed to possess or be benefited by such power, it is a trust. When this element of monopoly is not present in a combination, it represents

a combination of capital and general executive and business ability, but does not constitute a trust.

The truth of this theory can be demonstrated in many ways. Any review or investigation of the trust movement in this country during the past half-century will show that we have "a trust question," not because men have combined their capital and their brains for the purpose of merely reducing operating costs and furnishing products to the consumer with greater efficiency and economy, but because men have combined for the purpose of acquiring or controlling some legislative or natural privilege or monopolistic element. A combination in an industry possessing no important element of monopoly, generates little public ill-feeling toward it. Thus, the department stores in the great cities are combinations of industry, but as a rule they possess no monopolistic power, and are popular with the public rather than the reverse. This is true with combinations of other retail businesses, such as the great mail-order houses, the five-and-ten cent stores, the biscuit manufacturing companies, etc. These great aggregates have been built up without special privileges or monopoly. They have thrived because they have lowered costs to the consumer, and if they have capitalized themselves far beyond the amount of money originally invested, this represents the capitalization of their "efficiency" and not of some special privilege.

* A definition of the trust which seems specific and has apparently stood the test of time, is that given by the writer in 1904 in the introductory chapters of *The Truth About the Trusts*.

† Quoted in Moody, *The Truth About the Trusts*.

Such concerns are all subject to potential competition and could not hold their patronage or their position in the community without being efficiently operated and furnishing their products to the consumer at low prices and on a purely competitive basis.

On the other hand, we find the "trust" *per se*, in a very different position in its relations to the general public. The vast combinations which have been built up in this country within the past 50 years, have not been raised on the competitive basis, but on that of monopoly. This is true of the steel, iron, sugar, woolen and countless other primary industries, as well as the many undertakings which are based on them. It is true of the railroads and the public utility interests as well. The vast aggregate of capitalization of "trusts"—industrial, transportation and public service—to-day capitalized far in excess of \$40,000,000,000, is a capitalization not of real property, ability, energy or efficiency to any great extent, but of some form of monopoly.

In tracing the history of the rise of industrial combinations in the United States, this central fact will become clearer and clearer as we proceed.

As industrial combinations come only with production on a large scale, which, in turn, depends upon improved transportation facilities, such combinations before the Civil War could hardly assume National importance. There was very little extensive manufacturing carried on then, and the

means of transportation were still rather primitive. Hence, though we may surely speak of the *rise* of industrial combinations previous to the year 1865, little can be said of their *development* during this period.

When the United States became a nation in 1789 there was no such thing as a corporation within its domain. The nearest approach to such organized business concerns were three banks and perhaps half a dozen insurance companies. Indeed, as there was little industrial development in this country before the War of 1812—for it was only with the termination of this war that America began definitely to look to her own manufactures—there could then be no question of any industrial combinations which result from such development. Our present division of the subject therefore narrows itself down to the years between the War of 1812 and that between the States.

The development of the factory system being enormously stimulated by the outbreak of the first of these wars, establishments for the home manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, iron, glass, hardware, and various other commodities sprang up, "with mushroom rapidity," throughout the United States. The resulting rapid increase of capital naturally tended toward concentration. Small investors could no longer heat their individual irons, so to speak, in separate ovens, since machinery was rapidly becoming more and more indis-

pensible to successful manufacturing enterprise, and its cost grew even faster than its importance. It was inevitable under these circumstances for small investments to be drawn together, first for specific purposes and later to become more permanent organizations of capital. In this perfectly natural and seemingly inoffensive way the first industrial combinations were born, and these were, in a way, the progenitors of our modern "trusts."

The earliest industrial combinations were all chartered separately, and not without considerable heated debate in legislatures. General corporation laws were not enacted until the second, or even the third, stage of industrial combinations was reached — somewhere about 1830. Many of the States adopted such general corporation laws, and gradually one type or another of industrial combination rapidly sprang up.

Though not unfriendly to such corporations at first, their unprecedented increase in the 30's made the Government rather uneasy. This is clearly shown by Andrew Jackson's fight on the United States Bank (in 1832), in which he foresaw so early the danger of corporate control. Between Jackson's second administration (ending in 1837) and the war over slavery, the growth of industrial corporations was much hampered by the Government's refusal to charter any combinations outside the District of Columbia or the Territories. Even so, several

Pacific railroads and a number of National banks were incorporated during the Civil War, when already the era of railroad consolidation was ushered in that ultimately resulted in such gigantic combinations as the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and other great systems too well known to need enumerating. But with all these beginnings, the development of industrial combinations prior to 1865 did not reach the fourth, fifth, and sixth stages — the more recent monopolistic phases of these corporations.

Sometime after the close of the Civil War the word "capital" took on its present significance in the business world. Nor until the late 70's did the roots of what is known to-day as "trust control" or "big business" begin to spread and get that hold in the ground which, after 40 years, has resulted in the formation of a well-nigh impregnable structure of capitalization and business organization extending across the continent.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of the "capitalist" or man with capital, from the earlier days of the Nineteenth century. Not until civilization began to be equipped with power-machinery and modern invention changed the whole aspect of industry and the production of wealth, do we note much change in the connotation of the word "capitalist." Even as late as 60 years ago a "capitalist" was a man who, like George Washington, "was worth" so much in property, cash or real estate.

"Capital," in common thought, still continued to mean an aggregation of money, goods or other real property gathered for the purpose of producing further wealth or capital.

As an economic term, this is still the meaning of the word. But in its practical everyday use, "capital" has, within the last 40 years, taken on a far larger meaning. For no sooner did the modern corporation arise in response to the demand for production and distribution on a large scale, than the seeds were sown from which has grown the world-wide custom of capitalizing earning power—that is, massing in concrete forms, in the shape of stocks and bonds, the value of the potential possibilities of wealth production under the newly invented processes.

Where in the earlier days, under the cruder methods then prevailing, a given manufacturing plant could produce only enough goods and sufficient profit to show net earnings of perhaps 10 per cent. on its invested capital, with the introduction of improved processes and the development of efficiency among the workers, this net profit could be increased to the extent of 25 to 40 per cent. on the invested capital. The discovery was then made that, through the instrumentality of the corporation, a concrete valuation could be put on this increased earning power, and the value of a given property, instead of being based on its original or replacement cost, could in this way be meas-

ured by its capacity to show increased profits.

Thus, "capitalization," which formerly had been regarded as genuine only when backed by an equal amount of property, became a new thing. Corporate capitalization, as represented by the creation of stocks and bonds, was now measured by *earning capacity*, or labor power. On this new basis capital began to be created by leaps and bounds. As the industry of the community became more efficient, and the unit of effort created greater results, corporate securities were created in practically the same ratio.

As this new custom became more firmly established, it was found that the limit of capitalization was by no means reached when current earning power alone was considered. In a growing country like the United States, with a population practically doubling every generation, the future growth in the earning power of general industry was a foregone conclusion. So the process of corporate capitalization quite naturally took the further step, and future or potential earning capacity also began to be represented by the creation of corporate securities.

Naturally, this modern method of preëmpting or capitalizing probabilities of the future was at times overdone. Of necessity such a process invited speculation, and during "boom" periods the possibilities of future earning power were often

overestimated and much overvalued. Therefore recurring lapses and setbacks, interspersed with rapid upward movements, became a distinct characteristic of the times. Finally the capitalists themselves began to recognize that this new capitalism, which represented the current and future earning power of corporate activity generally, must be bolstered up and insured by some artificial process. It was all well enough to be satisfied with the normal growth of labor power and the normal increases in wealth-producing population, as long as corporate capital had not over-appraised these things; it was fairly satisfactory to absorb through the creation of stocks and bonds the apparent probabilities in labor power of the coming decade or generation; but when industrial crises appeared or crop failures and other accidents took place, it would not do to have earning power fall to such a basis as would seriously jeopardize the continuance of this new system of reaping the fruits of industry.

So this situation naturally led to a widespread demand among capitalists, large and small, for legislation that would protect the integrity of the values which had already been capitalized and would continue to be capitalized for generations to come. To prevent foreign competition from entering the field tariffs were made more rigid than before; legislation in State and Nation was advocated

for preserving the *status quo* of this new dispensation. Thus the railroads, which in the decade after the Civil War were the most conspicuous beneficiaries of the new process, were given enormous grants of land; their rights of way were guaranteed to them in many ways; terminal sites were encouraged and treated with great leniency in the matter of taxation, etc.; natural resources were in every possible way surrendered by the people and given to the railroads for development.

Of course the railroads profited enormously by these special privileges and quickly capitalized their growing values, just as they had previously capitalized their ordinary rights of way, the industrial results of the population to whom they catered, and the definitely growing tendency of population along their lines.

But the tendency did not stop here. As new inventions came in, such as the telephone, the electric light, and electric traction, the profits from the operation of these undertakings were likewise capitalized. And, as in the case of the railroads, it was promptly discovered that not only current but future earning power could very easily be capitalized in this new field of public "utilities." Here the franchise value was made the basis of capitalization, and in the 20 years from 1890 to 1910 the total capitalization of public service corporations grew from less than \$200,000,000 to nearly \$20,000,000,000.

Thus has this marvelous structure of trust control and capitalization in the United States been built up. But it is obvious that no such "above ground growth" could ever have taken place, or could exist to-day, unless it had its roots spread correspondingly under the ground, which an examination of the industrial tree shows to have been the case. Such class legislation as the enactment of high protective tariffs and the passing of laws in the interest of business groups, can be likened to the cultivation and nursing of the plant. But its real basis of strength and life is, as always, in the roots.

Exactly analogous is the case of the trusts and their capitalized values. To the extent to which the "trusts" have been capitalized in the modern fashion beyond the physical cost of their machinery, their cash and their tangible assets, such capitalization reflects the approximate or average values of their control of some monopoly or element of monopoly. Trust capitalization is for the most part the capitalization of monopoly. It is not the capitalization of machinery nor of the results of the working of machinery. While it is, as already stated, the capitalization of earning power, this earning power itself is concentrated in the hands of those who become, through the monopolies they possess, the direct beneficiaries of this earning power.

Thus, the anthracite coal railroads

carry capitalizations based on earning power. But how is this earning power created? In but one way — through the monopolized possession of the coal fields by a limited group of men. These men, through the maintenance of their position, are the beneficiaries of two processes. The development of modern productive methods, reducing costs, gives them a steadily enlarging margin of profit for each unit of productive effort; and the monopoly of the sources of supply in coal enables them to exact "all the traffic will bear" in the sale of the product. So, just as fast as new inventions are developed and machine processes perfected, naturally increasing the earning power per unit, the value of the monopoly increases and profits grow, so to speak, at both ends of the process. In common parlance, it is "working both ends against the middle."

It is this power to monopolize earning possibilities; this power, existing through the more or less exclusive possession of original sources of supply, which is being reflected through the steady capitalization, in corporate forms, of the general producing activities of industry; that gives us a trust problem and makes the trusts wax strong and great.

This movement of trust capitalization, so different from the old type of "capital," is the most vital subject for study in America to-day. In the aggregate it represents a valuation of over \$45,000,000,000 in a

Nation whose entire annual wealth is estimated at \$120,000,000,000. When it is remembered that in 1890 the wealth of the Nation was estimated at only \$65,000,000,000, and the corporate capital of every kind (including that outside of the "trusts") was only about \$20,000,000,000, the significance of the trend will be appreciated.

In the foregoing the development of this new form of capitalism since the Civil War has been briefly outlined. But there is another side of the matter which has been but briefly touched upon. This is the control of this capitalization. When it is realized that all these years there has been a double process at work; first, steady growth of the new system of capitalizing working and wealth producing forces; and second, a steady trend towards the concentrated control of this capitalization in the hands of a small group of men, all located in one section of the country, the matter takes on tremendous significance.

Space will not permit the presentation of statistics to show the whole trust growth of the country since the movement started nearly half a century ago, but the following facts show the development of the purely industrial phase of the movement within the past 15 years. Prior to 1897 there were comparatively few industrial trusts of large capital in the United States. The Sugar Trust, the Standard Oil Trust, and the so-

called Whiskey Trust were the only ones of very large capital which were in the public eye. But with the opening of 1897 industrial trusts began to increase and multiply, and at the end of a few years the number of separate plants which had been absorbed into great combinations ran into the thousands. At the same time the capitalization created by these combinations rose by leaps and bounds. At the beginning of 1898 there were in all, only 38 real industrial trusts in the United States, representing a combination of 672 plants, and carrying a total capitalization of but \$1,419,428,500.

But within two years from the opening of 1898 — that is, at the close of 1899 — the number of "trusts" had more than doubled and the capital represented had increased to \$3,027,910,561. The following three years, however, proved to be the halcyon period of industrial trust formation. Between the opening of 1899 and the close of 1902 the trust forming movement expanded to an astonishing extent. It was in this period that the various independent steel interests of the country were converted into nearly a dozen mammoth trusts and then finally absorbed, *en masse*, into the great United States Steel Corporation, with its capital of a billion and a half. During the same period the woolen trust was formed and the tobacco trust was enlarged from a minor combination covering only one or two branches of the industry to a

vast consolidation covering complete production and distribution. At the close of 1902, therefore, trust capitalization had leaped to \$5,723,741,660, represented by 136 industrial trusts which embraced no less than 3,264 plants.

At the end of 1902 there was a widely held theory that the trend toward industrial consolidation had reached its limit. Subsequent events, however, have proven the unsoundness of this idea. For steadily, throughout every year of the past decade, trust capitalization has continued to increase. By the end of 1905, the year in which Theodore Roosevelt began his second administration, the figure had risen to \$6,843,891,760, and in the year when Mr. Taft entered the White House a further expansion to \$7,506,004,000 was shown. And now, with the close of Mr. Taft's term, we note that, notwithstanding the so-called trust prosecutions and the enforcement of the Sherman law, the total industrial trust capitalization has reached the astounding total of \$8,066,290,861.

This, moreover, does not include industrial concerns which are not trusts. There are thousands of manufacturing concerns enjoying the benefits of the tariff which cannot be included, strictly speaking, in any list of "trusts." The Government's Federal corporation tax report for 1911 shows that the total capitalization represented by industrial concerns was about \$26,000,000,000. This includes

the many close corporations, concerns of small capital which, while "industrial," are not trusts in the ordinary understanding of the term. The following table shows the growth of industrial trusts since 1898:

Total prior to 1898.....	Number. 38	Plants contained. 672	Total capital. \$1, 419, 428, 500
Total at end of 1898.....	48	837	1, 679, 582, 500
1899.....	88	1, 746	3, 027, 910, 561
1900.....	98	1, 862	3, 249, 001, 061
1901.....	117	2, 980	5, 202, 350, 560
1902.....	136	3, 264	5, 723, 741, 560
1903.....	146	3, 469	5, 941, 042, 560
1904.....	153	3, 687	6, 576, 918, 500
1905.....	163	3, 846	6, 843, 891, 760
1906.....	178	4, 018	7, 284, 750, 760
1907.....	186	4, 068	7, 367, 745, 000
1908.....	194	4, 157	7, 506, 004, 000
1909.....	200	4, 210	7, 608, 426, 000
1910.....	206	4, 245	7, 706, 621, 100
1911.....	224	4, 426	8, 066, 290, 861

It is a noteworthy fact that the capital represented by industrial trusts in this country does not reflect, except to a partial extent, the investment of money or property. While no exact figures on the subject are obtainable, it is reliably estimated that not more than 25 per cent. of the eight billions of capitalization represents original investment. The remaining 75 per cent. is what is commonly called "water," but which is more definitely described as the "capitalization of earning power." For during the past generation industrial trusts, like franchise trusts, railroad trusts, etc., have all adopted the method of capitalizing, not only the original and current investment in the plants and property, but also the net profits which can be shown. Thus

it is apparent that in the case of those trusts which have been built up chiefly on tariff benefits, a large part of the net profits shown, and in some cases, two-thirds or three-fourths of the profits, are the direct result of the protective legislation which they have received.

Industrial combinations, in the great majority of cases, have been formed primarily for the purpose of controlling or advancing prices to the consumer. While the theory has been persistently urged for many years that the main purpose of combination was to reduce producing and operating costs, and thus increase profits without the advancement of prices, yet the records shown during the entire trust era go to prove that such has not been the case. The great enlargement in profits has for the most part been accomplished by price advances and not by cost entailment.

Never in our history, except perhaps in war periods, has the price level risen faster than it rose during the first few years after the passage of the Dingley Tariff Act in 1897, and during the period when trusts were forming most rapidly. From July 1, 1897, to January 1, 1900, the cost of living advanced 31 per cent. From July 1, 1897, to May 1, 1902, the cost of living advanced 41

per cent. That the trusts were largely responsible for this great advance is clear from the fact that from July 1, 1897, to January 1, 1900, the prices of foodstuffs (in which there are but few trusts) advanced but 25 per cent, while the prices of metals, clothing and miscellaneous products (in which there are most trusts) advanced 37 per cent. Notable advances occurred in Steel Trust productions, some of which more than doubled within one or two years.

If this process had not taken place, the Steel Trust to-day would doubtless be able to show substantial profits on its original and current investment, but no profit whatever on its "water."*

* E. L. Bogart, *The Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1907), chap. xxvii.; J. H. Bridge, *Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company* (New York, 1903); J. B. Clark, *The Control of Trusts* (New York, 1912); S. C. T. Dodd, *Combinations: their Uses and Abuses, with a History of the Standard Oil Trust* (New York, 1894); Chas. R. Flint, *Industrial Combinations* (New York, 1899); E. Von Halle, *Trusts, or Industrial Combinations and Coalitions in the United States* (New York, 1895); J. Moody, *The Truth About the Trusts* (New York, 1904); *The Masters of Capital* (New York, 1911); and *Moody's Analyses of Investments* (New York, annual); E. R. A. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, (New York, 1909), chap. xxii.; F. C. Howe, *Privilege and Democracy in America* (New York, 1910); T. Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (New York, 1904); L. F. Post, *Social Service* (New York, 1911); T. E. Burton, *Financial Crises* (New York, 1911); F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of United States* (New York, 1908).

CHAPTER VI.

1865-1912.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEMS.*

Agriculture in the West as determined by pioneer migration — Shifting of rural population affected by the law of supply and demand — Increase in rural population in agricultural and other farm products since 1870 — Conditions favoring our agricultural development — Rise in wages of farm labor — The prairies of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Red River valleys — The Homestead and the Bonanza farmer — Agricultural research and the Department of Agriculture — Work of the Bureau of Animal Industry — The application of science to agriculture — The cultivation of plants and the breeding of animals — Coöperation in rural communities — Problems of conservation and reclamation — Rural educational development — Social and religious advance — Artistic progress.

Migration to the great prairies and plains of the West was interrupted at its height by the Civil War. In 1865, recovering from this check, the movement assumed greater force than ever, thousands of courageous men and women seeking the great West in mover wagons, by the onpushing lines of railway, and by water. Those of us who, from the vantage point of our farmsteads in the Middle West, saw the daily passing of those picturesque prairie schooners and wagon trains; who beheld at its height this living flood flinging itself against the barriers of frontier hardship and border warfare, inundating the short-grass plains, overflowing even the natural barrier of the Rockies, and spreading out upon the shores of the Pacific,—witnessed indeed a wonderful pageant of American National life.

The individuals composing this human flood came from the most enter-

prising portion of our eastern and immigrant population. With a courage and optimism worthy of the high cause upon which they were embarked, they braved the dangers of the wilderness and the horrors of Indian warfare that they might establish homes in this new and golden West. Upon their hardships, their sufferings, their mighty labors, their self-denials—upon their very lives, as upon a tragic foundation—rest our fruitful western agriculture, our mining industries, and the wealth and eminence of our stately cities of the West.

This great continental migration has not ceased even yet, but various facts indicate that the movement is nearing an end. In the first place, for a decade or more the rural population of Iowa has been decreasing. Then, too, the movement into the great plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the far West has projected a great offshoot northwestward into Canadian territory, where hundreds of thousands of people, largely from the Mid-

* Prepared for this history by Willet M. Hays, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

dle West, have gone into Assiniboia, Alberta, and other northwestern territories in the last few years. Finally, many farm people have moved from the prairies of the Middle West to the South and even to the Eastern States.

For a time the farmers of the eastern section saw their lands depreciate in value owing to the onrush of food and fibre from the great, easily subdued and cheaply purchased farms of the West, both north and south; but now that the western farms have risen nearly to their normal selling prices, eastern farms are again coming into their own. Henceforth the movement of the farm population from one place to another will largely follow the lines of local profit-making from the land. At present the commercial success of

apple and peach growing is making certain hilly sections of the Appalachian regions more populous. The higher prices of farm products cause New England farmers to revive many of the abandoned farms. There are yearly movements of farmers into newly irrigated areas and newly drained swamp regions.

Easy methods of transportation, a universal distribution of information, a uniform language, much travel on business or pleasure, and habits of migration,—all these make the people move readily from areas oversupplied with farmers to such as promise better and more permanent profits.

The following tabular statement gives the increase of rural population by States since 1870, as shown by the United States census:

NUMBER OF PERSONS (MALE AND FEMALE) 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1870, 1880, 1890* AND 1900†.

STATE OR TERRITORY	1870	1880	1890*	1900†
Maine.....	82,011	82,130	86,296	76,923
New Hampshire.....	46,573	44,490	42,982	38,782
Vermont.....	57,983	55,251	56,183	49,320
Massachusetts.....	72,810	64,973	81,100	66,551
Rhode Island.....	11,780	10,945	12,606	10,957
Connecticut.....	43,653	44,026	48,676	44,796
New York.....	374,323	377,460	410,132	375,990
New Jersey.....	63,128	59,214	74,889	68,881
Pennsylvania.....	260,051	301,112	453,086	341,712
Delaware.....	15,973	17,849	18,702	19,002
Maryland.....	80,449	90,927	105,396	95,554
District of Columbia.....	1,365	1,464	1,886	1,488
Virginia.....	244,550	254,099	271,745	300,268
West Virginia.....	73,960	107,578	129,887	151,722
North Carolina.....	269,238	360,937	374,359	459,306
South Carolina.....	206,651	294,602	328,017	393,693
Georgia.....	336,145	432,204	418,128	522,848
Florida.....	42,492	58,731	66,198	88,688
Ohio.....	397,024	397,495	429,019	414,662
Indiana.....	266,777	331,240	330,569	342,733
Illinois.....	376,441	436,371	456,488	462,781
Michigan.....	187,211	240,319	308,501	312,462

* Engaged in agriculture, fisheries and mining.

† Engaged in agricultural pursuits.

NUMBER OF PERSONS (MALE AND FEMALE) 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1870, 1880, 1890* AND 1900†—Continued.

STATE OR TERRITORY	1870	1880	1890*	1900†
Wisconsin.....	159,687	195,901	242,099	270,007
Minnesota.....	75,157	131,535	195,422	258,944
Iowa.....	210,263	303,557	330,390	371,604
Missouri.....	263,918	355,297	404,665	463,293
North Dakota.....	2,522	28,508	43,955	71,626
South Dakota.....			70,839	82,857
Nebraska.....	23,115	90,507	170,574	186,587
Kansas.....	73,228	206,080	256,582	271,252
Kentucky.....	261,080	320,571	326,085	408,185
Tennessee.....	267,020	294,153	336,886	413,406
Alabama.....	291,628	380,630	380,852	515,737
Mississippi.....	259,199	339,938	360,049	490,582
Louisiana.....	141,467	205,306	240,730	295,445
Texas.....	166,753	359,317	432,318	644,634
Indian Territory.....				92,418
Oklahoma.....			13,928	94,931
Arkansas.....	109,310	216,655	256,356	345,479
Montana.....	2,111	4,513	25,780	28,693
Wyoming.....	165	1,639	11,201	13,407
Colorado.....	6,462	13,539	59,243	44,904
New Mexico.....	18,668	14,139	26,611	27,314
Arizona.....	1,285	3,435	10,528	16,174
Utah.....	10,428	14,550	24,083	29,414
Nevada.....	2,070	4,180	10,536	5,890
Idaho.....	1,162	3,858	18,814	27,489
Washington.....	3,771	12,781	47,943	61,113
Oregon.....	13,248	27,091	50,980	58,490
California.....	47,863	79,396	161,042	152,371
United States.....	5,922,471	7,670,493	9,013,336	10,381,765

The following table shows the increase in area, production and value of certain argicultural products by States from 1866 to 1910, as shown by the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Department of Agriculture.

AREA, PRODUCTION AND VALUE OF CROPS INDICATED, 1866 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—)

CROP	1866			1910			Increase (+) or decrease (—)		
	Area	Production	Value	Area	Production	Value	Area	Production	Value
	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
Corn.....	34,306,538	867,946,295	411,450,830	104,035,000	2,886,260,000	1,384,817,000	+69,728,462	+2,018,313,705	+973,366,170
Wheat.....	15,424,496	151,999,906	232,109,630	45,681,000	635,121,000	561,051,000	+30,256,504	+483,121,094	+328,941,370
Oats.....	8,864,219	268,141,077	94,057,945	37,548,000	1,186,341,000	408,385,000	+28,683,781	+918,199,923	+314,330,055
Rye.....	1,548,033	20,864,944	17,149,716	2,185,000	34,897,000	24,953,000	+636,967	+14,032,056	+7,803,284
Barley.....	492,532	11,285,807	7,916,342	7,743,000	173,832,000	100,426,000	+7,250,468	+162,548,193	+92,509,658
Buckwheat.....	1,045,624	22,791,839	15,413,160	860,000	17,598,000	11,636,000	—185,624	—5,193,839	—3,777,160
Potatoes.....	1,069,381	107,200,976	50,722,553	3,720,000	349,032,000	194,566,000	+2,650,619	+298,309,447	+143,843,447
Hay.....	17,668,904	121,778,627	220,835,771	51,015,000	169,378,000	842,252,000	+33,346,096	+147,599,373	+621,416,229

* Engaged in agriculture, fisheries and mining.

† Engaged in agricultural pursuits.

‡ Tons.

The increase in the production of poultry, and forest products from fruit crops, also live stock, dairy, 1870 to 1900, is shown in the next table.

ORCHARD PRODUCTS, LIVE STOCK, DAIRY PRODUCTS, POULTRY AND FOREST PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY DECADES, 1870-1910, AS COMPILED FROM CENSUS REPORTS.

ITEM	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Orchard products, value.	\$47,335,189	\$50,876,154	†	\$83,750,961	\$140,867,347
Live stock, number.	85,703,913	130,969,581	161,973,518	215,587,565	199,501,108
Live stock, value.	\$1,525,276,457	\$1,500,381,707	\$2,208,767,573	\$2,979,197,586	\$4,760,060,093
Dairy products,* pounds.	567,584,836	801,522,776	1,042,950,286	1,790,097,214	1,939,947,441
Poultry, number.	.....	125,507,322	285,609,440	250,623,354	295,880,190
Forest products, value...	\$36,808,277	\$95,774,735	†	\$109,864,774	\$195,306,283

* Butter and cheese.

† Values not given.

‡ No data.

During the last third of the Nineteenth century the combination of cheap, new lands, of agricultural machinery propelled by horses and motors, of railway transportation, and of a vigorous pioneer population, pushed the production of farm products beyond the demands of even a rapidly increasing city and manufacturing population. This kept the level of farm prices relatively very low. But manufactures steadily increased, the cities kept on growing, the foreign demand for our farm products continued unabated, all at an increased speed which a settled agriculture could not maintain; with the result that for a decade prices have gone up to what seems to be a permanently higher level. The logical result was that land began to rise rapidly in value in the producing regions of the Middle West. This tendency to an increased valuation of lands has spread to the South, to the great plains, to the Far West, as well as to the Eastern States.

Another matter profoundly affecting the prices of farm products was the rapid development of manufacturing, transportation, merchandising, and other non-agricultural industries. The profits in these lines of trade made the payment of higher wages possible. The cities and manufacturing centers, therefore, drew upon the rural communities for workers. This in turn reacted upon the price of farm labor, which is now almost double that of the preceding generation.

Henceforth those who consume farm products must pay interest on high valuations of farm lands and for high-priced farm labor, as well as farmers' profits comparable to those accruing in other lines of industrial and professional work. It may be assumed, therefore, that we are in a permanent period of higher prices for farm products. Of course there will be fluctuations, but these will be at a higher average level.

Almost as enticing as the gold fields of California were the rich prairies of

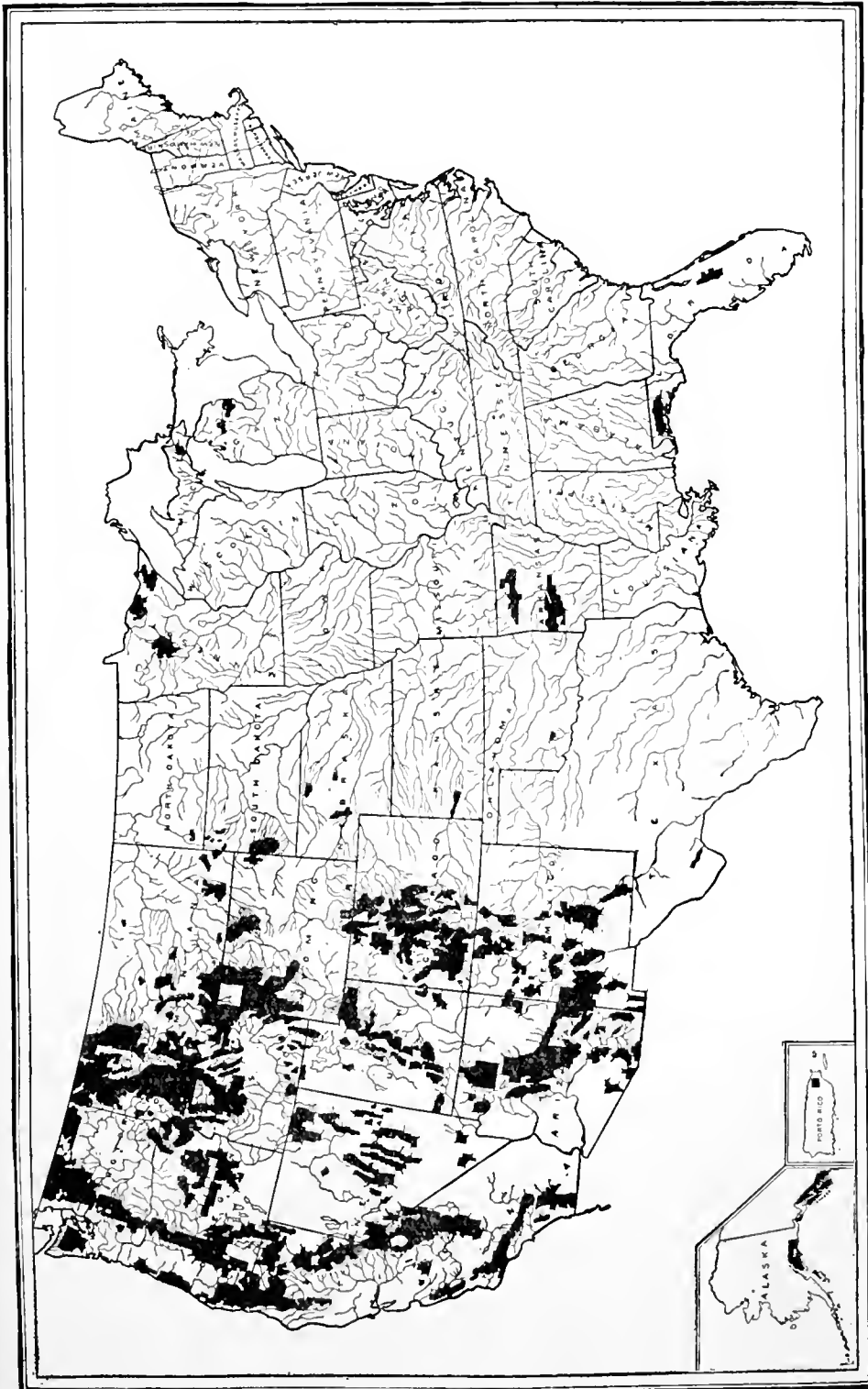
the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Red River valleys. Here was a land of abundant rainfall and an almost unparalleled richness of soil that offered untold wealth to those who should be the first to tap its boundless resources; and here came the bonanza farmer. With a picturesqueness of operation perhaps never again to be equalled, with a fine disregard of the needs of the soil and of the rights of the coming generations, he yearly sowed and reaped his thousands of acres of wheat, marketing the product and, incidentally, with every crop reducing the productivity of the soil. And what the bonanza farmer did on a large scale thousands of homesteaders did on a smaller scale, until even the well-nigh inexhaustible wealth of those fertile alluvial soils shrank so from year to year that both the bonanza farmer and the homesteader were brought face to face with the problem of decreasing yields due to lessened soil fertility.

In the meantime there had grown up, in the form of the United States Department of Agriculture, an institution destined to solve the problem which confronted the wheat farmer. In the first year of the Civil War Congress passed an act establishing this department for the purpose of gathering by research a body of knowledge concerning soil, crops, live stock, farm management, and general rural economy. During the same session of Congress the law was enacted which established a college of agriculture in

every State, thus inaugurating our agricultural educational service. This same Congress passed also the Homestead Law dividing all the public lands then remaining on the family farm basis, practically giving them to the people and thus inaugurating the plan of the common farm throughout the country. Thus President Lincoln signed the law providing for family farms, the laws under which the Nation and the States, by research and vocational education, secure the information necessary to enable the millions of farmers to make their farming profitable.

The Department of Agriculture grew rather slowly until the end of the Nineteenth century. During the last two decades, however, it has grown from an institution with a few hundred workers to a great department, with 12,000 or 15,000 employees. It is now charged by Congress with the expenditure of nearly \$20,000,000, about one-third of which is devoted to agricultural research.

This Department employs experts in all lines of agricultural investigation and experimentation, the results of whose labors swell the sum total of scientific agricultural knowledge and aid every farmer in solving his numerous and perplexing individual problems. Among this great body of public workers are soil experts, whose efforts are directed toward answering the great questions pertaining to soil management, fertility and conservation; live stock experts, who



NATIONAL FORESTS IN THE UNITED STATES, ALASKA AND PORTO RICO.

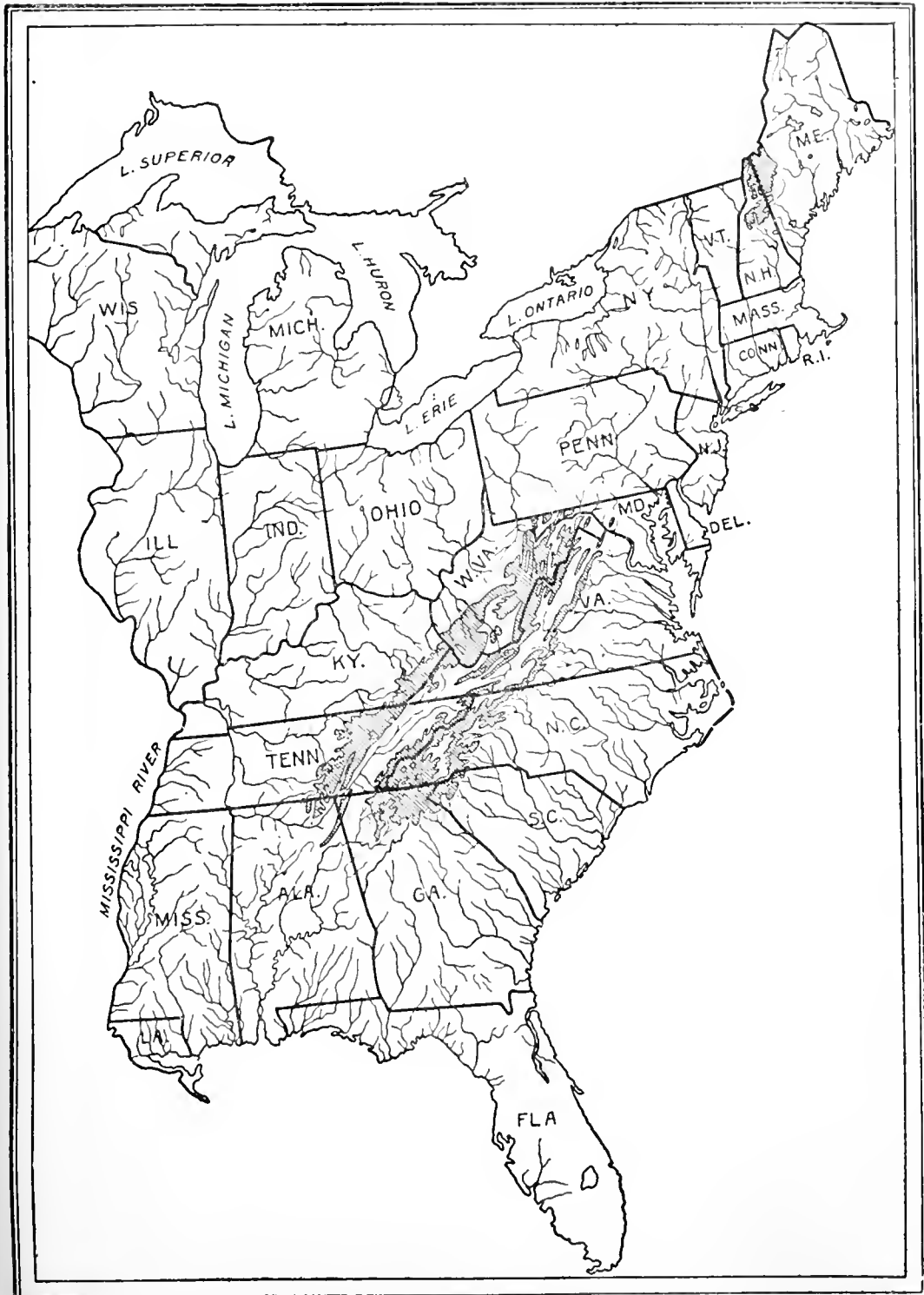
study the breeding, feeding, and management of all classes of live stock; entomologists and plant pathologists, who devise means of combating insect pests and the fungous and bacterial diseases of plants; statisticians, who, by the accumulation of data relative to the cost of producing farm products, have helped to systematize the farm business; drainage, irrigation, and roads experts; and, in addition, hundreds of men who spread this knowledge among the people and (by lectures, demonstration farms, and other means) assist them to apply it to their daily tasks.

Congress has charged this Department also with the management of 190,000,000 acres of forests. This is equal to one-twelfth the area of the United States—to the combined areas of the States of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Illinois. The map appended hereto shows the National forest areas. Thus the Forest Service division of this great Department not only helps to organize the science of forestry, but also protects existing forests against deforestation and replants cut-over lands. It has charge, moreover, of the stupendous business of harvesting, under lease, of vast quantities of timber.

The Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture not only studies diseases and the feeding and breeding of animals, but has charge of great campaigns aiming to eradicate disease. Thus, it spent nearly half a million dollars some

years ago in successfully eradicating the foot-and-mouth-disease that had entered this country from Europe. Had this disease not been vigorously stamped out, it would have caused a loss of live stock worth many millions of dollars. This Bureau is now carrying on a successful campaign to the very important end of ridding the great western open range country of the skin diseases of sheep and cattle known as scabies. It has charge, too, of a mighty battle with the cattle tick, which causes Texan fever in the cattle of the Southern States. The following map shows the present infested area and that originally infested from which the tick has been eradicated. This Bureau is also coöperating with the States in discovering ways of eradicating tuberculosis among cattle so that losses in the cattle business may be lessened and the danger of infection to people using dairy products may be reduced.

In 1887 Congress, approving of the research work of the United States Department of Agriculture, appropriated \$750,000 annually to the States to be expended in agricultural research, giving every State \$15,000 and causing every State and Territory to establish an experiment station. To this amount most of the States have added fairly liberal appropriations of their own. The stations were generally established near the State colleges of agriculture and have proved of enormous importance in working out the facts of agricultural science



NON-AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN APPALACHIAN AND WHITE MOUNTAIN REGIONS WITHIN WHICH AREAS THE PROPOSED APPALACHIAN FORESTS WILL BE LOCATED.

and the principles underlying agricultural practice. They have greatly aided also in giving scientific instruction and assistance to the agricultural colleges beside which they are located.

At present, in its National and State departments of agriculture and in its State experiment stations, this country is expending about \$10,000,000 annually in agricultural research. The \$75,000,000 spent in this country on agricultural investigations and the machinery invented for agricultural use, combined with the genius of the farmers themselves, have resulted in reorganizing agricultural practice.

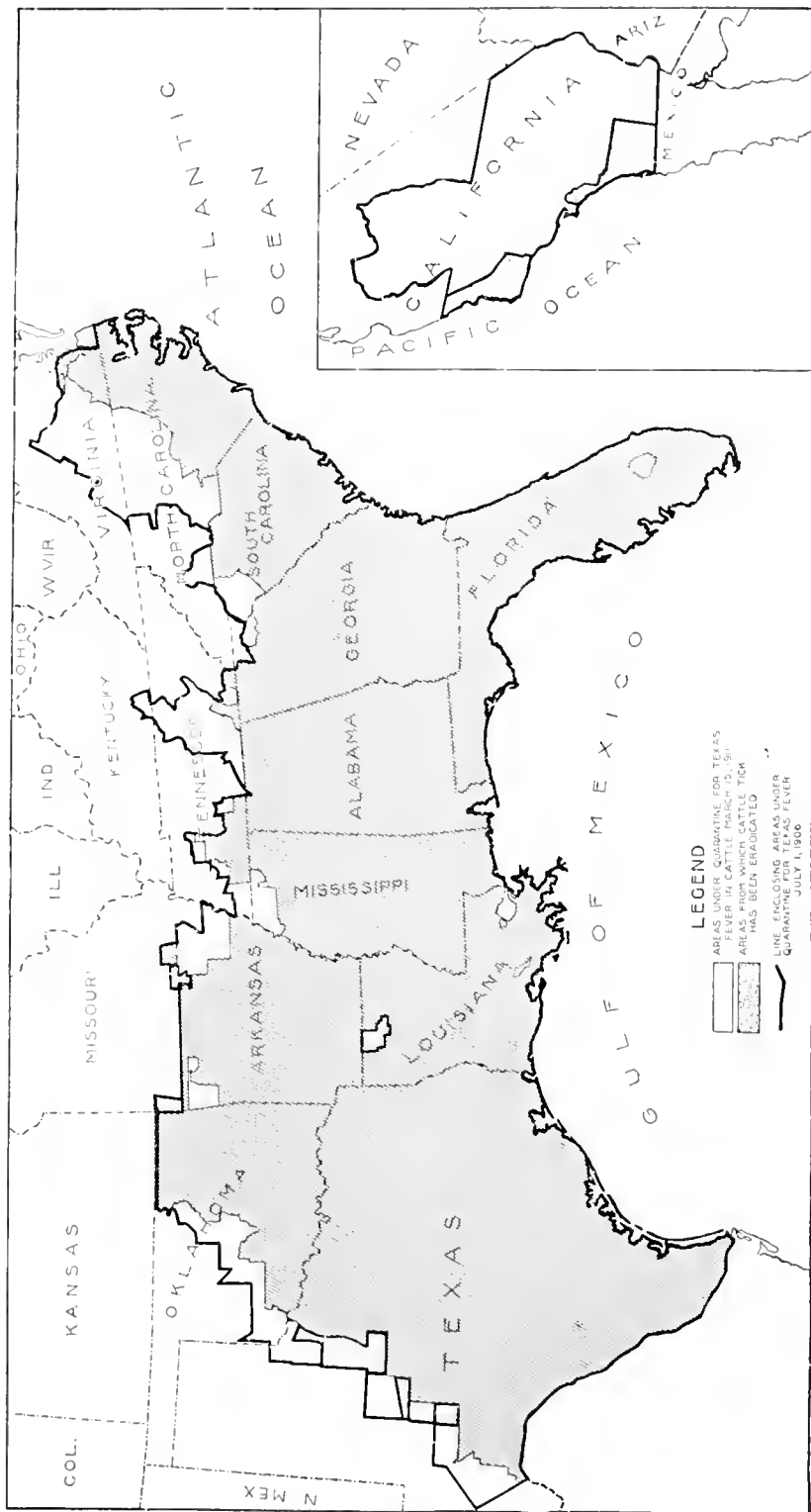
Until very recently the people received this new knowledge slowly and with suspicion. To change the working plans of an entire class of people is necessarily a work of time, and for years the practical farmer looked with disfavor and distrust upon the "book farmer." When, however, decreasing yields rendered his profits smaller every year, something had to be done. In his extremity he turned for help to the "book farmer," the agricultural scientist, and these two classes learned to respect each other's special knowledge.

The consequent coöperation between farmer and scientist has wrought a revolution in farm practice and transformed the haphazard, unsystematic, one-crop agriculture of earlier days into the scientific business farming of to-day — farming in which farms are planned and managed so that the effi-

ciency of labor may be increased, in which crops are rotated so that soil fertility may be conserved, in which expenses are carefully recorded so that actual loss or gain in the farming business may be accurately known.

During the past decade or two a movement has been organized to improve the varieties of plants and animals used on the farm so as to secure varieties and breeds with such heredity as will greatly increase products and net profits. Thus the breeders of wheat and other grains are successfully seeking for that occasional plant (perhaps one in ten thousand) which, when multiplied into a variety, will add a few bushels to the yield per acre. The apple growers are planting tens of thousands of seeds so that the occasional plant may be found which, when its cuttings are grown into trees, will make an apple of better quality, larger in yield, and with all other desirable characteristics of this kind of fruit. Peter Gideon's notable work in Minnesota in producing the Wealthy apple, with sufficient hardiness to extend the northern zone of the apple for probably a hundred miles, is a good illustration of achievement along this line.

The breeders of animals, in like manner, are seeking the occasional potent animal which, when closely inbred, will produce a strain of the breed, or a new breed, more valuable than the breed or breeds from which he sprang. Thus, during the last half century the American Poland-China



swine, the Rhode Island Red chickens, the Polled Hereford cattle, the Kentucky trotting horse, and numerous other new breeds and sub-breeds have come into prominence.

Instead of settling down to conditions not easily changed, as in other countries, the American people retain the progressive spirit. In fact, such radical changes as those introduced by the sewing machine, the self-binding reaper, the wire fence, the railroad, the telephone, the automobile, the gasoline motor on the farm, and low priced printed matter seem sufficient to prevent stagnation and to prepare the people for any changes which modern science and modern leadership may make possible. Furthermore, influences from without constantly react upon our rural communities. The presence in our cities of wonderful high schools and technical schools is forcing our country people to realize that the farmers must have educational facilities—such as large technical agricultural high schools—quite as good as those provided for education in the professions and in the trades.

In like manner, the combinations of manufacturers and transporters—those who deal in the things the farmer has to sell and those who deal in the things the farmer has to buy—have forced the farmer to see that he, too, must meet organization with organization. During the earlier part of the period under discussion the farmers satisfied them-

selves for the most part with general organizations, such as the Farmer's Alliance, the Grange, and the Farmers' Congress. They experimented with coöperative buying, selling, dairying, insurance, ownership of machinery, and the breeding of animals; and have learned, through many failures, which classes of coöperation were most successful. During the last decade or two the farmers having proven the value and practicability of these coöperative efforts, have greatly increased their activities along these lines. Coöperative insurance, especially of farm property, has been extended to very many townships and counties. Thousands of coöperative cheese factories and creameries are being successfully operated. Tens of millions of dollars' worth of fruit and vegetables are annually marketed by coöperative growers' societies. One coöperative organization in Southern California handles more than half the citrus fruits of that State. Much information and inspiration has been gained from farmers' coöperative organizations in other countries.

The United States Government and the State governments employ officers to assist in working out the technical and business methods of these organizations; and, in some lines of rural coöperation, the States assist by furnishing public officers to audit, annually or semi-annually, the accounts of such coöperative organizations as farmers' banks and insurance companies.

Coöperation in the breeding of dairy

cattle and in the breeding of other animals has been taken up, and the farmers of the United States are associated in many coöperative associations (State, National, and local in scope) such as horticultural societies, agricultural societies, live stock societies, and dairymen's societies. Much advance in the irrigation of large areas of land and in the drainage of swampy areas has been accomplished through coöperative organizations, through voluntary effort, or under laws which specify legalized forms of coöperation.

In 1865 the men who had done the larger part of the work of deforesting the territory east of the Mississippi river were yet living. With axe, mattock, and fire, one of the world's most wonderful forest areas had been transformed into a region of productive farms. But, with the rapid growth of population, the Nation began to sense the fact that, instead of having so much wood that timber must be destroyed, we should soon be under the necessity of conserving our existing tree-growth and of planting forests for the future. The so-called theorists began to get an audience and, finally, during the last several years, the entire country has become thoroughly aroused to the importance of no longer depending upon the private grower to produce the lumber for the next generation. Only the Nation has the welfare of its future people so strongly at heart as to be willing to wait 50 to 100 years for the newly planted tree

to grow into useful timber. The Nation suddenly reserved all its remaining public forest lands, partly in order to grow forest products and partly in order that the headwaters of our navigable streams may be preserved. The States, following the example of the Nation, are also reserving and administering forest lands. It has even been proposed that some plan of coöperation be instituted between the National and State governments under which very much larger acreages may be brought under public forest management.

In addition to its great work of conserving the wealth of our National forests, the Department of Agriculture has put forward also numerous projects for reclaiming the arid lands of the West. Here, where Nature provided the richest of soils, but, in a moment of haste, as it were, forgot to make suitable provision for rainfall, man has set to work and has, in a favored spot here and there, met the need with artificial rain; that is, with a great system of dams in the mountains to store up the melting snows and with miles of irrigating ditches to carry the waters down to the thirsty crops in the valleys below so that the desert may indeed "blossom as the rose." By this means the Nation has added to its tillable domain hundreds of thousands of fertile alfalfa, fruit and general farm land.

In 1865 the one-room rural school had penetrated every settled portion of the United States. This system of



Photos by Clinehust, Washington, D. C.

1. THE TWO WINGS OF THE UNFINISHED BUILDING FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. (THE WHITE BUILDING ABOVE THE LEFT WING IS THE NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM, ABOVE WHICH IN THE DISTANCE IS SEEN THE ROOF OF THE PENSION BUILDING. ABOVE THE RIGHT WING IS SEEN THE TOWER OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WHILE TO THE EXTREME RIGHT IN THE FAR DISTANCE ARE THE DOMES OF THE CAPITOL BUILDING AND THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS).

2. THE PENSION BUILDING.

country-life education continued unchanged almost to the close of the Nineteenth century. These schools had ignored the accumulating new knowledge of agriculture, home-making, and rural economies. They adhered almost absolutely to the traditional subjects of the schools. To the "three R's", some schools added mathematics, history, and languages, which were recognized as preparatory studies for college entrance. These schools, like the city and village schools, by giving only studies unrelated to agriculture, home-making, and other industries, tended to discredit all manual lines of effort. Our school system, including these rural schools, magnified the professions and even such non-manual vocations as book-keeping, clerking, and the lighter forms of transportation service. Thus the schools, acting in unison with the increasing wages of non-agricultural pursuits, helped to lead the people away from the farm and farm home, and even away from many of the mechanical industries. Our schools have thus been partially responsible for our young men's preference of the \$12 per week salary of the clerk or street-car conductor to the \$20 a week wage of the skilled artisan or the responsibility of the rented farm, with the chance of some time becoming its owner.

On the other hand, it is only fair to say in passing, that the one-room rural school gave to the American country people the elements of an

English education, served as a common bond of the people to the Government, formed the great medium through which has been built up a unified Americanism, and gave the whole people a respect for and yearning after knowledge. It has served as the basis of a most wonderful market for a varied and abundant literature in books, periodicals, and public bulletins and reports. In a word, our common schools have, in a most potent way, brought us up to a position wherein reasonable education and economic and social development through reorganization is not only possible but practical and imminent.

Thus it came gradually to be recognized among those who studied public questions, among business men who employed young graduates of our school system, and among parents and teachers themselves, that our school system was too narrowly directed along the line of the specialist in literary scholarship, and not sufficiently brought into relation to the things which more than 90 per cent. of the pupils would be called upon to do on leaving school; that the studies of the schools were strictly arranged to prepare the pupils for the grade above, and too little calculated to fit graduates for the work of the farm, the shop, or the home, where most people must become efficient or fail to carry their share of the social burden.

Our schools have been slow to accept the fact that modern research and experience have added a new body of

knowledge which rivals the old in promoting mental growth and skill and far surpasses the old in preparing for the vocational pursuits of actual life. In 1862, under the influence of the initial act of Congress in establishing State schools of agriculture and mechanical arts, a movement has arisen in our educational system to place beside the traditional studies training in the new subjects brought into prominence by modern scientific study of vocational conditions.

The first vocational courses to become successful in these State colleges were mechanical and engineering. Later, courses in agriculture became successful, and lastly courses in relation to home-making were successfully inaugurated. Some of these schools did not stop at courses of collegiate grade in these vocational lines, but established also secondary courses, short courses, and even itinerant schools and traveling lectureships. Some of them (as did also the United States Department of Agriculture) finally organized corps of demonstration teachers.

These lower courses of study soon gained a foothold outside the State colleges. Agricultural high schools sprang up, and now we have nearly 75 of them; several States have one in each Congressional district, or about one in each ten counties. Congress has been considering a bill to enable every State to establish a large agricultural high school in practically every ten counties, which would pro-

vide nearly 400 schools of this class throughout the United States. Parallel with this tendency is a movement to establish in our cities, as parts of our city high-school system, secondary schools of the trades and industries. In the larger cities, such as Chicago, St. Paul, Washington, and Springfield (Massachusetts), splendid separate high schools of this class have been established. In the smaller towns this work usually takes the form of departments of trades and industries in the existing high schools. In nearly all these schools, whether agricultural or industrial, high school work is provided in home economics. In fact, courses in home-making are now being placed as strong units in nearly all high schools, academies, and other secondary schools for girls throughout the entire United States.

During the last fifteen years Ohio, Indiana, Florida, Massachusetts, and other States have begun to reorganize and consolidate the one-room schools of the open country. Six or eight one-room school districts are thrown into a single district, approximately five miles across each way. A five-room school building is erected in the middle of this district, preferably on a ten-acre school farm. Often a residence is erected for the principal. Most of the children are hauled to school in wagons hired at public expense. Under typical conditions, three teachers, each with two grades, care for the 100 pupils in the first six grades. A principal and assistant

principal trained to teach agriculture and home economics, give both the general school subjects and agricultural and home-economics subjects to the pupils of the seventh and eighth grades and to those in the first two years of high school.

It has been found most desirable to have these older pupils who are pursuing the work of the seventh to the tenth years remain in school the six winter months and to work on the home farm the alternate six months; with the teacher of agriculture and the teacher of home economics spending half their time working with their pupils at home, coöperating with the parents in making the pupils summer work truly apprenticeship service, and highly educational. Students from the large agricultural high school — one in each ten counties — taking their eleventh and twelfth years (or last two years of high school work) also get their summer's practice on the home farm. These older students often assist the teachers of the consolidated rural school in making the summer's work of the pupils in the lower school more instructive and more inspiring.

Then, by attending school one day a week or one day in two weeks during these alternate six months, the pupils care for the crops of the ten-acre school farm, make their reports of their home work, and complete their contests in the growing acres of corn, potatoes, or strawberries. In these and in such other ways as the teachers may devise they are stimulated to

active interest in doing exceptionally good work on the farm.

This new form of consolidated rural school, with teachers grown up in similar schools, further trained in agricultural high schools, in State normal schools, and perhaps in State agricultural colleges, remoulds the rural community into a larger unit. The diffuse, weak, unformed, unbalanced centering about the one-room school, about the over-lapping denominational country church, about the country store, and about the villages, thus gives way to a new civic life which attracts everything to the consolidated rural school centre. Here during youth all members of the community gain that acquaintance and fellowship with each other which makes true coöperation possible. Probably more than 2,000 farm communities — about one-fifteenth of the whole number for which our vast open country has room — have formed typical consolidated school districts, with the team haul limit of about five miles square. They have the consolidated rural school, to which the children are generally conveyed in public wagons. It is true that in only part of these have agriculture and home economics been introduced, but it is not surprising that a little time is required in which to replace the teachers from the old-line agricultural high schools and colleges. Even under their present conditions, without the influence of efficient teachers of agriculture and home economics, the con-

solidated rural schools already established have been so uniformly successful that not one parent in twenty would vote to return from the more expensive consolidated rural school to the less expensive one-room school. The added expense to the district so increases the number of pupils attending school, their regularity of attendance, the rapidity with which they learn, the enlarged and pertinent scope of education (which often includes vocational as well as general subjects), and the enthusiasm and inspiration resulting from the school, that practically all parents greatly prefer the new plan. Moreover, wherever efficient teachers of agriculture have supplanted the narrowly literary teachers, the farmers have found that the new form of school has a vital relation to such substantial increases in the productions of the farms that the increased cost of the school is one of their best paying investments.

The isolation of farm life was for many years one of its greatest drawbacks. It is all very well to talk about living close to nature and "holding communion with her invisible forms," but man, as has been frequently observed, is essentially a gregarious animal, and must have intercourse with his own kind if he is to develop symmetrically. The lack of human intercourse was one of the hardships of pioneering to be listed in the catalogue of the more tangible physical discomforts. Those were the days when wo-

men for months at a time did not see each other; when, shut in by the four walls of their tiny frontier cabins and enclosed even more inescapably by the dangers of the limitless prairies or the savage forests, they lived a life of monotony; and where, perhaps worst of all, illness or injury to their loved ones found them absolutely beyond the reach of medical attendance.

But what changes have we seen who have lived through the half century which has elapsed since the close of the Civil War! We have seen settlements increase until now there is scarcely a quarter section of those rich prairie lands without its farmstead. We have seen churches and schools and mighty colleges spring up where fifty years ago the painted savage pitched his tepee or lifted his terrible war-cry. We have seen the railways running their ribbons of steel where there were then no highways save the rutted trails of the prairie schooners. We have seen the formation of granges, horticultural societies, farmers' coöperative associations, and women's clubs. We have seen the infrequent mail of pioneer days replaced by the daily free delivery; and, lastly, we have seen our country homes connected by telephone and brought in touch with the great centres of population by telegraph. And now, as the last word in social and religious progress, came the Union Church in some localities and the consolidated rural school, with its centralizing influence in others.

In the comparative affluence of the

past decade has come the building of that artistic sense among our people which was long held in abeyance by the rigors of necessity. And in this as in most other things, the American people have displayed a strong individuality. The great ancestral estates of the older countries, with their stately mansions and the thatched-roofed cottages of tenant laborers where ambition is embalmed are not to our taste. On our vast, beautiful, open country we have, instead, the independent farmer who owns his quarter section and builds and beautifies his farmstead according to his own individual sense of the fitness of things. We are building hundreds of thousands of miles of good roads and well-kept roadsides maintained not for the convenience of a wealthy class at the expense of a less fortunate one, but rather to serve and uphold the civic pride, the self-respect and the convenience of the people at large. We

have sanitary and artistic public buildings maintained at the people's will and cost. There has risen a sense of the advantages of a handsome country-side; of farmsteads with comely buildings, beautiful lawns, with trees, shrubs and flowers. We have State, Interstate and National parks, many of them located in our forest reserves, perpetuating for all the people the natural beauties of our country.

And we have a few artists who have fortunately ceased painting European peasantry as typifying country life and have pictured the American farmer with his plow and four horses, in place of the European man with the hoe, as more typical of real farm life. Instead of covering the walls of our rural schoolhouses and farm homes with pictures of European peasant life, the movement has fairly begun to substitute pictures of the best activities of American country life, retaining the pictures of the man with the hoe for the purpose of contrast.

CHAPTER VII.

1865-1912.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.*

Interrelation of foreign commerce and industrial development — Conditions favoring the growth of our foreign commerce since the Civil War — Nature and extent of this growth — Connection between imports and exports — Analysis of exports since 1856 — Later export trade and recent industrial development — Growing importance of our import trade — Its numerous sources — Our economic independence a result of our industrial revolution — Factors favoring our commercial development — Total international trade and its proper estimation.

In the rapid process of industrial growth which characterizes the history of the United States during the last

half-century the development of foreign commerce was both a powerful factor and an important result. But the record of this development is especially valuable as the best existing

* Prepared for this history by Isaac M. Rubinow, of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

record of the radical economic changes that have taken place in this country.

It is true that the decennial censuses of the United States present a record of economic growth such as no other country as yet possesses, but at best this is an intermittent record, taken only once in a decade; while the conditions of international trade both require and make possible a record that is fairly accurate and continuous. It is partly for this reason that so much more is said of foreign commerce, which, with all its enormous dimensions, represents, after all, but a small portion of the commercial activity of this nation; and so much less is known of internal commerce, the statistical study of which is still in its infancy. It may be worth remembering, therefore, that while the exports from this country reached in 1907 the highest level of \$1,881,000,000 and the total foreign trade \$3,315,000,000, the value of farm products alone now exceeds \$9,000,000,000, that of manufactures \$20,000,000,000 and of mineral products some \$2,000,000,000; so that in these three fields of economic activity alone the total value of products exceeds \$30,000,000,000, while the total exports do not represent more than 5 or 6 per cent. of this amount.

While this qualification must be kept in mind by every careful student of economic conditions, it is evident, nevertheless, that since the war there has been a phenomenal, unprecedented growth in this country's foreign commerce. It began to assert itself almost

immediately at the close of the war. Many reasons combined to produce this effect. The reëstablishment of peace released a vast amount of human energy. The economic activity which immediately began manifested itself in the rapid growth of the railway system which opened up the virgin soil and the other natural resources of the West to the entire civilized world. At later periods the growth of industry due to the almost interrupted protective policy, the rapid growth of population due to European immigration, and finally, the belated industrialization of the South as it gradually recovered from the ravages of the War — all these causes combined to raise the figures of international trade.

A few statistical data will suffice to indicate the dimensions of this growth. From 1860 to 1910 the population of this country has increased from 31,000,000 to 91,000,000 — nearly three-fold. During the same period the imports increased from about \$353,000,000 in 1860 to \$1,400,000,000, and the exports from \$333,000,000 to nearly \$1,900,000,000.*

It is quite significant that the exports have grown very much more rapidly than the imports and that while, in the beginning of the period, the imports have, as a rule, exceeded the exports, since 1875 this has happened only three or four times, and

* Not to encumber the text with statistical data, a few statistical tables are presented at the end of the article.

since 1890 but once—in the critical year of 1893. Normally the excess of exports amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars annually; it reached its highest figures in 1898 (\$615,000,000), in 1901 (\$664,000,000), and in 1908 (\$666,000,000).*

Evidently the foreign commerce of the United States has not only grown, but its character has undergone radical changes. In the earlier part of the era under discussion the United States was a borrowing country. It needed the supplies, the machinery, the capital of Europe for investment in developing or exploiting its natural resources, and it paid for them in securities of its many enterprises, while at present it has an enormous industrial surplus which it must dispose of in foreign lands as well as a financial surplus which is frequently forced to look for investment abroad.

It is quite evident, therefore, that the conditions of the export and the

import trade are closely connected, but for convenience sake it is preferable to discuss them separately. Of the two currents of trade, the outward and the inward one, the former is more characteristic of the conditions of production and the latter of consumption. The export trade is therefore more significant of the economic growth of this country.

The very rapid growth of exports during the last half century has already been mentioned. In the decade before the war it fluctuated between two and three hundred million dollars annually. The economical disorganization of the war period reduced it to less than \$160,000,000 in 1864. It reached \$393,000,000 in 1870 and since then its growth has been steady, though interrupted by declines of slow duration in such years of economic depression as 1885 and 1895. The most phenomenal growth began during the 15 years following the latter crisis. Thus there were two well-defined periods of export growth; the first at the close of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's, and the second during the decade following the Spanish War.

* To be sure the excess of exports over imports as shown in the above figures is somewhat exaggerated owing to the methods employed in the statistics of foreign commerce. This is no place to go into a technical analysis of statistical methods, but it may be pointed out that the value of imported goods is usually taken at the place of shipment and that the high cost of transportation must be added to obtain their actual value on reaching American markets. In addition, such factors must be taken into consideration as the natural tendency toward undervaluation of imported goods, of which sufficient evidence has been disclosed in the recent reorganization of the New York Custom House by the collector, and even the unknown quantity of goods smuggled into this country, also larger than was suspected. With all that, however, there can be no doubt as to the large excess of exports over imports.

But the economic significance of these two high-water marks in the development of exports was vastly different. In the early period of the 70's and 80's the exports consisted mainly of agricultural and mineral products. In the language of official commercial statistics, they consisted mainly of foodstuffs either "in crude

condition" or "partly or wholly manufactured," and of "crude materials for use in manufactures." The exports represented a primitive form of economic exploitation of the natural resources. They followed the opening of the West and the rapid increase of railroad mileage, which in the 20 years following the Civil War (1866 to 1886) had grown from 36,000 to 136,000 miles.

A very interesting analysis of the exports of foreign products from the United States during the last 60 years was published a few years ago by the United States Department of Agriculture, presenting figures which are of deep significance in interpreting the economic development of this country. In 1856 to 1860 farm products constituted 82.4 per cent. of the total exports from this country; in 1881 to 1885, 78.1 per cent.; in 1896 to 1900, 66.2 per cent.; and in 1906 to 1908, only 56.4 per cent. The comparison is evidently interesting but the percentages alone are not conclusive. In absolute figures it means that, barring the turbulent period of the Civil War, the average annual export of farm products had increased from \$240,000,000 in 1866 to 1870 to \$605,000,000 in 1881 to 1885. But even this comparison of the volume of foreign exports in dollars and cents is not altogether accurate, because the period of the 70's and 80's was a period of a constantly falling crisis in foreign products which the bulk of American exports has helped to

create. Translated into simple English, these statistical computations show that in 1881 to 1885 the raw cotton alone, for instance, constituted nearly 30 per cent. of the total exports as measured in value, and wheat-flour over 20 per cent., pork and lard another 10 per cent., and corn about 5 per cent.—these four articles alone (cotton, wheat, corn and pork) representing three-fourths of the exports from the United States.

The recent industrial development has greatly modified this character of the export trade. Of course, the careful observer must be warned against the wild exaggerations indulged in by many superficial writers on this subject. Despite the very rapid growth of our manufactures, the United States is still the most important agricultural country in the world. Notwithstanding the very rapid growth of cities, between three-fifths and two-thirds of the American people still live in country districts. One-third of the American people still till their land. Notwithstanding the rapid growth of cotton mills throughout the South, we still remain the main source of supply of raw cotton for the whole civilized world, exporting two-thirds of our cotton production in its raw state. But these warnings are given only to gauge properly, not at all to deny, the effects of the industrialization of the United States upon its export trade. They are given to show that, side by side with its industrial growth, the development of

agriculture was significant, even if it could not keep pace with the former. A further agricultural growth within the next half century equal in dimension to that of the last 50 years is scarcely to be expected. We still feed and clothe many millions in Europe, but the greater portion is required for our own consumption. This is especially noticeable in the production and export of wheat. In the five years 1900 to 1904 we produced, on an average, 625,000,000 bushels of wheat and exported 192,000,000 — over 30 per cent. In the subsequent five years (1905 to 1909) we produced an average of 656,000,000 bushels and exported 113,000,000 bushels — or a little over 17 per cent. Furthermore, the method of exporting wheat has undergone a very important change. In 1880, for instance, 85 per cent. of the export of wheat was in grain and 15 per cent. in flour, while within recent years flour constituted from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the export of wheat (even disregarding 1905, the year when the exports of wheat and grain owing to a very short crop ceased almost entirely and flour constituted 90 per cent. of the total exports of wheat). Thus, even though the total volume of exports of food products has not declined, its character has changed greatly and its fluctuations are greater owing to constant and growing domestic demand. In 1880 the total exports of foodstuffs were \$465,000,000; in 1890, \$357,000,000; in 1900, \$545,000,000 and in 1910, \$369,000,000. But, in

proportion to the total trade, the decline was uninterrupted. In 1880 foodstuffs represented 56 per cent. of the total value of the exports; in 1890, 42 per cent.; in 1900, 40 per cent. and in 1910 less than 22 per cent.

On the other hand, the exports of manufactures rapidly increased from \$122,000,000 in 1880 to \$169,000,000 in 1890, \$485,000,000 in 1900, and \$767,000,000 in 1910. Where the sailing ships of 30 or 40 years ago carried only agricultural or mineral products, the transoceanic steamers carry products of a high degree of manufacture intended either for further use in manufactures of other countries or all ready for consumption, the latter higher group representing about two-thirds of the total exports of manufactures. It is quite impossible even to enumerate the important groups of manufactured articles, some of the exports of which have grown so rapidly as to roll up the enormous total of \$767,000,000 in 1910 against less than \$50,000,000 in 1860. Perhaps the small table given at the end of this article will be the best way of showing the rate of growth for the most important of these articles.

A glance at this table will show that the change which has taken place is in harmony with that in the export of wheat. Instead of sending the raw materials so abundant in this country, they are worked up to a more advanced and sometimes to their final form. Instead of wheat, flour; instead of corn and oats, beef and pork;

instead of raw leather, shoes; instead of lumber, complicated office furniture; instead of raw iron, machinery, bicycles, typewriters or scientific instruments. This, in a few words, is the change in the export trade in this country, and this undoubtedly is the growing tendency of the future.

And since the manufactured products have largely substituted the raw material in this trade, it is quite natural that the currents of the exports from the United States should not have radically changed. From the very beginning of the foreign commerce of the United States, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the exports went to Europe and over two-thirds still continue to cross the Atlantic. Nevertheless, under the influence of the changed character of the exports, some changes in the current of trade were inevitable. On the one hand, the substitution of manufactured products for food and raw materials inevitably caused some difficulties in the European markets where the products of American factories were forced to meet the competition of the products of domestic factories; and, on the other hand, it opened markets in such countries as were of no importance as consumers of American exports heretofore, either because they had a surplus of food products of their own or because they had no demand for the particular foods or raw materials which the United States could offer. As a result, we find an increased pro-

portion of the American exports diverted from Europe to the South American and Asiatic countries. Thus in the five years (1866 to 1870) Europe absorbed 77.8 per cent.; North America, 13.5 per cent.; South America, 4.2 per cent.; Asia, 2.7 per cent.; Australasia, 1.4 per cent. and Africa but .5 per cent. of the American exports. In the last five years, however, North America's share has increased to 18.5 per cent.; South America's, to 4.5 per cent.; Asia's, to 4.9 per cent.; that of Australasia, to 2.4 per cent.; and Africa's, to 1 per cent.; correspondingly, then, Europe's share has declined to 68 per cent. If figures did not make such dull reading, it would be possible and instructive to show that the share of the extra European countries is very much larger when only manufactures are considered. This analysis does not mean, of course, that our trade with Europe has actually declined, but only that, as manufactures are substituted for raw materials in the export trade, the markets of the younger countries less advanced industrially have become proportionately more important, and it is upon them that international rivalry is concentrated.

It was shown above that the imports into the United States had not grown as rapidly as the exports. Nevertheless they have increased faster than population and now do so more uninterruptedly, notwithstand-

ing all the important changes in tariff policy. The sudden decreases in the early 70's (from \$642,000,000 in 1872 to \$461,000,000 in 1876), again in the 90's (from \$866,000,000 in 1893 to \$654,000,000 in 1894), and finally from \$1,434,000,000 in 1907 to \$1,194,000,000 in 1908, were due to periods of economic depression rather than to changes in the tariff. Within the most recent years imports have increased in face of the considerable drop in the exports, so that the balance of trade has declined from \$666,000,000 in 1908 to \$188,000,000 in 1910.

These few data will indicate the growing importance of the import trade, which is frequently disregarded by writers on questions of foreign commerce. It is true that, with the rapid growth of American industries, the United States is becoming very much more self-sufficient than it was, inasmuch as our industries are better able to satisfy the demands of the internal markets. The most telling demonstration of this is found in the fact that, while early in the Nineteenth century more than one-half and sometimes nearly three-fifths of the imports consisted of manufactured goods ready for consumption, by the beginning of the new era (that is after the Civil War) the proportion has declined to 40 per cent. and now constitutes less than one-fourth, while the imports of raw materials for the use of manufactures has increased from 10 per cent. in the 60's to over

one-third. Adding to these the imports of partly manufactured articles for further use in manufactures, over one-half of the imports into the United States is called for by the demands of American industries. Contrary to some alarmist statements, the importation of food products has not increased, relatively speaking, and the time is still far distant when the United States will become dependent upon a foreign food supply excepting for such articles as, say, sugar or coffee, for whose importation a good climatic reason exists. In this connection we may point to the most interesting analysis to be found in the report of the chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Agriculture for 1910, which shows that, owing to improved methods of agriculture, the production of foodstuffs on the American farm is actually growing faster at present than the population.

For this reason the sources of the import trade of the United States are more evenly divided among the continents than are those of the exports. Less than one-half comes from Europe (the proportion within the last 25 years having gradually declined); about one-fifth comes from the other North American countries; about 15 per cent. from Asia; and 10 to 12 per cent. from South America (the respective shares of the last two regions having materially increased within recent years). Of articles for im-

mediate consumption, sugar and coffee, and of the raw materials, hides, skins, and India rubber are perhaps the only articles of import which individually constitute large shares of the total trade. In 1910 these four items aggregated one-fourth the total imports, while the remaining three-fourths were divided among a vast variety of articles.

In short, if it were necessary to summarize the characteristic changes in the foreign trade of the United States in one sentence, it might be said that the change consisted mainly in the gradual substitution of ready manufactures for raw materials and food products in the export trade and a similar gradual substitution of raw materials for ready-to-use manufactured articles in the import trade — a significant index of the industrial revolution through which the United States has passed during the last fifty years.

It has often been stated that, as a result of this industrial revolution, the United States has become more self-sufficient economically and less dependent upon foreign countries. This rapid review of the foreign commerce shows that the statement is true in only a very limited sense. On the one hand, the dependence upon foreign sources of raw materials, if less urgent than the dependence upon the foreign food supply, is much more important than that upon a foreign supply on manufactured articles for it

affects home production as well as consumption; and on the other, the dependence of American industry on the export trade has considerably increased. In consequence, the question of governmental aid to export trade has become a very serious one during the last two decades, and to a certain extent the necessity for the increase of the export trade is affecting our traditional tariff policy. The study of the foreign markets and of the conditions of foreign demands has become a matter of great concern. The increased attention to the consular service, the organization of a special Bureau of Manufactures, the distribution of many special commercial agents throughout the world, the organization of a Railroad board of trade through the efforts of the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor, are a few of the efforts made by the National government to open a larger outlet to American industries into some of the markets heretofore held almost exclusively by the British and Germans. The rapid organization of export museums and export associations through private efforts, a greater attention to the study of foreign commercial conditions and of foreign languages, and of the conditions of foreign trade in general in our best universities, are further evidences of the growing needs for the development of our export trade.

The influence of this comparatively new factor in American manufactures

is rapidly spreading in every direction. Such movements as the encouragement of a merchant marine, and even the gigantic undertaking of the Panama Canal, are due to the growing appreciation of the necessity of foreign markets. The sudden growth of the reciprocity movement may probably be explained more by the need of an outlet for our domestic goods than the desire of the American consumer for goods of foreign manufacture. In short, in so far as our protective policy, with its stimulus to the development of manufactures, has made a foreign outlet for surplus goods a necessary condition, this commercial policy has increased rather than decreased the interdependence of American economic life and international commercial markets. Thus it is quite fair to assume that the share of the United States in the world's trade will continue to grow in the future.

It is quite a difficult matter to ascertain the total value of the world's foreign commerce. An approximate computation made by the famous German statistician, Dr. F. von Juraschek, places the value of the combined exports from all countries in 1890 at \$8,348,000,000; in 1900, at \$9,957,000,000; and in 1907, when the highest level was reached, at \$14,747,000,000. The value of imports (which is usually higher, since to the original value must be added the cost of transportation and other items) into all countries

for these respective years, was \$9,555,000,000, \$11,433,000,000, and \$16,477,000,000.

The value of the total international trade is frequently spoken of as the total of both exports and imports. This, of course, represents a duplication, for the imports of one country reappear again in the statistics of foreign commerce as the exports of another country; but the total figures, if properly understood, present a better measure of the growth of the international trade than the figures of either exports or imports separately.

The totals for the three years selected were: In 1890, \$17,903,000,000; in 1900, \$21,390,000,000; and in 1907, \$31,224,000,000. Of these total amounts the share of the United States in 1890 was \$1,647,000,000 (or 9.2 per cent.); in 1900, \$2,244,000,000 (or 10.4 per cent.); and in 1907, \$3,315,000,000 (or 10.6 per cent.). Thus the share of the United States is constantly rising.

Of the entire volume of marketable products which now enter the highways of international commerce, over one-eighth originates from the United States and nearly one-tenth is brought to American ports from foreign centres of production, so that almost one-fourth of the entire trade of the world directly affects this country. Hardly a better illustration could be conceived of the tremendous growth of the economic interdependence of all the civilized countries at the present time.

Exports from the United States

	Domestic	Foreign	Total
1860 . . .	\$316,000,000	\$17,000,000	\$333,000,000
1870 . . .	377,000,000	16,000,000	393,000,000
1880 . . .	824,000,000	12,000,000	836,000,000
1890 . . .	845,000,000	15,000,000	858,000,000
1895 . . .	793,000,000	14,000,000	807,000,000
1900 . . .	1,371,000,000	23,000,000	1,394,000,000
1905 . . .	1,492,000,000	27,000,000	1,519,000,000
1906 . . .	1,718,000,000	26,000,000	1,744,000,000
1907 . . .	1,854,000,000	27,000,000	1,881,000,000
1908 . . .	1,835,000,000	26,000,000	1,861,000,000
1909 . . .	1,638,000,000	25,000,000	1,663,000,000
1910 . . .	1,710,000,000	35,000,000	1,745,000,000

Imports into the United States

	Free	Dutiable	Total
1860	\$74,000,000	\$280,000,000	\$354,000,000
1870	20,000,000	416,000,000	436,000,000
1880	208,000,000	460,000,000	668,000,000
1890	266,000,000	523,000,000	789,000,000
1895	363,000,000	366,000,000	732,000,000
1900	367,000,000	483,000,000	850,000,000
1905	517,000,000	600,000,000	1,117,000,000
1906	550,000,000	677,000,000	1,227,000,000
1907	644,000,000	790,000,000	1,434,000,000
1908	525,000,000	669,000,000	1,194,000,000
1909	600,000,000	712,000,000	1,311,000,000
1910	755,000,000	802,000,000	1,557,000,000

Average Annual Domestic Exports from the United States

	Total	Farm Products	Percentage
1851-1865 . . .	\$170,000,000	\$124,000,000	72.8
1866-1870 . . .	308,000,000	240,000,000	78.1
1871-1875 . . .	486,000,000	380,000,000	78.3
1876-1880 . . .	664,000,000	526,000,000	79.2
1881-1885 . . .	775,000,000	605,000,000	78.1
1886-1890 . . .	726,000,000	543,000,000	74.8
1891-1895 . . .	876,000,000	654,000,000	74.7
1896-1900 . . .	1,136,000,000	752,000,000	66.2
1901-1905 . . .	1,427,000,000	875,000,000	61.4

Exports of Main Classes of Manufactured Articles from the United States, 1860-1910 (in Million Dollars).

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Iron and steel, manufactures	6	13	15	26	121	179
Mineral oils, refined		30	34	44	68	94
Copper, manufactures	2	1	1	2	57	88
Wood, manufactures	10	13	15	26	46	75
Leather, manufactures	2	1	7	12	27	53
Agricultural implements		1	2	4	16	28
Cars, carriages, etc	1	1	1	5	10	21
Chemicals	2	3	4	5	12	18
Instruments (scientific)				1	6	13
Cotton, manufactures of	10	4	10	10	24	33
Paper, manufactures of	1	1	2	3	9	16

CHAPTER VIII.

1789-1912.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE.*

The three periods of interstate commerce — Chief features of the first period — Causes of its rapid development between 1815 and 1860 — Its enormous growth since 1860.

An account of the development of interstate commerce in the United States may conveniently be divided into three epochs: (1) the period from 1789 to 1815; (2) that from 1815 to 1860; and (3) that from 1860 to the present time. Although our government records relative to foreign trade have always been fairly complete, it is worth noting that, as regards our interstate traffic (which has grown to

such vast proportions as to outrank by far the volume of foreign trade), there has never been available anything like a comprehensive statistical compilation to show the extent of this trade between the leading producing sections of the country at different stages of our economic development. Even at the present time, the nature and volume of interstate trade can only be approximately inferred, especially as regards railroad traffic, from a study of general statistics relating to volume of production and tonnage carried.

* Prepared for this history by S. S. Huebner, Professor of Insurance and Commerce, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania

During the period from 1789 to 1815 our internal trade assumed but the humblest proportions. One writer remarks* that "the striking thing about it is not that it was so large but that it was so small," while another observes† that "it can hardly be said that anything deserving the name of interstate commerce existed in this country at the beginning of the 19th century." The population of the country in 1810 was only 7,239,000, settled almost entirely on a long, narrow strip along the Atlantic Coast, hardly larger than the State of Texas. Settlement beyond the Alleghanies was still on a limited scale, as the mountains proved to be an almost impassable barrier between the East and West. Nine-tenths of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits. Such limited manufactures as existed were intended chiefly to supply the immediate neighborhood; and in most instances foreign markets were depended upon for the greater part of the necessary manufactures. In fact, the high cost of labor placed America at a disadvantage in the manufacture of such articles as linen, and cotton and woolen cloth, the cost of producing these commodities ranging from 20 to 50 per cent. higher than in England. Moreover, with the exception of river transportation for short distances, communication between the

States was by wagon on roads, which were notable for their muddy or dusty condition; and freight rates to destinations beyond the Alleghanies were so high as to preclude the transportation of all articles except those of the utmost necessity, such as salt, iron, etc. "Travel by stagecoach," we are informed, "did not become of importance until well in the 19th century, * * * and postage rates for a single letter ranged from 8 to 25 cents, according to the distance, and mails were infrequent."* Under such circumstances the internal trade prior to 1815 proved to be small, even when compared with the sparse population. Briefly summarized, the most notable features of this country's trade during this period were the following:

(1) The foreign trade was emphasized as much more important than the interstate trade. The New England trade consisted chiefly in lumber and fish, which were exported; and, while Massachusetts possessed manufactures of coarse cloth, the same could be imported more cheaply. In the same way New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while producing a large variety of articles, such as oil, pitch, tar and provisions, disposed of the same locally and depended on the foreign market for the disposal of the balance; while Virginia and the South produced a limited number of articles only, especially

* Clive Day, *History of Commerce*, p. 476.

† Edward A. Moseley, in Depew's *One Hundred Years of American Commerce*, chap. iv., p. 25.

* Clive Day, *The History of Commerce*, p. 473.

tobacco, which were destined for the oversea trade.

(2) The interstate trade of this period involved only a small volume and comparatively short haul, because the essential feature of the economic life of this period was the *self-sufficiency of the household* and the *self-sufficiency of the town*. Not only were local wants supplied by local production, but the variety of wants was surprisingly limited when compared with the number of wants now regarded as necessities of life.

(3) Such long distance internal trade as existed was conducted almost entirely by coastwise trading vessels, the tonnage in this trade increasing from 78,607 tons in 1789 to 477,971 in 1812. Some of the farm products and coarse cloth of the North were sent to Charleston to be exchanged for tobacco or bills on England. But such long hauls were comparatively rare. In the main, the coastwise tonnage was employed along short stretches of the coast, either for the purpose of collecting commodities at some large port, thence to be exported abroad, or for distributing goods from that port after they had been imported.

The period from 1815 to 1860 has been well named the era of "National Expansion." Instead of devoting their energies almost exclusively to building up the foreign trade, Americans then turned to the development of the unlimited resources of the interior. Even as late as 1815 the population was still confined mainly

to the Atlantic Coast, depending upon Europe and the West Indies for its trade, and the centre of population was still near Washington, D. C. By 1860, however, the centre of population had shifted near to Chillicothe, Ohio, and nearly the whole West to the Mississippi River was continuously settled. Even the plains beyond the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains were being dotted with settlements, and the Pacific Coast received such an influx of population between 1850 to 1860 as justified the giving of statehood to Oregon and California.

This spread of population throughout the country and the breaking in of enormous areas of fertile territory naturally implied that the days of the self-sufficiency of the household and town were over and that means of transportation would have to be developed to bring these widely separated areas together. Small production was to be replaced by large production, and the disadvantage of distance was to be counteracted by greater speed in transportation. Hence "National expansion" in this era meant *expansion in the volume of production and trade and the extension of transportation facilities*.

These two movements worked hand in hand, and in proportion as transportation facilities increased larger production became possible. At first the country devoted its energies to the development of the turnpike, the canal, and the river steamboat. In 1818 the

first stagecoach was driven from Cumberland to Wheeling, a distance of 130 miles. In 1812 steamboats made their appearance on the Mississippi River; by 1815 the ascent of the river became possible; and by 1817 the trip from New Orleans to Louisville could be made in 25 days, as compared with 90 days by barges. Whereas in 1818 only 20 steamboats were employed on the rivers of the West, by 1848 this number was increased to 1,200, and, as stated by Mr. Edward A. Moseley, the steam tonnage of the Mississippi Valley was larger than that of the whole British Empire.

Canal construction also began in earnest after 1815. In 1823 there was completed the canal from Lake Champlain to the Hudson River. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, and the Union Canal, of Pennsylvania (intended to connect the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers), were all "fore-runners" of the greatest of all the internal improvements up to this time—the Erie Canal, completed in 1825. The importance of these improvements is indicated by a consideration of freight rates and land values. The Erie Canal is said to have added \$100,000,000 to the value of farm lands in New York alone. Freight rates from the West to the East were reduced from \$25 to \$15 per ton and the time from 20 to 8 days. Freight which formerly had gone overland from Ohio to Pittsburg and then to Philadelphia, at a cost of \$20 to \$25 a ton, now went

by way of the lakes and the canal to New York. The handicap to large internal trade prior to 1815 may also be illustrated by the steamboat freight charges on the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Memphis, which are said to have averaged as high as 6 cents a pound for light goods and 4½ cents for heavy goods. It should be added that by 1848 Lake Erie was connected by canal with the Ohio River and Lake Michigan with the Mississippi, and by 1855 the St. Mary's Falls Canal connected Lake Superior with the other lakes for boats of 12-foot draft.

In 1833 the South Carolina Railway (136 miles long) was completed; and in 1834 the completion of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad meant a continuous rail-canal route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. By 1841 the Boston and Albany road was completed, and by 1842 was extended to Buffalo, thus marking the first interstate railroad and constituting, according to Mr. Moseley, "the real beginning of interstate commerce" in this country. By 1850 the Eastern States possessed nearly 7,000 miles of railway line, although only about 1,000 miles existed west of the Alleghanies. By 1860 the railway mileage, however, had increased to 30,635 miles and the New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Erie railroads connected the roads of the interior with the East, while other lines were being built to unite the Mississippi Valley with the Gulf. It may be

noted here that even in the South 10,000 miles of railway were constructed between 1840 and 1860, and that by 1860 every province of the South east of the Mississippi had been brought into railway communication with every other.

The effects of these increased transportation facilities on the volume of traffic were very marked. No data exists to prove comprehensively the growth of long-distance inland trade. For the traffic between the West and East, the port of New York became the great emporium; while for the traffic between the North and South, the port of New Orleans became the great centre. The growth of these two ports, depending on their receipts from the interior, will therefore serve to indicate — at least inferentially — increase in the volume of internal traffic during this period.

As regards the entire country, the foreign exports increased from \$52,557,000 in 1815 to \$400,122,000 in 1860 (over 660 per cent.), most of this increase occurring during the last 20 years. Of this amount New York in 1860 shared \$120,630,955, 32 per cent. of the Nation's total exports, and 87 per cent. of those of the North Atlantic States. This dominant position New York assumed by being the centre from which radiated nearly all the great railways of the country connecting the East and West. It is important to note that between 1840 and 1850 the railway mileage of the country increased from 2,818 to 9,021 miles,

while between 1850 and 1860, 21,000 miles of railway were constructed, effectively connecting New York, Boston and Philadelphia by trunk lines with the leading producing centres of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys and increasing the exports from these ports from \$31,203,000 in 1830 to \$133,672,000 in 1860 (347 per cent.). These statistics of growth in the foreign trade are offered as a barometric index from which to infer the increase in the Nation's internal commerce. But we may draw further inferences from the statistical evidence of growth in the Nation's leading lines of industry. Within the 20 years from 1840 to 1860 the country's production of corn increased over 120 per cent.; of wheat nearly 100 per cent.; and of tobacco 98 per cent.; while the exports of agricultural products increased by about 150 per cent. While in 1840 the consumption of cotton by our textile mills amounted to only 120,000,000 pounds, this consumption increased to 423,000,000 pounds by 1860, or 244 per cent. During the same 20 years, the output of our woolen mills increased by 247 per cent., and of our iron mills by 343 per cent.*

Just as New York was greatly favored in the West for Eastern traffic, so New Orleans ranked as the great export centre of the South during anti-bellum days, chiefly because

* These statistical data are taken from the manuscript prepared by the author for the Carnegie Foundation, on "Foreign Trade of the United States by Ports."

of improved water transportation on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Even after New York received its advantageous position through the construction of the Erie Canal, New Orleans continued to grow absolutely, although relatively, when compared with New York, there was a decline. In 1842 her share in the movement of raw agricultural crops and milled breadstuffs coming from all sections of the Mississippi Valley exceeded \$45,700,000 in value. By 1844 this amount had increased to \$60,000,000; in 1846 to \$77,000,000; and in 1850 to nearly \$97,000,000. The success of New Orleans caused nearly every leading Southern port to reach out for the internal trade. Charleston constructed a railroad to Augusta with the object of attracting the traffic of interior Georgia away from Savannah. Savannah, in turn, retaliated by constructing the Central of Georgia Railroad to Macon, which line was extended later as far north as Chattanooga. As explained elsewhere,* "all of the chief ports of the South were reaching out with railroads for the trade of the interior cotton belt, and it was not long until Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Baltimore, Richmond and Norfolk each had its special railroad. At the same time a railway line was constructed parallel to the coast, extending from Washington through Rich-

mond, Raleigh, Augusta and Montgomery to Mobile and New Orleans. The Shenandoah-Tennessee Valley, the most handicapped of the economic provinces of the South as far as transportation was concerned, was also connected on the one hand with the North, East and, on the other, with the coasts of Virginia and the South." In the coastwise trade the tonnage no longer was employed chiefly along short stretches of the coast. Instead, long-distance hauls became common, especially between New England and the South. It is estimated that in 1860 New England sent annually to the South by coastwise voyage about \$60,000,000 worth of merchandise, consisting chiefly of manufactures, fish, and molasses. The South, on the other hand, is estimated to have sent to New England by coastwise voyage about \$55,000,000 worth of products, consisting chiefly of cotton, naval stores, hemp, flour, and animal products.

Whereas the half-century prior to 1860 has been characterized as the period of "National expansion," the years following 1860 have been well described as the period of "National development." It is true that the population continued to penetrate into new areas such as the semi-arid regions of the West, especially for the exploitation of the Nation's mineral wealth. But the most characteristic feature of the last half-century is not the breaking in of new areas so much as the development and exploitation

* S. S. Huebner, *The Interstate Commerce of the South*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. v., p. 410.

of the Nation's resources along all lines through improved methods of production and transportation.

A few figures will serve to illustrate the extent of this development and, in the absence of detailed data, will enable us to appreciate the enormous growth in the volume of interstate traffic. In the 40 years from 1870 to 1910 the production of wheat in the United States increased from nearly 235,000,000 to more than 695,000,000 bushels; of corn, from 1,094,000,000 to 3,125,000,000 bushels; and of oats, from 247,000,000 to nearly 1,127,000,000 bushels. Of these respective crops in 1910, statistics show that about 54 per cent. of the wheat, 22 per cent. of the corn, and 30 per cent. of the oats were shipped out of the county where grown, by far the largest portion of them entering into the interstate commerce of the country. The production of cotton increased from 4,352,000 to 11,965,000 bales, and the movement of this crop as explained in detail elsewhere,* is chiefly interstate in character. Prior to 1860 the meat industry was conducted mainly in a large number of localities, and, owing to the lack of refrigeration and the refrigerator car and steamer, comparatively little of the products was sent abroad or to distant States. With the movement of the live-stock-raising business to the West and the concentration of the packing business in a

few large centres, accompanied by modern means of refrigeration, most of the meat product of the country entered into interstate commerce. Between 1870 and 1905 the value of meat products increased from \$75,000,000 to nearly \$1,000,000,000, and of this amount at least 15 per cent. was exported from New York, Boston and Philadelphia. In fact, as regards all leading agricultural staples, there now prevails the system of concentrating them at great terminal centres like Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth, Kansas City, Omaha, St. Louis, etc., and then redistributing the same to the eastern or foreign centres.

In the mineral and manufacturing business the development since 1860 has been even more phenomenal, although space permits only a few facts to illustrate this tendency. American copper production in 1870 amounted to only 12,600 tons, whereas in 1910 the production approximated 485,000 tons, practically all of which enters into interstate commerce. Iron ore production increased between 1870 and 1906 from 3,000,000 to 49,000,000 tons (1,500 per cent.); and the yield of mineral oil from almost nothing to 130,000,000 barrels. In both instances the product enters mostly into interstate commerce. Similarly, the manufacturing industries multiplied greatly in number and increased their capacity along all lines. The iron and steel business, entering into so many other lines of manufacture, is usually regarded as the best barometric index

*S. S. Huebner, *The Development of the Interstate Commerce of the South*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. vi., p. 357.

of the Nation's industrial development; and here it may be stated that the production of pig iron increased from 1,665,000 tons in 1870 to the tremendous total of 27,074,000 tons in 1910; while during the 35 years between 1870-1905 the capitalization of the iron and steel manufacturing business increased from \$210,000,000 to nearly \$949,000,000, and the value of the annual product from \$296,000,000 to nearly \$906,000,000.

Along with this greatly increased production, the Nation witnessed a great extension of railway mileage and steamship tonnage in all sections of the country and a remarkable lowering of freight rates. Whereas in 1860 the railway mileage of the country amounted to only 30,635 miles, the total single track mileage now totals nearly 250,000 miles. The sail and steam tonnage on the Great Lakes increased from 684,704 in 1870 to 2,062,147 tons in 1905. According to the Reports of the Commissioner of Navigation, the total gross tonnage of documented vessels engaged in domestic trade in 1896 was 3,858,927 and in 1906 5,735,483 tons, an increase of 48 per cent.

For the year 1873 Mr. Moseley reports the average freight rates to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton per mile on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 7 cents on the Boston and Lowell and the Winchester and Potomac, and 10 cents on the Petersburg, and Portsmouth and Roanoke lines. These rates seem extraordinarily high when compared

with the average rate on all American railroads, of .878 cents in 1893 and .753 cents in 1910.

The changes just enumerated clearly indicate the tremendous proportions of our internal trade, but it is a regrettable fact that no statistics exist by which to trace the tonnage movement of freight between the leading sections of the country. The limited data available, however, shows that the growth of freight movements has been large in all sections. In 1890 the railroads of the country carried a total of 745,000,000 tons of freight, or approximately 11 tons for every man, woman and child. In 1910 the freight carried on our railroads aggregated 1,850,000,000 tons, while the original tonnage, not including freight secured from connecting lines, exceeded 881,000,000 tons. The average length of the haul is given by the Interstate Commerce Commission as 249.6 miles, and it is estimated by various authorities that of the total tonnage only about 15 to 25 per cent. is *intrastate* in character.

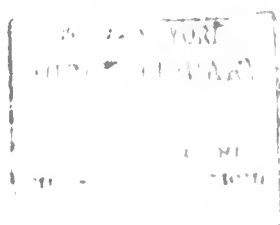
Complete statistics of the coastwise trade are lacking, because vessels engaged in this trade are not required to report their cargo tonnage. For the year 1910, however, the United States Bureau of Statistics reported the coastwise coal shipments from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Newport News to be nearly 43,500,000 tons, with most of this freight destined to ports of other States. The coastwise receipts of

lumber at New York, Boston and Philadelphia during 1910, mostly from Southern ports, are reported at over 1,000,000,000 feet. In 1910 800,000 tons of cotton are reported to have been sent from Southern to Northern ports by water, and the shipments of oil from Texas to Northern ports are given as nearly 8,000,000 barrels. The coastwise shipments between the 48 leading ports, extending from Bangor (Me.) to Newbern (N. C.) are given by the United States Corps of Engineers as amounting to nearly 144,000,000 tons. From the same source we learn that the coastwise shipments and receipts of the eight leading Pacific ports aggregate nearly 19,000,000 tons; but it is impossible to tell what proportion of this is interstate in character.

On the Great Lakes the shipment from all the ports aggregated nearly 87,000,000 tons in 1910. Of this volume ore and minerals represented nearly 47,000,000 tons; coal, 24,680,000 tons; and flour, grain and lumber, nearly 7,000,000 tons. By far the large

est part of this trade — probably nine-tenths — is interstate in character. It may be added that government statistics place the freight tonnage on the Delaware at nearly 21,000,000 tons, on the Ohio River and its tributaries at 20,000,000 tons, and on the Mississippi River at approximately 5,000,000 tons; but in no case is it possible to separate the interstate and intrastate traffic.*

* In addition to the works cited in the above article, the following may be consulted: Philip A. Bruce, *The Rise of the New South*, vol. vii., of *The History of North America* (Philadelphia, 1905); Clive Day, *A History of Commerce*; G. G. Huebner, *Trade, Transportation and Communication*, in *The American Year Book for 1911*, pp. 537-567; S. S. Huebner, *The Interstate Commerce of the South Prior to 1865*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. v., pp. 404-412; and *The Interstate Commerce of the South since 1865*, in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. vi., pp. 357-363; Edward A. Moseley, *Interstate Commerce in Depew's One Hundred Years of American Commerce*, chap. iv.; Report of the Commissioner of Corporations, on "Transportation by Water in the United States" (Washington, 1909); Reports of the Commissioner of Navigation (Washington); *Internal Commerce of the United States*, published periodically by the Department of Commerce and Labor in the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States*.







THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED

This photo was made on the six track section of the New York Central & Hudson R. R. near Riverdale, on the Hudson Division. It shows a type of modern track construction, rock ballast, automatic electric signals, electric cables for the transmission of power, third rail for operation of trains, and the latest type of electric locomotive.

ALBERT A. MASON

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED

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LECTURES
ON THE
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES



Edited by EDWIN WILEY, M.A., Ph.D.
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SERIES NINETEEN

LECTURES SEVENTY-NINE TO EIGHTY-ONE

Modern Economic Progress and Problems, 1865—1915

(Continued)

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- 79. Systems of Transportation and Communication
 - 80. Banking, Currency and Finance
 - 81. Labor and Its Problems

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CHAPTER IX.

1865 - 1912.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

Demoralization of the railroad business by the Civil War — The revival following peace — Transcontinental lines — Vicious railroad competition and consequent consolidation — Recent railroad problems — Present condition of steam railroads — Our merchant marine after the Civil War — Ship-building at the close of the last century — Increase in our domestic shipping in the present century — Street car transportation — The first electric railway and the subsequent extension of electric lines.

Following the Civil War there was an immediate and great expansion in the railroad business of the country. Not only had the war shown the necessity of railroads, but the check put upon construction by the Civil War and in the years immediately preceding resulted in a dearth of facilities that had to be overcome at once. Besides, the general inflation of business, and especially the quick development of manufacturing, when those who had long served in the field returned to their former pursuits, created a new demand for transportation. Moreover, in the South the railroads which existed before the war had to be completely rebuilt. Indeed, they hardly existed save on paper as legal corporations. The physical property had disappeared. Naught was left save scrap heaps of iron rails, engines and wheels; roadbeds washed out or buried beneath rock and dirt; and piles of ashes and rotted

wood where once had been stations, freight houses and cars.

Great plans had been made before the war for railroad extensions in the West and the policy of governmental land-grant subsidies had done much to encourage these movements. Immediately after peace had been secured, this work was again taken in hand and vigorously pressed. In the next 15 years all the Western States and Territories hitherto without railroads fell into line — Nevada in 1868, Montana and Utah in 1869, Colorado, Indian Territory, Wyoming and Oregon in 1870, North Dakota and South Dakota in 1873, Idaho in 1874, New Mexico in 1878, and Arizona in 1879. Of later origin were the first railroads in Oklahoma and Alaska.

But the introduction of railroads into States previously devoid of them was only part of the wonderful railroad growth of this period. Everywhere in the country the work of expansion and improvement went on.

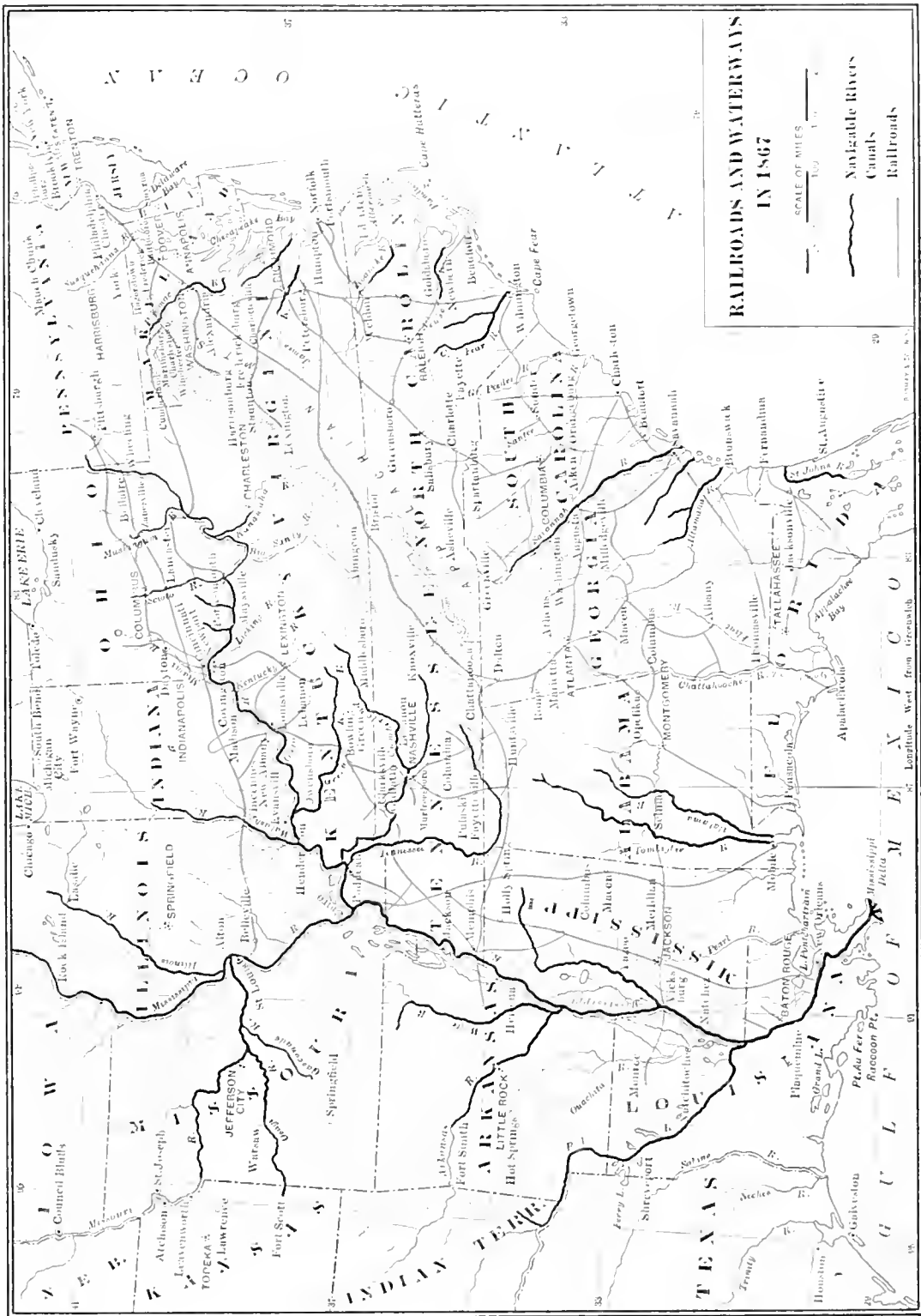
It began in 1864 and in two years was progressing with unprecedented rapidity. By 1869 it had gathered such momentum that in each of the two succeeding years the increase was 8,000 miles. But this pace could not be maintained forever. Railroad building was overdone, reckless competition ensued, and the end came with the financial panic of 1873, for which the railroads themselves were largely responsible. Railroad increase dropped off 75 per cent., but there was a quick recovery, and in 1886-1887 nearly 13,000 miles of new trackage was constructed. From this point the railroads settled down to a normal growth, which lasted until the business depression of 1893, when, for the first time in the history of the United States, there was a decrease in the number of miles operated. The miles of road in operation in this period were 30,626 in 1860, 52,922 in 1870, 93,926 in 1880, 166,706 in 1890, and 190,082 in 1900.

After 1900 the annual increase was generally greater than in the years immediately preceding, and during the decade it reached 236,777 miles, in 1909 the annual average being over 5,000. This increase was less in annual gross amount than in some of the "boom" years between 1865 and 1890, but it was more than the average of those years. The percentage increase, however, was smaller, and very much so, when compared with the early period of railroad building. From 1835 to 1860 the increase for

each period of five years was 100 per cent. These figures and comparisons indicate that at the end of the first decade of the Nineteenth century the railroads were still behind the normal demand for transportation and travel service. They had more nearly caught up with the needs of the country than in the years preceding the Civil War, but there still remained regions uncultivated and unserved by them.

The idea of a transcontinental railroad which should link the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and eliminate the long ocean voyage around Cape Horn and the plodding, dangerous prairie-schooner trip across the Rockies, was considered as early as 1850—less than 20 years after the first crude attempts at railroading had been made. It required 20 years and the exigencies of Civil War conditions—when the necessity of closer alliance between the East and the Far West was made manifest—to bring the idea to realization. For this purpose the Government heavily subsidized the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific roads with bonds and land grants in 1862. Work was begun in 1865 and the line was completed by a junction of the two roads near Ogden, Utah, in May of 1869.

Other transcontinental lines were built within the next 15 years; the Northern Pacific from Lake Superior to Puget Sound; the Atlantic and Pacific, in connection with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, and the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway;



RAILROADS AND WATERWAYS
IN 1867

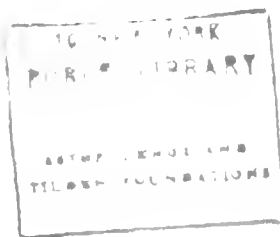
SCALE OF MILES

- Navigable Rivers
- Canals
- Railroads

29

87 Longitude West from Greenwich

10



the Texas Pacific, to extend from New Orleans to a union with the Southern Pacific; and the junction also of the Southern Pacific with the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio road to the ports of the Gulf of Mexico. These extensions and consolidations, all accomplished between 1864 and 1883, were the precursors of the greater railroad combinations of the generation immediately following.

The expansion of the great constructive period of railroading, which may be considered to have come to an end by 1870, was reckless and feverish. Capital rushed headlong into this new field of investment, and year after year offered transportation facilities more rapidly than the business of the country warranted. The inevitable result was vicious competition and ultimate ruin. Rate wars were the conspicuous feature of this period, and presently, when energy had wasted itself in this direction, resort was had to combination of rival interests. Consolidation on a small scale had been known in years before, but now measures were taken to bring the entire system into a unity of purpose by closer combinations and "gentlemen's agreements" regarding traffic. These measures had only temporary effect owing to the strong public feeling which developed against what was considered railroad monopoly and extortion and also because of the difficulty of completely reconciling the conflicting corporate interests.

During the last 30 years of the

Nineteenth century and the early years of this, the railroad problem was not one of expansion so much as of economical administration — a better adaptation to the business needs of the generation and a clearer comprehension of the mutual interests of the public. Much of this problem was solved by more intelligent, scientific and experienced attention to the subject by those who made it their profession. The attitude of the public also became an important factor. The feeling against corporate interests, so notable and so powerful in this period, began in the West in the Granger movement in 1870-73, and it is not too much to say that the railroad, as an economic institution, has thereby been materially affected in subsequent years. Drastic legislation touching the railroads was enacted in most of the States. Some of this passed away, but much of it remained and none of it was without lasting influence. The theory of government supervision — State or National — sprang up and persisted so that in the end the railroads found it generally impossible to escape from amenability to public authority. In the States, this control was placed in the hands of railroad commissions which exercised their powers more in the interest of the community than of the corporation. In the National government power was vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission, whose decisions in many instances, especially in the tariff rate question in 1911, went a long way

toward a wider and stronger governmental control than could possibly have been anticipated a quarter of a century before.

The condition of the steam railroads of the country in the first decade of the Twentieth century is shown in the following summary:*

With the close of the Civil War it was natural to expect that our merchant marine would quickly return to the condition of prosperity which it had known before 1860. Shipbuilding had been considerably stimulated by the demands of the war. The merchant marine, ships and sailors, were drawn into the service of National defense, and naturally commerce was destroyed. A great fighting fleet was created and at the end of the war the United States owned 600 war steamships. Engineering skill was not lacking; the shipyards were better equipped than ever before in material, in experience and in workmen; and commerce with the world was revived. But the American merchant marine did not reinstate itself. Foreign trade which had been diverted to foreign bottoms did not return. In 1861 our merchant marine tonnage was 5,539,831; not until 1902 did it reach that

figure again, that year being 5,797,902 tons, the figures including sail and steam, foreign, coastwise, lake and river, and fisheries. Various explanations of this condition have been offered — the protective tariff, internal revenue taxation, manufacturing and railroad demands upon capital, and the competition with a subsidized foreign marine. The question of "free ships" — that is, the admission to American registry of American-owned iron ships built abroad — and the question of mail subsidy to American ocean steamships were in agitation before the public mind and in Congress in the first years of the new century, and they seem as far from solution now as they were in 1890.

In the meantime the United States did not stand still in ship-building. Although iron ship-building was moribund in 1875, it revived before the end of the century. In 1901 the average output of American ship-yards was 1,491 vessels of 468,831 gross tons. American shipping engaged in foreign trade that year aggregated 879,595 tons. This was in excess of any of the preceding six years, but less than that of 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894 — the last year, with its tonnage of 988,719, leading the decade.

Our domestic shipping outdistanced our merchant marine engaged in foreign trade during this period. In 1906 the number of vessels engaged in water transportation in the United States was 37,321, with a tonnage of 12,893,429, as against 30,485 vessels,

* Taken from Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1910 and 1911, introduction.

	Mileage	Locomotives and cars	Capital stock	Gross earnings
1902	199,684	1,541,039	\$6,078,290,596	\$1,720,814,900
1903	206,885	1,662,989	6,355,207,335	1,908,857,826
1904	211,074	1,731,049	6,447,045,374	1,977,638,713
1905	214,044	1,798,434	6,741,956,825	2,112,197,770
1906	218,433	2,025,858	7,106,408,976	2,346,640,286
1907	224,382	1,131,487	7,458,126,785	2,602,757,503
1908	230,084	2,224,263	7,641,913,086	2,407,019,810
1909	236,377	2,230,018	8,030,680,963	2,513,212,763
1910	239,991	2,348,778	8,380,819,190	2,804,580,939
1911	244,089	2,408,589	8,582,463,256	2,848,468,965

with a tonnage of 8,359,135 in 1889. The shipping of the Great Lakes in 1906 was 2,900 vessels, of 2,392,863 tonnage; of the Atlantic Coast and Gulf of Mexico, coastwise and foreign, 20,032 vessels, of 4,851,421 tonnage; of the Pacific Coast, 2,537 vessels, of 977,687 tonnage; of the Mississippi and its tributaries, 9,622 vessels, of 4,411,967 tonnage.

In 1909 the total tonnage of our merchant marine was 7,388,755, the largest since 1870, and an increase over that year of 3,194,015, or over 40 per cent. Of this gross amount for 1909, the tonnage engaged in foreign trade was 878,523, of which 575,276 was steam; in coasting, 6,451,042, of which 4,151,557 was steam; in fisheries, 59,190. In 1910 there was a still further advance, the gross tonnage of that year being 7,508,082, of which 6,668,963 was coastwise, 782,517 foreign, and 56,602 fisheries. These figures show a growth in our coastwise merchant marine and a decided falling off from 1860 in our tonnage engaged in foreign trade. In 1860 our gross tonnage, coastwise and foreign, was 5,353,865, of which 2,379,396 (or nearly one-half) was engaged in foreign trade. In 1870 the United States was second in the tonnage of its merchant marine only to Great Britain. During the 40 years following, that relative standing did not change, but in percentage increase the United States, with its 44 per cent. increase, fell behind Great Britain with 170 per cent., France with 80 per cent., Norway with

100 per cent., Sweden with 200 per cent., Denmark with over 350 per cent., Holland with 160 per cent., and Germany with nearly 355 per cent.

For urban passenger transportation, street car lines were installed in all the cities and large towns of the country after 1860. This service is along the streets by elevated, surface and subway lines. A short elevated railway was built in New York City in 1867, but it did not become the established system of that city before 1872. Subsequently elevated railway lines were erected in Brooklyn (New York), Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cities.

A street railway, with cars drawn by horses, was operated in New York City in 1831-32, but not until 1852 were other lines of this character constructed in the metropolis. Horse-car street railways appeared in Boston in 1856, in Philadelphia in 1857, and within the next 25 years in nearly all the large cities of the country. Street railways operated by underground cable were first built in San Francisco in 1873 and 1876, and afterward (in 1882) in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and many other cities. In 1893 there were over 70 cable street railway lines in the United States, with about 700 miles of trackage. After 1890, by the introduction of electricity as a motor power for street railways, the cable was rapidly displaced. Within seven years its mileage had fallen off more than one-half.

The first electric railroad was built

by Thomas A. Edison at Menlo Park, New Jersey, and in 1888 an actual test of the electric system was made in Richmond, Virginia. Immediately after, the street railway lines of Boston and Philadelphia were electrified, and within three years nearly every large city of the country had its overhead trolley lines. In 1890 the electric street car lines had 1,261 miles of trackage; the cable lines, 488 miles; the horse car lines, 5,661 miles; and the steam power lines, 711 miles. The capital stock of all these lines was \$163,506,444. In 1894 the total mileage was: electric, 10,363; cable, 632; horse, 1,914; miscellaneous, 679; total, 13,588. At that time there were nearly 1,000 street railways in operation, with a capital stock of \$748,014,206. In 1907 the number of street and electric railways was 1,238, the mileage 38,812, the capital stock of the corporations \$2,251,425,882, and their funded debt \$1,872,408,516. Electrification of steam railroads began in this decade. Notable examples of this change from steam to electricity were seen in the New York City suburban service of the New York Central, the New York, New Haven and Hartford, and the Long Island railroads. The problem of electrification over long

distances was also under serious consideration, with unreserved prediction of ultimate success. In New York, Boston, and Chicago extensive systems of subways were built to supplement the street car lines in meeting the increasing travel demands of the congested centres of population.*

* Rowland Hazard, *The Crédit Mobilier of America* (Providence, 1888); Arthur T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation, Its History and Its Laws* (New York, 1885); W. J. Abbott, *American Ships and Sailors* (New York, 1902); Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Railroads, Their Origin and Problems* (Boston, 1871); John P. Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway* (Chicago, 1894); J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1888); A. P. C. Griffin, *List of References on Mercantile Marine Subsidies and List of References Relating to Railroads in Their Relations to the Government and the Public* (Library of Congress, Washington, 1903 and 1904); *Report of the United States Industrial Commission* (19 vols., Washington, 1900-02); Edwin A. Pratt, *American Railroads* (New York, 1903); Emory R. Johnson, *American Railroad Transportation and Ocean and Island Transportations* (New York, 1903 and 1906); W. L. Marvin, *The American Merchant Marine* (New York, 1902); Henry Fry, *History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation* (New York, 1896); William W. Bates, *The American Marine, Its Rise and Ruin* (Boston, 1902), and *The American Marine, The Shippers' Question in History and Politics* (Boston, 1893); David A. Wells, *Our Merchant Marine* (New York, 1887); W. T. Dunmore, *Ship Subsidies* (Boston, 1907); *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States* (New York, 1865-1912); census reports, 1870-1910; *The Statistical Abstract* (Washington, 1900-1910); monthly and yearly reports of Commerce and Finance issued by the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department (Washington).

CHAPTER X.

1865-1912.

DEVELOPMENT OF SYSTEMS OF COMMUNICATION.*

The advent of the telegraph — Its early development — The first American-British Atlantic cable — The expansion and consolidation of the telegraph business — The spread of Atlantic and Pacific cables — Perfection of the telegraph and its importance in modern business — The advent of the Bell telephone — Rival telephone systems and companies — Rural telephones — Present extent of the telephone — The wireless telegraph.

In the closing years of the Nineteenth century and after the telegraph and telephone came to rival all previous instrumentalities for bringing the country together in social and business unity. They constituted, with the railroads, a trio that revolutionized modern life in all of its branches of activity. At the outset there was intense rivalry between the two systems of communication. As the time went on, however, it was realized that one supplemented the other and that the two, together, worked most efficiently. The telegraph was well established nearly 25 years before the telephone came into existence, but the younger invention surpassed its rival in public favor before the end of the century. It came into wider and more public use than its predecessor, occupying an entirely new field, creating and meeting new needs.

In the history of the telegraph in

this country, the years immediately following the Civil War were particularly noteworthy for the gradual consolidation of the various companies into larger, more compact, and more serviceable corporations, the perfecting of the trans-Atlantic cable system, and the improvement of the trans-continental line. The feverish haste of promoters and contractors to preëempt unoccupied territory continued with little, if any, interruption; and the demands of the country and the world for the service grew every year. Hence scores of new companies (some of them of minor importance and others of strong character and great aims) were organized.

In 1865 the International Ocean Telegraph Company was organized to lay cables to the islands of the West Indies and thence to Central America, South America, and under the Atlantic to Madeira and Lisbon. This was the beginning of an important extension of a service which was absorbed eight years later by the West-

* Prepared for this History by Herbert N. Casson, author of *American Telegraph and Telephone Systems*, etc.

ern Union Company. In 1866 came the Pacific and Atlantic to connect the leading cities of the North and South, from New York and Boston to New Orleans and San Francisco. Several small companies were organized within the next two or three years in Pennsylvania and the South to be feeders of the Pacific and Atlantic trunk line. In 1869 the Southern and Atlantic connected New York and Washington with Southern cities, but, within a few years, this, as well as the Pacific and Atlantic, was absorbed by the growing giant, the Western Union. In 1879 came the American Union Company, established by Jay Gould to overthrow the Western Union. It had the advantage of running its wires along the lines of the railroads owned or controlled by Gould and his associates. But in two years it went the way of the others, and in 1881 became part of the Western Union system.

In 1885 there were 217 companies in the country, of which the Western Union, controlling two-thirds of the wire mileage, was the principal. This supremacy had been brought about largely by the merging of the American Union and the Atlantic and Pacific companies in 1881. The lines of the New York Mutual Telegraph Company, the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Telegraph, the American Rapid Telegraph, and the Northwestern Telegraph companies had also been taken over. At the opening of the Twentieth century the telegraph business of the country was controlled by

the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph-Cable companies. In 1901 the Western Union had 193,589 miles of pole and cables, 972,766 miles of wire, and 23,238 offices; the Postal Telegraph Cable had 43,850 miles of pole and cables, 243,423 miles of wire, and 14,870 offices. In 1904 there were in the United States over 250,000 miles of pole and cable, 1,250,000 miles of wire, and 40,000 offices. The public sent upward of 70,000,000 messages, for which it paid over \$30,000,000. These figures show to what astounding proportions this business had grown in sixty years. But the increase in the next few years was even more remarkable. In 1911 the Western Union had 1,487,345 miles of wire and the Postal 390,139. There were nearly 50,000 offices in the country, which transmitted over 90,000,000 messages.

A second American-British Atlantic cable was laid in 1866, a third from Ireland to Newfoundland in 1874, and a fourth from Ireland to a terminus on the coast of New Hampshire in 1875. The cable of 1866 was a permanent success and the problem of telegraph communication between the two continents was completely solved by that enterprise and those that closely followed. During the next quarter of a century Atlantic cables between North America and Europe became almost commonplace. Among the great lines of that period was the commercial cable, laid in 1883 and 1884 from Ireland to Cape Canso and thence to Rockport, Massachusetts and Coney

Island, New York. In 1885 the cables of the world were 73,779 miles, of which more than 40,000 lay between America and Europe. In 1903 there were 19 cables in existence between the two countries, several of which, however, were not in use. In 1903 the Commercial Cable Company laid a cable 7,846 miles long across the Pacific, with termini at San Francisco and the Philippine Islands, and stations at Hawaii, Midway Island, and Guam.

Side developments of the telegraph have been numerous and are scarcely second in importance to the main system. Among these are the District Telegraph Company, the Gold and Stock Telegraph Company, and the systems of private lines extensively used by newspapers, business men, and large corporations. These have become such features of modern business life that it is not possible to comprehend how public and private affairs could now be conducted without them. The development of the telegraph has kept pace with its commercial progress. Thousands of new inventions have added to its efficiency until the perfected machine of the Twentieth century bears little resemblance, save in fundamental principles, to its original of 1846.

Although the electrical production and transmission of sound was considered and experimented with by scientists long before the middle of the Nineteenth century, the efficient speak-

ing telephone dates from the discoveries of Alexander Graham Bell and others in the last quarter of that century. The Bell instrument was publicly exhibited in 1876 and came into commercial use the following year. It was slow in coming into general appreciation, even though its usefulness was clearly apparent. From the original method of a single wire connecting two stations only, the exchange system was invented, which was the one thing needful to enhance and extend the utility of the new invention. Within seven years every city or town in the United States of 10,000 inhabitants or more, and many smaller communities, had an exchange.

That was the real beginning of the telephone. Concerning the situation as it then existed, it has been well said that all was industrial and scientific confusion. Rival inventors came promptly, and the business was saved only by the consolidation in 1881 of the six companies which had sprung into existence. The mechanical and scientific problems that remained to be solved were seemingly insolvable—a “Gibraltar of impossibilities.” All that those had who followed Bell and Watson, his associate, was “that part of the telephone which we call the receiver. This was practically the sum total of Bell’s invention, and remains to-day as he made it. It was then, and is yet, the most sensitive instrument ever put to general use in any country. * * * There were no

switchboards of any account, no cables of any value, no wires that were in any sense adequate, no theory of tests or signals, no exchanges, no telephone system of any sort whatever." *

That was in 1881. But in 1878 the New England Bell Telephone Company had been organized for New England and the Bell Telephone Company for the United States; in the following year the National Bell Telephone Company arose as a consolidation of the two and was, in turn, succeeded in 1880 by the American Bell Telephone Company. The telephone was passing through a business experience which strikingly resembled that of the telegraph: a small beginning, great and rapid expansion, inventing rivalry and patent infringement, sharp competition, and the final extinction of injurious rivalry by the consolidation of opposing interests. Nine years after the American Bell Telephone Company had become the controlling corporation (in 1899) it was taken over by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which had been originally started to handle the long-distance branch of the business.

But it had been a long and weary progress before this point of business importance had been attained. In the spring of 1875 there was not a single telephone in practical use in the United States. Before the close of the

following year, 5,187 had been installed, but even then the instrument was little more than a toy. A decade later the number of instruments in use had increased nearly eighty fold — to 380,277. The years immediately following also showed an increase, but a much smaller one proportionately, the number of instruments installed by 1895 being 660,817 — less than double the number in 1878.

The most dangerous competitor the Bell telephone ever had was the Western Union Telegraph Company, which was early in the field with the inventions of Elisha Gray and Thomas A. Edison; but the patent litigation that ensued was ended by compromise and the relinquishment of its telephone branch by the telegraph company. Other rivals were not formidable and the Bell people had a monopoly that still holds at the end of nearly 40 years. The commercial systems of the whole country were unified, apparatus was harmonized and standardized, and the business was developed at every point along both industrial and scientific lines. As a result, the Bell company was built up into a powerful machine, the interests of which became so completely and strongly interwoven with the varied interests of the country that it held a position in which, if not impregnable, it was certainly able to withstand powerful attacks.

Strong attacks finally did come. As the term of the fundamental patents owned by the Bell company ended, in-

* Herbert N. Casson, *The History of the Telephone*, p. 115.

dependent systems, based on the old patents but with new additional features, sprang up. At first the independent systems were established where the Bell had not occupied the field. Later they made their way into some of the larger cities (Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Indianapolis and others) to operate in direct competition with the Bell companies. The first independent system was installed in 1883, during the existence of the Bell patents, but slow progress in competition with the old established companies was made. Between 1883 and 1894 only 74 such systems were started, most of them small affairs and some of them operating under the Gray and Edison patents. After 1894, with the expiration of the Bell patents, their installation was more rapid, so that by 1902 there were 3,039 such systems in operation, though most of them were small and of a local character.

A notable development of the independent systems was in the rural or farmers' lines. This was particularly so in the Middle West, where the independents secured their strongest hold, 75 per cent. of the systems being established in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. The rural telephone became an important factor in the village and the farm life of that section of the country. It brought hitherto isolated small communities and the lonely farmhouses in touch with each other and the large business centres. The increase in the number of these

independent systems furnishes abundant evidence of how they met and satisfied a great need. In 1880 there were in the entire country 148 telephone systems and 54,139 stations or telephones. In 1902 there were 4,151 systems and 2,315,297 stations or telephones. Including the rural lines, there were 9,136 systems. Of the 4,151 commercial and mutual systems, the independents had 4,107, but the Bell companies had more wire, more subscribers, and more telephones, and naturally handled more messages. In 1911 there were nearly 8,000,000 stations in the entire country, of which about 6,000,000 were in the Bell system and about 2,000,000 in the independent systems.

After years of experimenting by Hertz, Lodge, Henry and others, the wireless telegraph came into use in 1901, and within the next ten years several systems—the Mareoni, the De Forrest and others—were in operation. Before 1911 the wireless was in common use on the Trans-Atlantic steamships, on battleships, and on steamships of domestic maritime lines. Wireless stations were numerous along the seaboard. Most of the communication by this method was over water space, but transmission of messages across land already points to future success in that direction.

Although the wireless telegraph cannot be said to have attained great commercial importance, its utility on both land and sea has already been amply demonstrated. This latest

mode of communication has long passed the experimental stage and promises to rival the ocean cable in importance. Combined with the wired telegraph, there are practically no limits to the uses of the wireless system. That it has already assumed world-wide importance is shown by the three international conferences held recently (in 1911 and 1912) to dis-

cuss its status. Its value as a means of oceanic communication has been strikingly demonstrated by the recent Titanic disaster, when over 700 lives were saved by wireless distress signals. Laws have already been passed requiring all ocean-going passenger steamers to be equipped with wireless receiving stations available day and night.*

CHAPTER XI.

1865-1912.

BANKING AND CURRENCY. †

The Federal apportionment during the Civil War — The ten per cent. tax on State banks — Reorganization of the National banking system — Advantages of the new system — Subsequent modifications of the banking law of 1866 — The financial panic of 1873 — The following reaction — The crisis of 1893 — A decade of remarkable prosperity — The panic of 1907 — The Aldrich-Vreeland Act — Shortcomings of the National banking law — Present financial conditions and tendencies.

War is an everlasting source of confusion and distress to the financial systems of a nation, and the Civil War in the United States proved no exception to this rule. Banking institutions throughout the country were in a very precarious state. Had not the wise, far-sighted system of National banks been introduced at this crucial juncture, financial ruin to the country must have resulted. Before this system actually came into operation, however, the exigencies of the war had compelled Congress to flood the Nation with paper currency issued directly by the Government. The entire issue of currency — lim-

ited, as will be remembered, to \$300,000,000 — was to be so apportioned

* James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America: Its Founders, Promoters and Noted Men* (New York, 1879 and 1886); Herbert N. Casson, *The History of the Telephone* (Chicago, 1910); Frederick A. Collins, *Wireless Telegraphy: Its History, Theory and Practice* (New York, 1909); William Mayer, Jr., *Wireless Telegraphy, Theory and Practice* (New York) and *American Telegraphy and Encyclopedia of the Telegraph* (New York, 1909); *Telephones and Telegraphs, 1902 and 1907* (Report of the United States Census Bureau, Washington, 1906 and 1909); monthly summary of commerce and finance of the United States, January, 1899 and July, 1902 (Washington, 1899 and 1902); Thomas T. Eckert, *The Telegraph*, ch. xix. in Chauncey M. Depew (ed.) *One Hundred Years of American Commerce* (New York, 1895); A. E. Kennelley, *Wireless Telegraphy and Wireless Telephony* (New York, 1909).

† Prepared for this History by Henry Clews, Banker, New York City, author of *Twenty-eight Years in Wall Street*, etc.

among the various States, one-half according to the representative population of each and the other according to the capital, resources, and business done by each State at the time. But the same cause that previously retarded the start of the National banking system now prevented its extension. In January of 1865 there were only 683 banks which had taken advantage of the new law in their organization, and the State banks were still continuing to conduct their business along the old lines as best they could. Accordingly the aid furnished the Government through this new market for its bonds was, despite the bright prospect it seemed to hold, decidedly meagre for a time.

It was thus purely as a matter of self-protection and public expediency that the law of March 3, 1866, imposing a 10 per cent. tax upon all notes issued by State banks was passed. This law went into effect on August 1, 1866, and at once furnished the efficient check to the issues of State banks so long sought by the wisest financial heads in the country.

Immediately the process of reorganization set in. As a matter of fact, it was not the Government alone that benefited by a change from the old, worn-out, heterogeneous banking system which had long been a nuisance to the country at large. Business itself demanded a change — a change which should be truly National and at the same time quite safe, operating uni-

formly everywhere. When it was seen that this was precisely what the National banking system offered, the spread of the latter was speedy. By October of 1866 the total number of National banks in the country had reached 1,644 — more than doubling themselves in less than two years. The increase has been steady ever since, save for a few normal drops, accounted for by transitory conditions from which the recovery has been comparatively rapid.

The National banks, having formed the very bone and sinew of American banking for nearly fifty years, it is desirable that we here look more intently into the processes of their operation. At the outset it may be said that the new system preserved all the advantages of the old, gaining its strength by the many new advantages it offered. In the first place it provided a uniform bank-note issue, bearing a constant value which was the same in all localities, so that a note issued in Massachusetts, for instance, was accepted as unhesitatingly in Texas or California or Florida as it would have been in the State whence it came. Furthermore, the installation of a new method of engraving and issuance safe-guarded the public and banks alike against counterfeits in a way never before possible; while, by its system of redemption, exchange was made merely nominal. Three other provisions were immense factors in further protecting the pub-

lie and establishing confidence in the new system. The stockholders, in proportion to their stock interests, were made liable for the ultimate payment of all deposits, no matter what emergency might arise; the executive officers of all National banks were compelled to publish reports at stated intervals setting forth the conditions of the institutions for which they were responsible over their own signatures (duly sworn to before a notary); while, in addition, in case fraudulence should creep into these reports, provision was made for a uniform system of bank examinations under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency.

The revenue which all National banks were required to pay to the Government was provided for as follows: one-half per cent. on the circulation allowed by law; one-quarter per cent. on the average deposits for each six months; and one-quarter per cent. on capital not in government bonds. All of these levies must be met semi-annually, besides which the stockholders in National banks are subject to local taxation on the market value of their stock, under the head of personal property. All National banks are further required to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States legal-tender notes representing five per cent. of the amount of their circulation, this deposit being utilized for the redemption of their various circulations as may be necessary.

So comprehensive were the provi-

sions of this original act that its substance has remained almost unchanged to this day. Such changes as have been put into effect were mere matters of detail. In 1872, the \$300,000,000 limit which had been placed upon the circulation of the National banks having been reached four years before, Congress authorized an extra issue of \$54,000,000. This, too, was taken up so rapidly that in 1875 Congress deemed it advisable to remove all restrictions upon the aggregate amount of bank-note issues. The original National bank charters had been arranged to lapse in 20 years, but in 1882 Congress authorized the re-chartering of these banks for a similar period. The most far-reaching changes of all were effected by the currency law of 1900; but these, like their predecessors, were drafted chiefly with a view to the further extension of the system, although they did call at the same time for important changes in the conditions governing the issuance of National bank-notes.

According to this law, the issue of notes is permitted up to the par value of the bonds deposited by a bank, instead of up to only 90 per cent. of the par value, as was the case before. The sole restriction imposed in this is that, in the event of the market value of the bonds falling below the par value, additional deposits may be required in order to maintain the security of the notes issued, these deposits being made either in the form of bonds or

legal tender. The law of 1900 converted numerous series of outstanding bonds into 2 per cent. gold bonds, payable 30 years after date, and, by way of accelerating this change, reduced the tax levied upon the circulation—so far, at least, as the new bonds were concerned—from one to one-half per cent. This inducement succeeded in its intent to render the issuance of notes more attractive. Encouragement to the extension of the system was afforded through the following provisions, which for the first time adequately took into account the limitations of the smaller communities: (1) The establishment of National banks with a capital of \$50,000 is permitted in places where the population does not exceed 6,000 inhabitants; and (2) the establishment of National banks with a capital of only \$25,000 is permitted in places where the population does not exceed 3,000. The fact that the National banks have been fostered in such fashion by the Government and that they have been the only banks of issue in the country shows to what a tremendous extent the banking system of America has been dependent upon them.

Since the Civil War the United States has had three panics. The first of these occurred in 1873. It was the inevitable accompaniment of the Nation's transition from the inflation caused by enormous war loans to the sound and normal basis of peaceful prosperity. Although commercial and financial interests in all quarters suf-

fered heavily for some time, this crisis was finally passed without wreck, and on January 1, 1879, specie payment (which had been suspended since the outbreak of the war in 1861) was resumed. The fact that this resumption was effected without the slightest disturbance of business reflects inestimable credit upon the Nation. Thenceforth the prosperity of the United States progressed by leaps and bounds.

The next serious financial crisis with which the Nation was confronted, although popularly referred to as the "panic of 1893," was not a panic at all in the strict sense of the word. As a matter of fact, it arose almost entirely from the lack of confidence. Nevertheless, it was of no longer duration and came nearer to culminating in disaster than any previous emergency.

The general business depression and financial stringency came on more gradually than such things usually do. They were first felt in 1892. Soon after, the money-broker, who had almost entirely disappeared after the Civil War, again bobbed up into prominence and experienced no difficulty in securing premium for currency of any sort. With the banks money of all sorts was extremely scarce, and for some time they made payments almost exclusively by means of certified checks. This, of itself, should have been sufficient to prove that the trouble was in no sense organic, while at the same time large sums of idle

money, hoarded and withdrawn from circulation, showed still further that the country was not actually impoverished. But public confidence was lacking and operated as a check on enterprise which, reacting industrially (as it must), reached all classes and was the cause of prolonged and intense suffering in every section of the country. It gave rise also to the grave danger of a run being started upon the savings banks. In fact, in many sections in the West this did actually take place, with the result that several really solvent institutions were forced to the wall for no other reason than that they were unable to realize on their securities with sufficient speed to meet the demands which came pouring in upon them. The savings banks in New York, when besieged by long lines of excited individuals all bent upon the recovery of their savings, averted similar disaster only by availing themselves of the law which allowed them to refuse payment of any account save on three months' notice. Although technically this did not constitute a suspension of payment, it amounted to the same thing in effect. Of course, after things had adjusted themselves, the savings banks were found to be as sound as ever.

It was 1897 before the country once more fully settled down to its normal level. Once this level had been regained, however, the industrial development of the Nation progressed at unprecedented speed. This led di-

rectly to a general focussing of interests, and the years of 1901 and 1902 witnessed the rise and spread of vast industrial combinations, and the growth of the large corporate interests which have come to be known as "the trusts." This centralization of financial interests naturally created financial centres, of which New York City, controlled largely by the group of financiers designated as "Wall Street," was the undisputed chief. Prior to 1897 the rural banks had been accustomed to keep on deposit in the banks of New York only such small sums as were necessary to meet their ordinary exchange obligations, but the moment the concentration of the money power became apparent, money poured into the East from State and private banks in all quarters, either for investment or to be placed on deposit at interest. There can be no question that this money movement was a substantial factor in furthering the Nation's tremendous business development, yet before long it became apparent that the latter was going beyond even the new supplies of capital which had opened up to the banks. This was really the advance note of the third panic.

After the remarkable expansion which had preceded, it was no more than natural that the year 1903 should have been one of moderate reaction. During that period an inventory was made of real and paper values. Banking institutions had been severally taxed by the financing of such a great

number of large undertakings during the two preceding years, and not a few banks found themselves saddled with flotations which proved unmarketable. Money rates were consequently high throughout the year, but at the same time, although commercial failures were numerous, very few banks closed. This was due partly to the fact that, in answer to an appeal, the Government deposited \$170,000,000 with them.

The reaction extended into 1904, the bank clearings falling sharply after the January disbursements and remaining below the normal until the close of the summer, when they suddenly began rocketing upward until new records were set in November and December. Thus, opening with highly encouraging conditions, 1905 was another year of great industrial growth and one which, in many respects, set unprecedented records. The same flourishing conditions prevailed most of the following year and 1907, too, began without any perceptible slackening in the industrial expansion. However, this growth, together with increased speculation which taxed capital almost without regard, had nearly exhausted the banking resources and fluid capital of the country. The necessity of limiting any further extension of credit became strikingly apparent, and the pressure for money was the dominant feature throughout the year.

Yet only the most astute could be persuaded to heed these unmistakable

signs, and the result was that, when the panic did actually ensue, it came with comparative suddenness to the majority. Beginning near the end of 1906, the downward movement of the stock market went on unchecked throughout 1907. Toward the close of the year came the silent or rich man's panic, which was the means of preparing the way for the general panic occurring in October and throwing the entire Nation into chaos, causing immense suffering, deranging business to an unprecedented extent, and affecting, while it lasted, all classes. The panic of 1907 was not of such long duration as that of 1893, but it was much more intense — perhaps even more general — and in some respects presented the most serious financial situation which the United States has ever been forced to face.

No class suffered more than did the bankers, and the dangers attendant upon such concentration of capital as had continued so long were thrown into the boldest relief. The panic itself was greatly hastened by the collapse of a copper pool, headed by F. Augustus Heinze and his associates. When their attempt to corner United Copper stock fell through, conditions were such that confidence was lost in the Mercantile National Bank, Heinze's institution, and the long series of banks in which Charles W. Morse, the Thomases, and other well known men were interested. How great was the significance of this may be realized when it is understood that

these institutions included a round dozen National banks and trust companies and about as many State banks. The general feeling of uncertainty toward these institutions forced an examination, which disclosed that the series had been acquired by hypothecating the stock of a bank as soon as bought in order to furnish collateral for funds with which to buy up another. Refusing to countenance such methods, the clearing house forced Heinze, Morse, and the Thomases to resign from all official banking positions. A more thorough examination of these banks, however, proving that they were sound, the Association agreed to help them. But by that time the fear had become general, rumors of unsoundness were heard on every side and all banks began withdrawing their loans and deposits from affiliated institutions. A heavy run on the Knickerbocker Trust Company, of New York, finally compelling it to close its doors, brought the panic to its highest pitch.

It was then apparent that, unless strong measures were followed, utter ruin must follow. Accordingly, in an effort to save the general situation, a group of bankers headed by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, volunteered to aid the Trust Company of America, which had been found in sound condition. This institution successfully withstood a heavy run extending over four days, while the Lincoln Trust Company was the scene of another sensational run at the same time. These were the sig-

nal for runs on banking institutions generally, not alone in New York, but in all parts of the country, the panic having quickly communicated itself to even the most remote places. The savings banks in particular were stampeded by panic-stricken depositors. Many banks were forced to suspend for a time, not from any inherent unsoundness, but from sheer lack of cash. Only a few were found to be unsound. In New York many savings banks were forced at last, as they had been during the stringency of 1893, to avail themselves of their charter rights and demand notice before deposits could be withdrawn.

George B. Cortelyou, at the time Secretary of the Treasury, hurried to New York and, making his headquarters at the sub-treasury there, did yeoman service in an effort to save the situation. Immediately he put \$25,000,000 at the disposal of the National banks, stipulating that most of the capital should be used to help the institutions then experiencing runs. The Morgan group also still stood, working night and day to stave off disaster from many threatened institutions. John D. Rockefeller loaned \$10,000,000 for a similar purpose, but still the panic continued, and more and more banks suspended daily. Call money reached a maximum of 125 per cent., and finally the general scarcity of both money and banking credit left the clearing house banks no alternative but to issue clearing house cer-

tificates in order to meet their daily clearance balances.

The situation was complicated still further by the out-of-town banks, which began calling in their deposits on the New York banks. At the same time country banks, too, began to demand the return of their reserve deposits in Chicago, Pittsburg, St. Louis, and other centres, and the clearing house associations in these places were before long following the lead of New York in issuing clearing house certificates. The fact that the New York banks were forced to meet their obligations to interior correspondents by means of checks instead of cash, helped still further to extend the money stringency to all quarters.

The stock exchanges of Pittsburg, New Orleans, and Minneapolis closed; currency went to a 4 per cent. premium—5 per cent. in Pittsburg—and remained at premium till the close of the year; while many banking houses and industrial corporations were forced by the prevailing lack of currency to put out a wild-cat currency of their own. The stringency was felt very keenly in the West. In many places it was found difficult even to pay employees their weekly salaries, while all business was retarded by the inability of business men to discount one another's notes. Many concerns were forced to go into the hands of receivers for a time, but, everything considered, the number of failures was surprisingly small. Still the fright of the depositors continued

to be equal to that of the bankers themselves, and banks in all sections had to struggle for bare existence. Withdrawals were limited to \$50 a week—even less in some cases—while the inability of business men to meet loans which were called in threatened a widespread suspension. In several Western States the governors decreed a week's holiday in order to permit affairs to right themselves naturally and public confidence to return, and in at least one State (California) this holiday was extended almost to the end of the year. It was largely as a result of such wise precautionary measures that, despite the frenzied conditions prevailing in all sections, only one important bank suspension (that of the Kansas City National Bank of Commerce) was reported throughout all this period from the Middle West.

All the while Secretary Cortelyou remained in New York and continued to advance governmental aid to all parts of the country as rapidly as possible. In less than a month after the panic subsided government funds on deposit had increased by more than \$80,000,000, while interior banks were further aided by importations of gold, which, by December 1, had almost reached the \$85,000,000 mark. It thus came about that before the end of the year both the Western and Southern banks had amassed enough to enable them once again to meet full payment of check demands; but they were afraid to do this until assurances of

safety reached them through the resumption of payments on the part of the New York banks. Everything considered, the recovery of the latter was remarkably rapid. The deficit in their reserves, which amounted to nearly \$55,000,000 late in November, had been reduced to almost \$10,000,000 by the beginning of 1908, and it was not long before the general resumption of payment was effected throughout the land.

The return of confidence was somewhat slow and business men everywhere exercised great caution at all times, but before the end of 1908 conditions seemed to have settled down to their normal level again. The causes assigned for this panic, which came so near causing disaster to the Nation, were many and diverse. A great number, among whom were included several prominent bankers and close students of economic conditions, placed the blame on President Roosevelt's shoulders, holding that the sweeping investigations he had instituted dealing with the corporate interests and their methods had been the means of paralyzing public confidence. On the other hand, the supporters of the Administration maintained that there could have been no trouble had not corruption existed to an alarming extent and that, with such a state of affairs, a panic could not have been avoided, even if it might have been postponed. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is furnished by the tremendous increase,

during the years immediately preceding, in the country's gold output, with a resulting depreciation in the standard of value, rising prices, over-speculation — always an important factor in the creation of panics — and an unwarranted expansion of business and industrial enterprise.

Many things contributed to the general clearing up of the situation. Besides the pooling of banking interests and the co-operation of trust companies, the prompt aid of the Treasury and the introduction of clearing house certificates, new issues of government bonds and certificates and large importations of gold were prominent factors. The first of the latter was arranged for within a week after the panic ended, while others followed in rapid succession, finally resulting in a fall of the cash premium. Still another very important relief measure was supplied through a liberal interpretation of the National banking law which, in order to secure deposits, permitted all National banks having deposits of United States bonds with the Treasury to substitute for these approved securities, so that the bonds so released could be utilized to guarantee increased circulation. In this way the outstanding bank-notes were shortly increased to about \$20,000,000.

As soon as conditions appeared to have righted themselves, numerous reform movements were begun, the dominant cry being for a more elastic currency. In addition, it was demanded that the practice of using bank depos-

its for collateral loans and discounts be stopped; that such trust companies as the panic had proved to be in a more precarious state than other types of banking institutions be so regulated as to be obliged to conduct their banking business entirely apart from their other interests. William Jennings Bryan's plan was that bank deposits should be guaranteed by the Government. The demand for a postal savings bank system was also widespread and insistent.

The upshot of all the various suggestions was the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, which became law on May 30, 1908. This act provides that, subject to the discretion of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Treasurer of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury, National banks of stipulated standing may, in case of emergency, secure additional circulation which shall be similar in character to the present National bank notes and shall be guaranteed by the Government. It is stipulated, however, that these emergency notes shall bear a graduated tax, not to exceed 10 per cent., to insure their quick retirement after the imperative need for them was passed, and that an amount equal to at least 10 per cent. of the emergency notes issued shall be deposited in lawful money with the United States Treasury, to serve as a redemption fund for the notes of any bank which may fail. Such emergency circulation may be secured either di-

rectly or through a National currency association, both methods being provided for in elaborate detail. The formation of such a National currency association is also provided for by the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, as is a National monetary commission. This measure, however, is only a temporary one, expiring by limitation June 30, 1914. In the meantime it is the business of the National Monetary Commission to meet the general demand for banking reform.

The National banking system under which, with various minor changes, the country has been operating ever since the close of the Civil War, served its purpose wonderfully; but the panic of 1907 brought to light its possible weaknesses in time of quick financial crisis. The people can afford to take no chances and, just as the State banks gave way to the National banks, the time now seems ripe for the latter institutions, in turn, to be supplanted by some more up-to-date and comprehensive system. The National Monetary Commission, composed of nine Senators and nine Representatives, headed by Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, has looked into conditions abroad, besides going deeply and scientifically into the monetary system and the banking and currency laws of this country. The comparison in many ways does not appear to reflect great credit upon the United States.

Present conditions seem to foreshadow a great reorganization of

the fiscal system of this country before long, the most probable solution being conceded to be the establishment of a central bank. Just what the operative methods of this institution shall be, however, has not as yet been definitely worked out, although a wealth of very comprehensive suggestions has been brought forward by close students of financial conditions. The general trend of public opinion seems to favor a central bank.

It therefore seems safe to assume that the country is drawing near to the end of a financial era. On the whole, with reorganization so close at hand, there seems to be little ground for complaint. The United States has now a postal savings bank, established by an act of Congress approved by the President in June of 1910. Private banking institutions, which have come to play a part of constantly increasing importance in the banking of America, are at present in a flourishing condition generally. By the end of February of 1908 all the clearing house certificates issued during the panic had been retired, and the rest of that year,

together with all of 1909 and 1910, saw periods of quick recovery and general prosperity of the most genuine kind. Following the stringency of 1907, the growth of State and National banks, as well as of trust companies, has been logical and altogether healthy, and, although 1911 developed some banking setbacks, conditions were usually healthy and the solvency of banking institutions in general was unquestioned.

Altogether, then, the United States, in view of the way it has weathered the severe financial storms in the past, has every reason to be well satisfied with itself and to look with the brightest hopes toward the future.*

* Carl C. Plein, *The History of Banking in America* (1903); *Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the American Bankers Association 1875-1906* (1906); John J. Knox, et al., *A History of Banking in the United States*, revised by Rhodes and Youngman (1900); W. G. Sumner, *A History of Banking in the United States* (1896); Albert Sidney Bolles, *Law Relating to Banks and Their Depositors and to Bank Collections* (1887) and *The National Bank Act and Its Judicial Meaning* (1888); Edward Atkinson, *The Banking Principle* (1895); Charles A. Conant, *The Aldrich Banking Plan* (1911); Horace White, *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History* (1908).

CHAPTER XII.

1865-1912.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FINANCES.*

Reorganization of finances at the close of the Civil War — The funding act of 1866 — The panic of 1873 — Resumption of specie payment — Tariff revision of 1883 — Efforts to demonetize silver — Further tariff revision — The financial panic of 1893 — The income tax — The money question in the campaign of 1896 — Finances during our Spanish war — Restoration of the gold standard — The crisis of 1907 — The National Monetary Commission — Recent tariff revision.

At the end of the Civil War the United States was confronted with the mammoth problem of reorganizing its finances. The three prime essentials in this were the funding of the debt, the revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the debt policy, and the restoration of the standard of value through the resumption of specie payments. On September 1, 1865, the public debt reached its high-water mark, being registered at \$2,846,000,000, against which there was a sinking fund of \$88,000,000, leaving a balance of \$2,758,000,000. Of this enormous amount legal tender notes represented \$433,160,000; \$26,344,000 was in fractional currency, while much of the residue was made up of short-time paper or temporary securities, some of which were already maturing. Political conditions were not such as to facilitate a speedy set-

tlement of fiscal questions. President Johnson was at odds with the party leaders in Congress, and affairs generally were in a disordered state. Fortunately Hugh McCulloch, who had been appointed to succeed Fessenden as Secretary of the Treasury, was a resolute man and was little hampered by the Executive, who devoted his time to other matters. McCulloch believed that the volume of currency should be reduced with the utmost rapidity, declaring this to be the only way the resumption of specie payments could be effected within a reasonable time.

There was much heated discussion on this point, but the general opinion at first seemed to favor McCulloch's view, for on December 18, 1865, the House of Representatives passed a resolution in favor of as speedy a contraction of the currency as the interests and welfare of the Nation would permit. The first decisive step taken by Congress toward a general reorganization, however, occurred on

* Prepared for this History by Amos Kidder Fiske, associate editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*; author of *The Modern Bank*.

April 12, 1866, with the passage of an elaborate funding act. The important features of this act were the authorization to convert temporary and short-time interest-bearing securities into long-term bonds already authorized under previous bond acts, and the power to effect a slight contraction in the United States notes. The latter provision was made with extreme caution, authority being given to retire \$10,000,000 of the notes within a term of six months, subsequent retirement to be kept under \$4,000,000 for any single month.

In accordance with the first provision, McCulloch converted the temporary interest-bearing obligations into 6 per cent. bonds of the "fifty-two" type. This method proved so popular that by 1868 \$900,000,000 had been removed from this form of indebtedness, and in the meantime it was possible to cancel all temporary loans and certificates of indebtedness. With the authority granted him to bring about a contraction of currency McCulloch frankly announced himself dissatisfied. He declared that it was utterly inadequate to the occasion, but worked up to the limit of the powers granted him and confidently looked forward to a general resumption of specie payments by July 1, 1868.

However, adverse conditions intervened. Poor crops in 1866, frauds in the revenue, a panic in England, and unlooked for expenses at home all combined to thwart the Secretary's

plans. Meanwhile popular opposition to his policy was increasing and Congress naturally reflected this general feeling. Such sentiment was perhaps inevitable to the readjustment process inseparable from the return to peaceful conditions. Opposition was especially strong in agricultural sections, where deep indebtedness had been incurred by farmers on long-term loans. Hundreds of thousands of men who in the preceding four years had been fighting for their country were now obliged to return to peaceful pursuits for a livelihood. Is it surprising that many ill-advised ventures were launched and that failures were numerous? With the discontinuance of the excessive demands of war time, prices fell, and the Government was held at fault for the general chaos that followed. Above all else, the contraction in the currency was blamed. The policy of gradual contraction was finally condemned by the act of March 4, 1868, which put an end to any further reduction in the currency. At the time this measure became law \$44,000,000 of the "greenbacks" had already been retired. The following year a decision was rendered by the Supreme Court declaring the legal tender notes unconstitutional. This decision was reached by a vote of four to three, the deciding vote being cast by Salmon P. Chase, who, when Secretary of the Treasury, had been opposed to the greenbacks when such an issue had first been broached. However,

the Supreme Court reversed this decision in 1871, when it declared that the Government, for its own preservation, had every right to pursue any means which was not specifically prohibited. This decision was sustained in 1884, when the Court held that in times of peace legal tender issues were entirely constitutional.

Another assault upon National credit in these post-bellum days came in the form of a widespread demand that the Government redeem its bonds in currency instead of in coin. It was urged that bondholders had taken advantage of the National distress, that the currency used by the common people should be equally acceptable to the bond-holding class, and that since the legal tenders represented "lawful money," there was no reason why the Government should not meet this form of its obligations with greenbacks. The matter was so constantly before the public in 1868 that it was finally made a party issue, although neither party was in agreement so far as this measure was concerned. Most Republicans were openly opposed to it, and, when Grant carried the election of 1868, one of his first official acts was the issue of a bold statement that the National honor must be protected by the payment of every dollar of government indebtedness in gold, unless other provision had been specifically made in individual contracts. Congress formally ordered that this be done through an act

passed on March 18, 1869. The minds of investors were thus set at rest and the process of refunding at lower rates of interest continued much more rapidly. Although in many quarters much dissatisfaction was expressed with this measure on the ground that it was designed solely for the benefit of the moneyed class, the fact remains that it was the wisest possible course, since the Government could not have maintained its credit at that time on a paper basis and, had such a method been adopted, greater embarrassment would surely have ensued. The credit of the Government was further endangered at the same time by an effort to secure taxation of bonds locally. On this point, too, feeling mounted very high and the clash between capital and labor was probably more pronounced than at any previous time in the history of the country. However, the Supreme Court, in a series of memorable decisions, denied the power of a State to tax Government securities, either directly or indirectly.

In March of 1869 George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, succeeded McCulloch as Secretary of the Treasury, and he made the funding of the debt at a lower rate of interest his chief business. Boutwell held that so long as the volume of gold was insufficient, there could be no effective resumption of specie payment, and he voiced the popular sentiment when he declared that it was folly to continue a war rate of interest when

peace had been resumed. Bontwell offered for the consideration of Congress an elaborate funding scheme, the result of which was the acts of July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871. In pursuance of these, power was given for the issue of \$500,000,000 bonds at 5 per cent., redeemable after 10 years; of \$300,000,000 bonds at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., redeemable after 15 years; and of \$1,000,000,000 bonds at 4 per cent., redeemable after 30 years. None of these was to be sold at less than par in gold, while all were to be paid in coin and to be exempt from all forms of taxation, either National or local. This legislation permanently abolished all excuse for controversy over the possible taxation of bonds, besides insuring the credit of the country and determining the status of the public debt for many years to come.

After the waste and destruction of the Civil War and the return of a large force of men from military service to industrial pursuits, there came a period of phenomenal activity, stimulated by renewed confidence and an inflated currency. Large enterprises were undertaken drawing all available capital into fixed forms, from much of which no immediate return could be expected. Railroads were extended far beyond the requirements of existing traffic, encouraged and aided by public loans. Much capital was borrowed from abroad, and credit was greatly extended at home. Speculation became rife. All

the economic factors were working toward an over-expansion and over-production sure to end in a crisis and a collapse, followed by long depression and slow recovery.

The inevitable break came in the autumn of 1873, precipitated, but not caused, by the sudden failure of the over-extended banking house of Jay Cooke and Company. Bank reserves were deficient and there were many suspensions. Railroads went into the hands of receivers and were operated at a loss, raising money on receivers' certificates, and many industrial and commercial establishments went into bankruptcy. There was a long period of stagnation, partial idleness, and of enforced economy after a period of reckless extravagance; but the resources of the country and the energy of the people effected a slow and painful recovery. Liquidation was finally accomplished, invested capital became effective, credit was reestablished, prices reached a normal basis, requirements caught up with the provision made for them, and by 1879 prosperity was fairly restored.

Fortunately for the country, the receipts of the Treasury were so large when the crisis came that that department was able to offer some relief from the stringency. With this end in view, \$26,000,000 in legal tender notes was speedily issued in the purchase of bonds. A bill was then passed calling for a permanent increase to \$400,000,000. This ill-advised measure received the veto of President Grant on

April 22, 1874, and only by this means was serious inflation prevented.

Congress at this point determined that resumption must be made effective by some bold means, and accordingly enacted a measure to this end on January 14, 1875. This act was more or less vague and really led nowhere in particular, since it placed the date of resumption in the distant future. It left the legal tender quality of greenbacks unchanged, but, by the insertion of a free banking provision, left the way open for the issue of more paper currency. Because of the vagueness attaching to it, the act remained a dead letter during the remainder of that administration.

In 1877 Hayes succeeded to the Presidency, appointing as Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, of Ohio, a man well versed in matters financial and of long and tried political service. When in Congress Sherman had played a considerable part in framing the resumption act, and now he bent all his energies toward rendering it effective. In this his guiding principle was the policy of gold accumulation through the sale of bonds for coin. Congress was not at all in sympathy with Sherman in his intent, and even attempted to repeal the resumption act altogether, passing a measure calling for such action through the House of Representatives and getting it defeated in the Senate only through the failure to bring about an agreement as to details. At the same time an agitation having in view the coin-

age of free silver placed still another obstacle in the Secretary's way. However, Sherman held true to his principles with undaunted persistency, and by January 1, 1879, had amassed \$133,000,000 in coin over and above all matured liabilities. In order to accomplish this, he had sold \$95,500,000 in bonds, making up the remainder from surplus revenue. Under the influence of this money, the value of notes gradually appreciated so that on December 17, 1878, paper currency reached parity with gold and resumption became an actuality. Wise as Sherman showed himself in effecting this piece of fiscal strategy, his efforts would probably have been unavailing, had he not been sustained by the commercial advantages which the United States enjoyed. Between the years 1877 and 1881 the exports of this country more than doubled. Cotton was sent to foreign markets in large quantities, while a decided shortage in European crops during the years 1879 and 1880 created a vastly extended market for American food products. All these things encouraged the importation and retention of gold, while the lowering of prices incident to resumption also had its effect.

In bringing about resumption no contraction was made in the paper currency. The resumption act of 1875 gave authority for the cancellation of sufficient legal tenders to have reduced the aggregate volume to \$300,000,000, had the power granted by the act been fully utilized. Any such contingency

was prevented by the successes of the inflationists in 1877 and 1878, which resulted in the order stopping the destruction of the greenbacks. That decree came when there was \$346,681,016 still outstanding and, inasmuch as that law has never been altered, that amount (save what may have been lost or destroyed) is in circulation in legal tender notes to this day.

The possibility of retaining the comprehensive system of taxation which had been in vogue during the Civil War was, of course, out of the question as soon as peace had been fully restored. It presented too many incongruities to be admissible except as an extreme measure. In 1865 Congress appointed a committee of three to look into the subject of internal revenue and report findings and suggestions to govern future enactments. This committee experienced great difficulty in its researches owing to a scarcity of reliable data, but in general it recommended a concentration of taxes upon a few commodities, the retention of those which fell solely upon realized wealth — such as the income tax — and the abolition or a sharp reduction of all taxes which tended to retard development. These suggestions were adhered to only in part, but Congress showed considerable activity in the regulation of internal rates through a series of important measures.

The first of these, passed on July 13, 1866, did away with the tax on coal

and pig iron and lowered the duties on manufactures, natural products, and gross receipts of corporations, etc. This alone was the means of losing about \$45,000,000 in internal revenue receipts to the Government. In March of 1867 taxes on a long list of manufactured articles were repealed altogether and the rate on cotton was lowered, only to be done away with entirely in February of the following year. In March of 1868 all internal taxes on goods, wares, and manufactures were repealed, save those on gas, illuminating oils, tobacco, liquors, banks, and articles taxed through the medium of stamps, while by an act of July 30, 1868, the tax on distilled spirits received a decided cut, being lowered from \$2 to 50 cents per gallon. Finally came the act of July 14, 1870, abolishing all taxes save those on spirits, tobacco, fermented liquor, stamped documents, banks and bankers, and a small amount of manufactures and other products. It was under this internal revenue system that the United States operated until 1883. The average receipts from the principal sources of internal revenue for the years 1876–1880 inclusive, were nearly \$120,000,000 annually.

To the tariff revision Congressional sentiment was less inclined. The policy of protection had become more firmly intrenched than ever before, and the industrial interests which had waxed strong under the abnormal aid of the war-time tariff were a unit in

opposition to any change. Other interests, however, demanded reduction, and the force of their claims was strengthened by the annually increasing revenue. In 1870, in answer to the continued demands of the agricultural sections, an act was passed, but its effect was merely superficial, since the reductions it authorized affected commodities with which American industry had little concern, while a reduction in the rates on pig iron (long demanded) was offset by an increase of those upon steel rails. When the advocates of a downward revision refused to be satisfied with this measure, another attempt to satisfy them was made in 1872. On this occasion two bills were introduced simultaneously, one in the House and the other in the Senate. Of these the former, although recognizing the principle of protection, was decidedly the more radical, and at length the Senate measure proposing simply a 10 per cent. horizontal reduction was accepted by way of compromise. This measure was too carelessly constructed to meet the needs of the country. By doing away with the duties on tea and coffee alone it cost the Government about \$20,000,000 in revenue, and after the panic of 1873 customs receipts generally fell off alarmingly, iron and steel suffering particularly. Three years after its passage the 10 per cent. horizontal reduction was abolished, after which Congress left the tariff untouched until the general revision of 1883.

It was during the depression follow-

ing the crisis of 1873 that the question of silver coinage first came prominently before the people. In that year full coinage of silver was suspended by Congress. Prior to that time silver had been comparatively unimportant in the circulation of the country and therefore the measure by which this was accomplished did not cause much discussion at the time of its passage. As soon as the matter began to excite general attention, however, the claim was made that this act had come from a conspiracy on the part of the Eastern bankers to demonetize this medium without giving the general public any knowledge of the proceeding. It is sufficient to note that careful historians of the country's financial history agree that this charge of deceit or fraud was utterly unfounded.

Still the subject continued to be one of increasing importance. The demonetization of silver as a standard and consequent adoption of a single gold standard by Germany in 1871, the limitation of silver coinage in the Latin Union which went into effect in 1873, and the opening up of new sources of silver in the United States at the same time, united to bring about a decline in the bullion value of that metal. Meanwhile the panic made new supplies of money imperative, and when President Grant, through his veto of the inflation measure, put an end to the possible increase in treasury notes popular agitation against demonetization became so strong that a bill restoring a free and unlimited

coinage of silver at the old ratio passed the House of Representatives without much trouble. In the Senate, however, this bill was so amended as to limit the coinage while still retaining the full legal tender quality of the silver dollar. This act was vetoed by President Hayes, but so strong was the pro-silver sentiment at this time that it was subsequently passed in spite of the veto. This measure, known as the Bland-Allison Act, remained operative until 1890, during which period 378,000,000 silver dollars were coined under its provisions. These, however, afforded a seigniorage of \$70,000,000, since their aggregate purchase value was only \$308,000,000. At first this form of legal tender did not gain general favor with a country long accustomed to paper currency. To obviate this condition, Congress finally (in 1886) provided for the issue of silver certificates of \$1, \$2, and \$5 value. A large reduction in bank note circulation between 1886 and 1890, which was actually the result of the silver inflation, afforded an outlet for these certificates and at the same time afforded the excuse that without silver the monetary medium of the country was deficient. The opposition to silver continued strong in many quarters, on the ground that it made it difficult to maintain a gold standard, and two successive Secretaries of the Treasury did all in their power to secure a repeal of the Bland-Allison Act. Such attempts were frustrated by those who

desired a still freer coinage of silver as well as by the "greenback" contingent, which was particularly strong at this period.

How the country recovered from the panic of 1873 is told elsewhere. From the year 1880 revenues collected in the treasury far exceeded in volume the current needs of the country. This state of the finances, coupled with the operation of the refunding act of 1870, which prevented the Government from redeeming bonds save at a premium, naturally led to another revision of the tax system. In the natural course of events internal revenue taxes — always regarded as a war time expedient — were first attacked, all of them being abolished, save the imposts on spirits, fermented liquors, and tobacco, the rates on the last being cut in half. The constant gain in the revenue accruing from the first two named articles decreased the expected falling off in the general aggregate. In 1890 a one-quarter cut was made in the rates affecting snuff, chewing and smoking tobaccos, while the special license taxes on the sale of tobacco were done away with altogether.

The changed conditions of trade demanded also a revision of the tariff. Congress accordingly appointed a commission of experts — made up of representatives of manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial interests — to submit suggestions. The creation of this commission was a distinct departure from former custom and marked an important development in

tariff history in that it furnished the first instance where expert advice was sought in the framing of schedules. Yet, when the commission made its report recommending an average reduction of from 20 to 25 per cent., Congress ignored its suggestions almost entirely and enacted, instead, a patch-work tariff of a decidedly protectionist character. When the Democratic party was in power, from 1885 to 1889 (under President Cleveland's first Administration) repeated efforts were made to change this condition, but by that time the protectionist faction in both parties had grown so strong that all such attempts proved futile.

The next important step in tariff legislation came in 1890, after the Republicans had returned to power. In that year what is known as the McKinley tariff was enacted, developing the policy of protection to a point never before reached. The rates were increased on wool, woolen goods (particularly the more expensive grades), dress goods, the better grades of cotton, lawn, laces, embroideries, linens, silk laces, plush goods, cutlery, tinplate, barley, hemp, and flax. In some cases the duties imposed were positively prohibitive. The minimum principle was extended even beyond the bounds of the experiment of 1828. The two important innovations embodied in the McKinley tariff were the creation of a bounty on domestic production of sugar and the provision for commercial reciprocity under executive proclamation.

A few weeks before the passage of the McKinley tariff, an act of no less importance, known as the Sherman silver purchase act, was passed. The silver faction had grown so strong, recruiting advocates from both political parties, that some sort of concession was imperative in order to stave off unlimited coinage. By the provisions of the Sherman measure, authority was given for the purchase of 4,000,000 ounces of silver bullion each month, thus largely increasing the possible monthly purchases of silver while averting the danger of unlimited coinage. Provision was made also for the issuance of Treasury notes of full legal tender, in place of silver certificates. Either gold or silver coin, according to the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, could be used for the redemption of Treasury notes. This measure, wise as it appeared at the time of enactment, was of short duration.

After the recovery from the crisis of 1873, there was a serious interruption of prosperity in 1884 which lasted about two years. The year 1893 witnessed the beginning of another money panic. The Democrats were by this time again in the political ascendency, Grover Cleveland once more occupying the Presidential chair. In June of that year the mints of India discontinued the coinage of silver. No sooner had this information gone abroad than the price of silver bullion dropped heavily. Simultaneously the fear that the Treasury would be un-

able to meet its obligations in gold gained strength, and the panic quickly communicated itself to all parts of the country. In July of 1893 President Cleveland called Congress together in special session and demanded the repeal of the Sherman silver purchase act. In the discussion which followed party lines were for the time disregarded and statesmen allied themselves either for or against silver. The House of Representatives speedily acceded to Cleveland's demand, but the Senate was more stubborn, and it was not until October 30 that the desired repeal was finally effected. In the meantime the Treasury had suffered greatly. On December 1, 1893, the net balance actually in the Treasury above the gold reserve, pledged funds, and agency accounts was only \$11,038,448.

Nearly 500 banks failed during the year, deposits fell off alarmingly, while clearing-house certificates were generally issued. Railroad systems representing about one-half the entire railroad capitalization of the country went into the hands of receivers; the production of coal and pig iron fell off greatly, commercial failures followed one another in overwhelming volume; and in the midst of all the chaos and fright the corn crop of 1894 failed. Thousands were thrown out of work and in many cases starvation caused rioting. The combination of all these forces brought about a great decline in the revenue and it became necessary to draw upon the gold reserve. The

banks were appealed to and they gave the Government over \$30,000,000 in gold between February and April of 1893; but since the Treasury was all the while called upon to redeem other notes to meet the demand for gold to settle trade balances abroad, this measure availed little. Eventually the Administration fell back upon the sale of bonds for gold as a last resort to avoid a suspension of specie payments. Those who deplored having the Government thus incur debt in times of peace, strengthened by the free silver faction, did all in their power to prevent such action. Congress refused to authorize the issue of any new low-rate bonds, and the Treasury was therefore compelled to revert to the authority of the resumption act of 1875, under which \$50,000,000 of 5 per cent. ten-year bonds were sold, yielding more than \$58,500,000. At the same time the coinage of the silver seigniorage was prevented only by the President's veto.

Even the new bonds, however, were insufficient to check the constant withdrawals of gold from the Treasury which the redemption of legal tender notes constantly demanded. The Government sought the aid of a syndicate of bankers in an effort to recoup its gold supply, but there were bitter charges made against such a course and so many obstacles thrown in its way that at length new issues of bonds had to be resorted to. All the while panic-stricken people were hoarding their gold and thus keeping large

sums out of circulation, so that in July of 1896 the reserve amounted to only \$90,000,000. In this extremity the fear spread among bankers and dealers in foreign exchange that a new bond issue would give dangerous strength to the silver faction. Thereupon they came to the aid of the Treasury by exchanging gold for notes, thereby placing the reserve out of danger. Following the election of 1896 large amounts of gold which had been hoarded during the panic returned to circulation and, with both business and revenue improving, the Treasury again felt secure.

While the Democratic party was in power, a new tariff was enacted in answer to the popular clamor which denounced the McKinley act for its effect in advancing prices. The Wilson tariff of 1894 was, as originally proposed, a movement in the direction of freer trade, but the Senate, under the lead of Senator Gorman, amended the measure so that the existing policy was changed but little. The two most important and novel features were the abandonment of the principle of reciprocity and the establishment of an income tax by which all incomes in excess of \$4,000 were taxed 2 per cent. That no incomes under \$4,000 were taxed at all was due chiefly to the efforts of the Populist party, then at its strongest. The income tax was promptly assailed on the ground of unconstitutionality. The Supreme Court rendered a decision on April 8, 1895, that a tax on

income derived from land was a direct tax and hence unconstitutional unless apportioned. A few months later another decision of the same court brought incomes derived from other sources under the same interpretation.

The Presidential campaign of 1896 was contested on the gold standard issue. The Democratic platform demanded the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. The Republicans, on the other hand, opposed the free coinage of silver except by international agreement. Never did political acridity reach a higher degree of intensity than in this campaign, and in many instances party lines were deranged. Broadly speaking, the indications were that the agricultural West favored free silver, with the East practically a unit in opposition. The country at large finally declared in favor of a gold standard by the election of William McKinley. After that election the question of currency reform was left untouched until 1900.

The condition of the Treasury continuing unsatisfactory, another tariff was undertaken. The Dingley tariff became law on July 24, 1897. Under its provisions the duties of 1890 were restored on some commodities, while on some others compromises were effected between the rates of 1890 and 1894. Only in a few instances were the lower rates of the Wilson tariff allowed to stand. On the whole, the

measure was highly protective and did not present sufficient changes to justify all the discussion attending its passage at the time. The principle of reciprocity, first brought forward in the McKinley tariff, was reaffirmed in the Dingley measure. Several reciprocity treaties were negotiated, but the Senate failed to ratify them. Soon after, the process of financial reorganization was again interrupted by the war with Spain.

Congress, without a dissenting vote, at once appropriated \$50,000,000 for National defence. New internal revenue taxes were imposed to meet the increased expenses caused by the war and a novel and ingenious tax on legacies was enacted. Under the provision of the act of June 13, 1898, \$200,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds were sold. These bonds were speedily placed and their proceeds, together with the receipts brought in through the imposition of the new internal revenue duties, proved ample for the expenditures of the time. What the actual cost of the war was, however, is hard to estimate with any degree of accuracy. The campaign in China and the restoration of peace in the Philippines — both to be reckoned in the cost of the Spanish War, since they were direct outgrowths of that event — resulted in a huge increase in the annual appropriations made for military and naval purposes. These must be included as part of the financial effects of that war.

When the problems incident to the

war were over, Congress once more turned its attention to the important matter of currency, and the result was the act of March 14, 1900. This act declared gold as the standard of value and ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all other forms of money at parity with it. It retained the full legal tender quality of silver dollars and provided for the retirement of the Treasury notes issued in payment for bullion under the Sherman act and the substitution of coin as the silver was counted, which was to be represented by certificates in circulation. It established in the Treasury Department a division of issue and a division of redemption, and provided for a redemption fund of \$150,000,000 in gold against the legal tender notes, and for the custody of coin represented by gold and silver certificates redeemable on demand. It provided also for the reproducing of outstanding bonds with new obligations bearing only 2 per cent. interest, permitted the establishment of National banks with \$25,000 capital in any places having a population not less than 3,000, and insured the maintenance of the 2 per cent. bonds at or above par by reducing the tax upon bank notes $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 per cent. per annum when secured by deposit of these obligations. One result of this was a large increase in the number of banks and in the volume of circulation.

In the first year of the present century there was an extraordinary de-

velopment of large industrial organizations formed chiefly by the combination, consolidation or merging of existing corporations or firms, conspicuous examples of which were the United States Steel Corporation and the American Tobacco Company. There was a considerable expansion of capital and over-issue of securities in forming these. This resulted in a certain congestion which checked prosperity in 1904, but business speedily recovered and continued in 1906 and the first half of 1907 at an unprecedented pace. There was the usual over-expansion, extension of credit and bold speculation, attended by an advance in wages and prices, which caused a check in the demand for the products of industry. A strain came in the autumn of 1907 under which several weakened banking institutions in New York were compelled to suspend and a general panic, with the customary results, set in.* There was a stimulus to exports for obtaining gold and a falling off in imports, and business was generally depressed all through 1908, with a partial but premature recovery the next year, from which there was a mild reaction.

One of the contributing causes to the severity of financial crises since the establishment of the National banking system has been the lack of elasticity in the credit currency of the country. Never was this realized

more fully than after the panic in October of 1907.

Accordingly on March 4, 1907, an act was passed known as the Aldrich law which, it was hoped, would prove a remedy in times of financial stress. It provided among other things that National banks designated by the Secretary of the Treasury should be made depositories of the public funds under regulations prescribed by him; furthermore, that a National bank might upon deposit of lawful money withdraw its notes from circulation, the total withdrawals for all banks not to exceed \$9,000,000 per month. It was thought by the means of the latter provision allowing the banks to withdraw their notes from circulation, joined with their power to issue these notes on deposit of securities with the National Treasury, an elastic circulating medium would be obtained. It was also provided in this act that securities other than National bonds might be deposited, if satisfactory to the Secretary of the Treasury. This act at the time of its passage was confessedly somewhat of a makeshift, and was formulated for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary conditions that were developing in 1906-7. Its framers themselves acknowledged the necessity for its revision and this was emphasized by some of the unforeseen workings of the law when it went into force.

It was in recognition of this fact that a bill was reported in the next Congress (Sixtieth, 1908) proposing

* For details see previous chapter.

to make still further modifications of the National banking laws. This was also under direction of Senator Aldrich, and contained some provisions that were not only obnoxious to the minority party, but to a strong faction in the Republican ranks. The disaffection came mainly from the representatives of the Middle West, who conceived that the amendments to the laws were indicative of a still further yielding of the control over the National finances to the banking interests. It was originally proposed to allow banks to deposit railway bonds as a part of the security for their note circulation. This, however, was defeated, and the securities other than National bonds were restricted to interest-bearing obligations of the States and the legal bonds of counties, cities, towns, etc. The opposition to this bill in the Senate was led by Senator LaFollette, who inaugurated a filibuster which lasted nearly two days, but which in the end proved fruitless, as the bill was passed in spite of his efforts, May 30, 1908.*

* For the provisions of the Act, see previous chapter.

In the campaign of 1908 it was generally understood that the Republican party was pledged to a "downward revision," and that was advocated by its candidate for President. Immediately after his inauguration in 1909, President Taft called a special session of Congress, and the Payne-Aldrich bill was passed, as has been told in previous pages. Out of this tariff grew the reciprocity treaty with Canada which was rejected by the people of that country in 1911 as has been told in a previous chapter.*

* Maurice L. Muhleman, *The Money of the United States — Its Volume from 1873 to 1893* (1894); John J. Knox, *United States Notes* (1884); *History of the Currency from the Earliest Period to June 30, 1900* issued by the Treasury Department, Washington; Albert Sidney Bolles, *Financial History of the United States from 1861-85* (1886); Davis Rich Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (1903); Levi P. Morton, *Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver* (1879); C. J. Bullock, *Essays on the Monetary History of the United States* (1900); Alonzo B. Hepburn, *Government Currency vs. Bank Currency* (1908); W. G. Sumner, *A History of American Currency*; J. Lawrence Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism in the United States*; A. D. Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*; C. F. Dunbar, *Laws of the United States Relating to Currency, Finance and Banking*, and *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking*; Horace White, *Money and Banking*.

CHAPTER XIII.

1865-1912.

LABOR AND ITS PROBLEMS.*

Peonage and padroning after the Civil War — The rise of labor unions — Objects of the first labor organization — The Knights of Labor and its aims — The Federation of Labor and its growth — The first great labor strike in the United States — A decade of industrial unrest — The Homestead strike and its lessons — Other serious labor conflicts — The boycott and its legal status — Blacklisting — Industrial combinations *vs.* competition — Compulsory arbitration in labor disputes — The evils of child and woman labor — Legislative restrictions of the former — Attempts to regulate the latter — Other labor legislation.

With the disappearance of chattel slavery in 1865, every man in America was at least nominally free to follow any industrial pursuit and make any labor contract he saw fit. However, the Federal government found it necessary to adopt laws against peonage. One of the most notable cases under this law was that of Alonzo Bailey, in which the Supreme Court declared null and void a law of Alabama designed to foster this system.† Another form of unfree labor is that of convicts. The convict lease system has practically disappeared, the convicts now being employed by the State in productive industries or on public works. The protests of labor organizations, so commonly heard a few years ago,‡ against their employment in productive industries, have ceased almost entirely.

After the Civil War the padrone system, by which foreigners were brought over under contract, was resorted to for the purpose of securing cheap labor. In the West the importation of Chinese and Japanese became common. Some features of the padrone system still exist, but the coming of Chinese laborers has been prohibited since 1882. Since 1885 there has been a law (amended in 1907) to prohibit the importation of laborers under contract; but, owing to defects and inadequate penalties, it is not rigidly enforced.*

The increase of capitalistic production, which was hardly checked by the Civil War and has increased very rapidly since that event, the rapid changes from adversity to prosperity, and the sudden accumulation of large fortunes, accentuated the differences between the rich and the poor as never before. The multiplication of machinery seemed also to work against the individual, hence there

* Prepared for this History by David Y. Thomas, Professor of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas.

† *Outlook*, January 14, 1911, p. 47.

‡ Commons and Andrews, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, vol. ix., p. 122.

* See Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*, pp. 90-91.

was a corresponding growth of solidarity among laborers. Dissatisfaction with labor conditions must find its remedy, not in individual, but in collective action. This gave rise to the formation of unions, to strikes, and boycotts. A counter movement was found in various schemes of profit-sharing and coöperation. In a few cases they have proved very successful, but they offer no valid grounds for any hope that they will solve the labor problem.

Labor unions hardly assumed a National character before 1850. Their real history may be said to begin with the organization of the International Industrial Assembly of North America at Louisville in September of 1864. The motive of this organization, as stated in the preamble to its constitution, was to maintain the rights and dignity of labor against capitalists who "have banded themselves together in secret organization, for the express purpose of crushing out our manhood" and have assumed "the right to own and control labor for the accomplishment of their own greedy and selfish ends, regardless of the laws of nature and Nature's God." * This may be taken as having been the basic principle of unions ever since. Such organizations multiplied and grew very rapidly in different industries, and projects were soon on foot to unite the unions. The first important outcome of this was the

Knights of Labor. This grew out of a local union organized at Philadelphia in 1869. It was gradually extended to other trades, a "national resistance fund" was accumulated for use by "brothers in need against the aggressions of employers," and the name Knights of Labor was adopted. Its policy was war on aggregations of wealth unjustly accumulated and the establishment of coöperative industries. It demanded the establishment of bureaus of labor, the holding of public lands for actual settlers, simplification of the administration of justice, abolition of the contract labor system, weekly payments, and an eight-hour working day.* For a time, under the presidency of Terrence V. Powderly, this was the leading organization of the country.

In 1881 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions came into existence, which took issue with the Knights of Labor mainly on questions of the autonomy of such trade. The struggle continued until 1886, in which year the high-water mark was reached, in point of numbers, by the Knight of Labor and the nationalizing of trades. Then occurred the transition of the newer organization into the American Federation of Labor, which soon passed the older order and under the presidency of Samuel Gompers, took its place as the most powerful labor organization in

* Commons and Andrews, vol. ix., p. 123.

* Dewey, *National Problems*, pp. 41-43, 49-50.

the country. It now publishes an official organ, *The American Federationist*, and includes 115 national and international organizations, with an approximate membership of 2,000,000.

The specific sources of dissatisfaction can best be gathered from the causes of strikes. In the years 1881 to 1905 there were 36,757 strikes involving 181,407 establishments and 8,703,824 workers.* Of these strikes 11,851, or 32.24 per cent., were for increase of wages; 4,067, or 11.06 per cent., against reduction of wages; 3,117, or 8.18 per cent., for increase and other causes; 1,797, or 4.89 per cent., for reduction of hours; 6,926 or 18.84 per cent., for recognition of the union; 2,693, or 7.33 per cent., concerning the employment of certain persons; 1,346, or 4.42 per cent., in sympathy with others on strike or locked out. It should be added that other questions were involved in the strikes for recognition of the union.† Labor organizations were responsible for 69 per cent. of the strikes. They were successful in 49 per cent. and partly successful in 16 per cent.

The first strike in our history which may be called National was the great railway strike of 1877. In July of 1877 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad announced a fourth reduction in wages for all employees receiving over \$1 per day, offering proof from its books that this was necessary.

The freight brakemen and firemen, who received from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day, struck at once. Being unskilled and knowing that men could easily be found to take their places, the employes refused to allow the trains to run without the strikers. Then employes on other roads struck for higher wages, and in a little while the roads of 14 States were involved. The peaceably disposed attempted to avoid violence and not to interfere with the United States mail, but the great numbers of idle men and vagabonds produced by the lean years following the panic of 1873 were ready for rough work; hence there was a good deal of violence and destruction of property, especially at Pittsburg, and the aid of Federal soldiers had to be invoked. The strikers then opened negotiations with their employers and the strike was over, two weeks after it began. Each side claimed the victory.*

The decade 1880 to 1890 was one of greater unrest than any previous period in our history. In consequence there was a widespread discussion of Socialism, then popularly confounded with a certain kind of Anarchism. About the middle of the decade the struggle became sharp and violent. Again the trouble began with the railways, but soon extended to other industries. On May 3, 1886, a riotous demonstration was made at the Me-

* *Twenty-First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor*, p. 621.

† Dewey, *National Problems*, pp. 56-57.

* Sparks, *National Development*, pp. 70-76; Appleton's *Annual Encyclopedia*, 1877, pp. 423-432.

Cormick Reaper Works, Chicago, in behalf of the eight-hour day. Next day, when the police attempted to disperse a crowd gathered at the Haymarket Place to listen to speeches denouncing them for interfering with this demonstration, a bomb was thrown and shots were fired, killing seven of the police and wounding many more. The country was horror-stricken and demanded vengeance. As a result, seven men were condemned to execution.*

Within the next few years several strikes occurred which were attended by violence and bloodshed. The most noteworthy was that at Homestead, a suburb of Pittsburg, in 1892, which was due to a reduction of wages and a refusal to recognize the union. The Carnegie Steel Company hired a number of Pinkerton detectives to protect their property, which so enraged the strikers and their friends that actual warfare raged for several days. The State militia was ordered out and martial law was declared. Under this protection, the company was able to substitute non-union men, and by November 20 the strike had ended in a complete failure.† Ten years later unionism had practically disappeared from the steel industry.

This contest disclosed the fundamental issues at stake as no other had done, and brought into sharp contrast the old ideas of individualism

and property rights as against the newer ideas of collective interests and of the Rights of Man. The management justified their conduct on the ground that it was their right to protect their property, to do what they would with their own, and showed that they were really upholding freedom of labor. The strikers, on the other hand, claimed that the workmen and the public, as well as the capitalist, had a proprietary interest in the mills and therefore rights to a voice in the management. But the managers most emphatically asserted their right to run their "own" business and declared that any worker who dared to join a union or even talk about it would be instantly discharged. Later, complaint of low wages became almost as great an offence.*

The money panic of 1893 hit the business interests of the country a severe blow. In 1899 the Pullman Car Company at Chicago discharged some of its employes and reduced the wages of others. Four thousand of their employes struck, and the American Railway Union, to which these men belonged, ordered its members not to handle Pullman cars on the roads for which they worked. But the railroads had long-term contracts with the Pullman Company and the manager promptly decided to resist this boycott. The employes of all the roads entering Chicago promptly began a sympathetic strike

* Dewey, *National Problems*, p. 456.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 247-249.

* *American Magazine*, March, 1911, p. 659.

which, in a short time, had extended to all the roads handling Pullman cars in 27 States and Territories. Rioting soon began in Chicago and hundreds of cars were burned in the freight yards.

The local authorities were powerless to cope with the difficulty, yet when President Cleveland sent troops to prevent the obstruction of the mails and to assist the courts in protecting interstate commerce against conspiracies, Governor Altgeld appealed to States' rights and issued a protest in which he was sustained by Governor Penneyer of Oregon.

A "blanket injunction" was then issued by the United States district court, commanding the American Railway Union and "all other persons whatsoever" not to interfere with certain roads. When Eugene V. Debs, the president of the union, disobeyed the order, he was promptly convicted of conspiracy under the anti-trust act of 1890 and sent to jail for six months. The strikers lost completely.

A few injunctions had been issued before, but this extended development was something new and was vigorously denounced by many not identified with the laborers as virtually doing away with trial by jury. "Government by injunction" was now added to the grievances of labor and became an issue in politics.* Yet, when the legislatures of several States

attempted to restrain the use of injunctions in such cases, their acts were declared null and void by their own courts.*

On May 12, 1902, the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania struck and remained out five months. Feeling was very bitter on both sides. Suffering was not confined to the miners, but extended to the coal-using public. The strikers were led by John Mitchell, who managed to keep public sympathy in spite of some violence and an almost unreasoning boycott. At last President Roosevelt intervened and told the operators that the public had some rights in the matter, suggesting arbitration; but they remained obdurate and demanded Federal troops. When this was refused and they saw the rising tide of public anger, they submitted. The arbitration board made an award favoring the miners in most of their contentions.† In the spring of 1912 another coal strike occurred, this time including many bituminous coal workers; but the workmen were not out long, returning to work pending arbitration, which granted many of the unions' demands.

An intimate ally of the strike is the boycott. This term is comparatively new, but the practice is very old and, under the name conspiracy, has been held illegal for centuries. The peace-

* *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, no. 91, pp. 960-2.

† Latané, *America as a World Power*, pp. 310-312.

* Dewey, *National Problems*, pp. 287-296; *Ap-
leton's Annual Encyclopedia*.

ful boycott, putting the union label on goods and printing fair lists, is commonly regarded as legal, but the other forms of the direct boycott are illegal at common or statute law and under the Sherman anti-trust law. However, in spite of this, boycotts have become increasingly common in the last few decades, 408 having been declared within 12 years.

The last stand for legality was made on the unfair list on the ground of the guarantee of the freedom of the press. In 1901 the *American Federationist*, which had been publishing such lists for years, put Loewe, a Danbury hat manufacturer, on the unfair list to compel him to recognize the union, later adding the Buck Stove and Range Company. Injunctions were applied for in both cases and they were granted on the ground that "no newspaper has the right to publish any matter intended to aid wrong-doers in accomplishing a wrongful purpose, or doing unlawful things, or to aid unlawful combinations in making effective an unlawful conspiracy." Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, officers of the Federation, having defied the injunction, were sentenced to twelve, nine, and six months' imprisonment respectively for the violation.* Execution of the sentence was suspended pending an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States which refused, in 1911, to pass judgment on the case, since

an agreement had been previously reached between the Buck company and the American Federation of Labor. Contempt proceedings were then begun by the same company against the same labor leaders, the charge being that they were in contempt of court through violating the injunction. The defendants were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for one year, nine months, and six months, respectively, but the case was carried to the Supreme Court.

The boycott of certain employ  s by employers is called blacklisting. The blacklist is generally regarded as far more injurious to the men concerned than the boycott. A majority of the States have expressly prohibited it by law, but such a law is far more difficult to enforce than that against boycotting, owing to the secrecy which employers can maintain.

Competition, which was the very basic principle of our industrial organization, has virtually been destroyed by the crushing hand of the monopolies growing out of the great industrial combinations. The increasing arrogance of the privileged classes has cost them a large part of the public sympathy and has turned a corresponding share of it to the workers. This tendency may be seen in labor legislation and in judicial decisions — the latter still somewhat behind — designed to favor the workers. Such is the meaning of the creation of the Massachusetts bureau

* *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1909, pp. 83-85.

of labor (1869), an example since followed by many of the States * and by the United States (1884), the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor (1903), and the provision made in many of the States for boards of conciliation and arbitration.†

The boards of arbitration had to be voluntarily invoked by the disputants. The result so far cannot be said to have been altogether satisfactory. The comparative failure of these efforts and the acute struggles between capital and labor consequent upon the concentration of the former and the organization of the latter, brought on an agitation for compulsory arbitration, which was being adopted in some foreign countries. Progressive thinkers have urged that the welfare of the public is so dependent upon the railways, the mines, and other like industries that they have a right to a guarantee that these industries will not be tied up again as they were in 1894 and 1902. On the other hand, it is urged that freedom of contract, which is one of the basic principles of our institutions, is incompatible with compulsory arbitration; that compulsory arbitration and the enforcement of the award would mean compulsory labor—that is, slavery. To this it is replied that democracy should not confess itself helpless in the face of a serious menace to the public welfare

for the sake of a political theory which has ceased to confer the benefits it was once supposed to give. Compulsory arbitration in the settlement of disputes between capital and labor through Federal and State wage commissions was recommended in November of 1912 by a report of a special board of arbitrators appointed to adjust the demands of 30,000 locomotive engineers against 52 Eastern railroads for increases in wages and an improvement of certain conditions. An advance of wages was granted also, irrespective of whether or not the railroads could afford it, and a minimum was fixed below which no railway could depress its payments.

The field of legislation intended to benefit directly the laborer and the public is comparatively new, but is being worked extensively. Such are the laws forbidding employers to deprive laborers of any social and political rights, payment in company or store checks, and requiring weekly or bi-monthly payments, and the employer's liability acts. On their face such laws appear to make of the laborers a privileged class, but they are defended as necessary to put the weaker party on a plane of equality with the stronger. However, in many cases the courts have held them void as being class legislation, violating the freedom of contract, or depriving of property without due process of law.*

It is almost universally conceded

* Sparks, *National Development*, p. 69.

† Bolen, *Getting a Living*, p. 695; Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*, p. 295, note.

* Adams and Sumner, pp. 327, 477.

that one of the worst features of our industrial system is the condition of child and female labor, which was very much aggravated by the industrial revolution. After the Civil War the evils soon became of such magnitude that the public began to demand remedial legislation. The evil was common everywhere, but perhaps greatest in the South during the 80's and 90's, when that section was enjoying a period of great industrial development. But lately the Southern people have become aroused and now practically all the States have some sort of child labor laws.*

These laws, the first of which was passed by Massachusetts in 1866, and the latest in 1912, the 54-hour law applying to women and children in New York City, relate in general to the age limit below which children shall not be employed, to hours of labor, sanitation and education. The age limit varies from 10 to 14 in different States, farm laborers and domestic servants being excepted. The constitutionality of these laws was long uncontested, but they were sustained when the test was finally made.† Unfortunately, however, the laws have not been thoroughly enforced anywhere and in many States not at all. Compulsory education, if enforced, would be an effective means; but this is the exception, not the rule,

in the South. Grasping employers connive at false certificates of age and honest ones are imposed on by them. Where thorough and competent inspection is not provided, as often happens, evasions are frequent and easy. The comparative failure of these laws led to a vigorous effort on the part of Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, to secure a National law on the ground that the power to regulate interstate commerce gave Congress the power to regulate the manufacture of goods which enter into interstate trade.

It was in October of 1910 that the Los Angeles *Times* building was blown up with the loss of 21 lives. This outrage being only one of a series which was finally laid at the door of John J. McNamara, secretary of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, his brother, James B. McNamara, and Ortie McManigal, who afterwards confessed and gave full details. The McNamara brothers were sentenced to prison, and organized labor in general made haste to repudiate complicity in warfare by dynamite.

The evils of female labor are old, but did not become very acute in this country until the Civil War, when thousands of women were thrown upon their own resources. Large numbers may be found in agricultural pursuits and in the professions, as well as crowding into the factories and sweat shops. Since 1870 the number of female workers has in-

* Adams and Sumner, pp. 45-47, 59-61, 61, 63-64, 126-127; Bolen, p. 526.

† *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1909, p. 89; *Labor Bulletin*, no. 91, pp. 932-933.

creased in a greater ratio than either male or child workers.* By far the larger part of such workers is found in the New England and Middle States, most of them being employed in textile industries, especially cotton and silk. Legislation on this subject began with the Massachusetts ten-hour law of 1874. It now deals with hours (the usual limitation being eight), conditions of comfort and sanitation, and restrictions of kinds of work. These laws were vigorously assailed as unconstitutional, as class legislation, and as depriving women of the freedom of contract. When this contention was upheld by the supreme court of Illinois, it for a time produced consternation in the ranks of reformers, but other courts (notably in Nebraska and Washington) soon took the opposite view,† which was ultimately sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the law was a valid exercise of the power of police and wardship.‡

There is also a great mass of important legislation intended to protect male as well as female laborers. The factory acts, which have grown through many years by accretion, make up a sort of code in themselves. For the most part they relate to conditions of safety and health. Workmen's compensation acts, em-

ployers' liability, and workmen's insurance, are all in the formative stage, and even the minimum wage is yet being introduced in this country. The prohibition of Sunday work has been enacted in many States on grounds of morality and hygiene, and such laws are being better enforced.

To secure more uniform workmen's compensation legislation, a conference was held in New York City in November of 1912, at which government, capital and labor were well represented, from which fruitful results are expected. There is a growing endeavor on the part of all concerned to find a basis of compensation which shall be definite and equitable. There are now two classes of laws — one imposing liabilities on the individual employer, and the other on mutual insurance. Workmen's compensation has lately been voluntarily assumed by The United States Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company.

The eight-hour movement began before the Civil War, but here again nothing of consequence was accomplished until after that event. To limit by law the hours of labor seemed to violate the principle of freedom of contract; to reduce the hours to eight, or even ten, seemed contrary to the interests of both employer and employé. Nobody could deny the former contention; to convince the world of its error on the latter was a great task, but it was taken up in 1863 by Ira Steward, a Boston ma-

* Adams and Sumner, p. 42.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 467.

‡ *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1909, p. 90.

chinit, and to him is mainly due the credit of putting the argument in a form which has ultimately convinced most unbiased people.* The first response came from distant Illinois, which enacted, March 5, 1867, that, in the absence of a special contract and except in farm employments, eight hours should constitute a legal day's work. Missouri, New York and Wisconsin followed with similar statutes the same year (though the last applied only to women), and the following year Congress did likewise. These laws have generally been evaded even in public works; but they have not been valueless, for they have furnished a sort of moral backing to the labor unions in their fight for shorter hours.

Utah in 1896 seems to have been the first State to attempt to prohibit adult males from working more than eight hours in private industries — in this case in mines and smelters. The law was soon attacked as unconstitutional on the ground that it deprived persons of freedom of contract and of property without due process of law, but was upheld by the Supreme Court.

Similar laws were then passed in other States, only to be overturned by the State judiciary — notably in Ohio, Illinois, California, and New York. When a similar Kansas law came before the Supreme Court of the United States, it was again affirmed in no

uncertain terms.* Great, therefore, was the dismay of the reformers when the eight-hour bakeshop law of New York, which had been sustained by the courts of that State, was overturned by the United States Supreme Court.† But the labor leaders have not given up the fight and contests over similar laws are now pending elsewhere.

These facts indicate that legislation and judicial decisions are still somewhat chaotic, though some progress has been made in both directions. But, though it is now generally recognized that women and children need protective laws to put them on an equality with "the more powerful party," this principle is almost overlooked as a basis for legislation as between man and man. Laws which may have this tendency are defended from considerations of public policy and hygiene, and are based on the police power. Who shall decide what is for the public welfare and what is a reasonable interference with freedom of contract? On numerous occasions the courts have held that this authority belongs, not to the legislature, but to themselves. Yet they cannot initiate laws; they must wait for the legislature to pass a law and then the legislature must wait to see if the courts decide the law to be reasonable. Judges claiming for themselves such

* Commons and Andrews, *Documentary History*, vol. ix., pp. 277-329.

* *Atkins vs. Kansas*, 191 U. S. 207.

† *Lochner vs. People*.

extensive veto power ought to be reasonable in exercising it.

A new trend of labor development is seen in the organization in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World. This was an outgrowth of the free-speech campaigns on the Pacific Coast and the methods of the Western Federation of Miners, in which William D. Haywood and Charles H. Moyer were leading spirits. It was under Haywood that the Lawrence textile strikes were organized in 1911, and the Paterson and Passaic strikes in 1912. The Lawrence strikes were marked by great bitterness and much rioting. Messrs. Ettor, Giovannitti

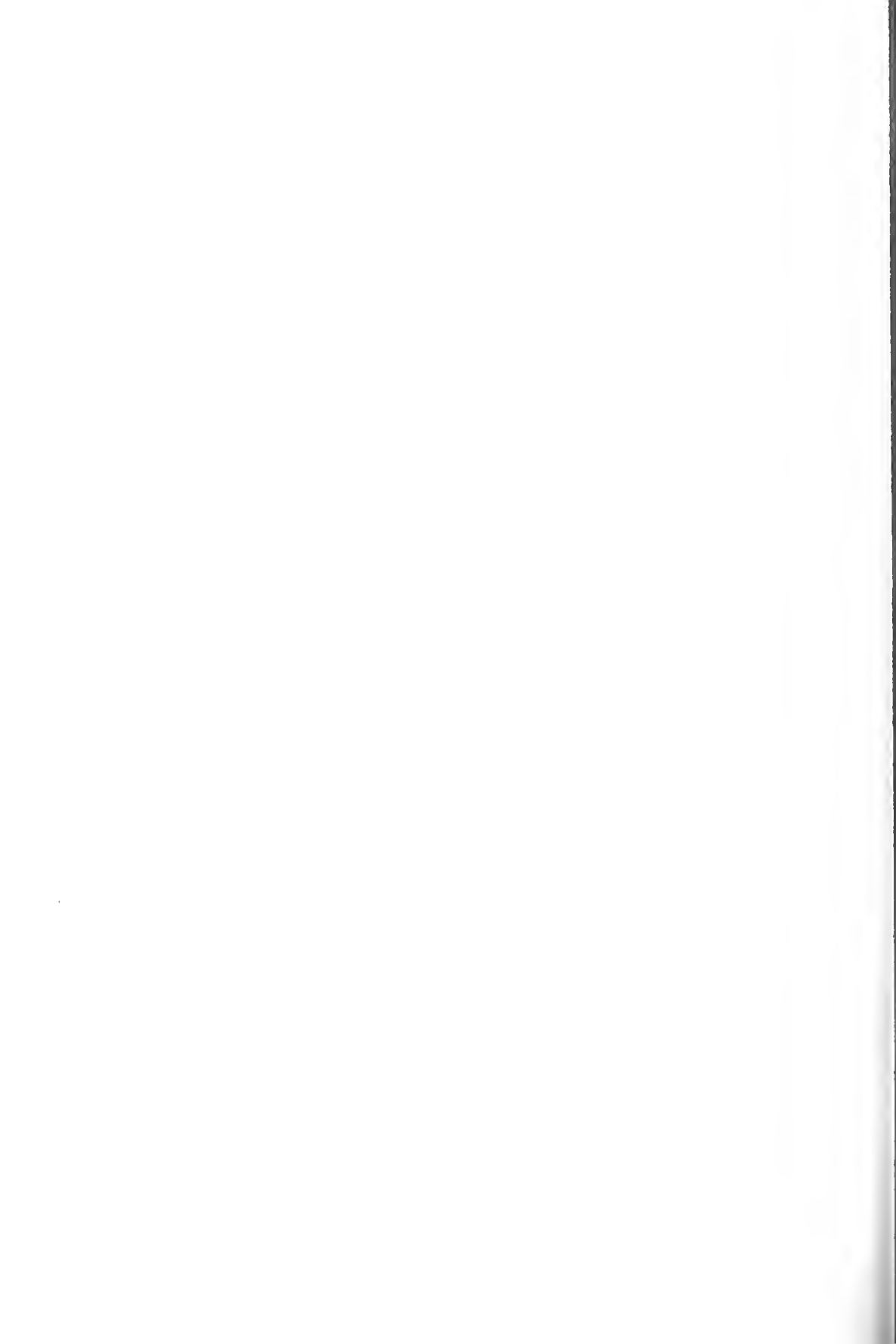
and Caruso were arrested on a charge of inciting riot, but were acquitted in November of 1912.*

* For further reading see, in addition to the works cited in the footnotes: John Mitchell, *Organized Labor* (Philadelphia, 1903); Samuel Gompers, *Labor in Europe and America* (New York, 1910); the report in *American Federationist* (Dec. 1911-Jan. 1912); Scott Nearing, *Wages in the United States 1908-1910* (New York, 1911); Frank T. Stockton, *The Closed Shop in American Trade Unions* (Baltimore, 1911); Washington Gladden, *The Labor Question* (Boston, 1911); F. T. Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor* (Boston, 1911); reports of State and National bureaus of labor and of special commissions; *The Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago), and *The American Economic Review* (Boston). Each number of the latter contains lists of articles and books on the subject.

SERIES TWENTY
LECTURES EIGHTY-TWO TO EIGHTY-FOUR

Social and Intellectual Progress, 1865—1915

- 82. Educational and Religious Progress
- 83. Modern Tendencies in American Literature
- 84. Art, Music, and the Drama



THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I.

1865-1912.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION SINCE THE WAR.*

Causes of the educational awakening — Establishment of the Bureau of Education — Land grants — The "township unit" — Public schools — Introduction of the kindergarten — The Montessori system — Intermediate and high schools — Improvements in the methods of teaching — Manual training — Vocational schools — Public high schools — Extension of studies — The "hygiene of grading" — Medical inspection — The "Binet test" — Open-air schools — Playgrounds — School hygiene — School discipline — Revolution of the text book — Length of the school year — Equal pay and teachers' pensions — Normal schools and other agencies for training teachers — Rural schools — Negro education — Education funds — Indian education — Private elementary schools — Professional, industrial, commercial and other schools — Colleges and universities — Indirect education.

THE development of education in this period is the greatest America has known. Not improperly might be compared, in its great personalities and its insatiable Athenian-like search for "some new thing" to the Periclean age of Greece, or, in its illuminating and vivifying power, to the English Renaissance of the Sixteenth century.

There were historically logical causes for this great awakening in educational lines and this new birth of educational ideas. Some of these causes were the tremendous moral

and intellectual upheaval of ante-bellum and inter-bellum discussions, such as the freedom of the slave, the preservation of the Union, and a deeper realization of educational needs, brought about by the Civil War itself and the profound changes which it introduced. In the fifty years since the war, the more than doubling of population, the attempt to assimilate 20,000,000 foreigners, the unparalleled development along a thousand channels — in commerce, industry, inventions, arts and sciences — the sudden obtrusion of the needs of the

* Prepared for this History by Charles F. Thwing, LL.D., President of Western Reserve University; author of *History of Education in*

the United States since 1865, etc.; and Lee S. Pratt, formerly Professor in Park and Knox Colleges.

ignorant but aspiring freedmen, the insistent labor question, the increasing practicality of the American outlook on life and its demands—these and myriads of other startlingly kaleidoscopic changes have compelled educational methods to a corresponding advance. Such progress, at first slow but, with growing confidence, constantly accelerated, is, nevertheless, genuine and is sane and sound in principles and tendencies.

It was no chance coincidence, then, but a natural and significant evolution, that at the very beginning of this period, only two years after the close of the Civil War, Congress established a Bureau of Education at Washington under the control of a Commissioner of Education. This Bureau has no executive functions, but serves an extremely useful purpose in compiling school statistics and giving a composite, world-wide resumé of information regarding school organization, methods and régime—a veritable clearing-house of educational knowledge. State boards, on the other hand, are usually administrative, the scope and character of control varying in different States.

In the midst of the war a still more important step had been taken by Congress in the furtherance of the cause of education, by passing a law which, with land acquired under other similar acts, set aside 67,893,919 acres,

that gave a perpetual endowment of nearly \$85,000,000. Large additions to this fund have been made by all the States, so that now the total annual income from public school funds amounts to over \$10,000,000.

Another general factor in the way of stimulus and inspiration, as well as the introduction, promotion and unification of new principles and methods, has grown out of the meetings and reports of the National Education Association. In 1870 this useful organization reanimated the work of the National Teachers' Association which had been somewhat interrupted by the war; so that the real usefulness of the later body, whose annual meetings now attract an attendance of from 25,000 to 40,000 teachers, covers the period we are considering, and is an index as well as accelerator of its educational progress.

The centralizing tendency of modern education is shown in many ways, but especially in the power of the city superintendent, and the growth of the "township unit," compulsory in some States, permissive in others, which establishes a few graded, well-equipped, efficient schools in convenient locations, in place of the many "little red schoolhouses," dear to sentimental memory perhaps, but painfully isolated and often desperately behind the times. The town-

ship high school is also a part of the new order of things, which places the privileges of secondary education within the grasp of a larger number of children in a rural community. The greatest practical difficulty in inaugurating these changes was overcome by legal provisions for free transportation, and it has been found that, even with this additional expenditure (averaging about 8 cents a day per pupil), the "township unit" is a saving in expense over that of maintaining the larger number of rural schools. It also insures "better teachers and equipment, better supervision, greater regularity of pupils' attendance, and a better school spirit." *

The total number of public schools in the United States in 1910 was 257,851, embracing "every variety of size and circumstance." The total number of pupils in public elementary schools, in the same year, was 16,643,149, of which 10,928,092 were in schools in rural districts or in towns below a population of 4,000. The average attendance for the whole

country is only 70 per cent. of the enrolment, but in cities it is considerably higher, Indianapolis leading with 93 per cent., Dayton following with 90 per cent., and New York and Boston with 89 per cent. The expenditures on public education the same year were nearly \$400,000,000, almost two-thirds of which went to elementary schools.

In 1871, in the first report of the Commissioner of Education in which statistics on the subject are included, only 9 States out of 37 reported their public school tax. The total amount of revenue from these States was \$27,811,803.88; this ratio, if carried out, would be expected to go over \$100,000,000, but the estimate would be liberal if it should reach half that sum, as, among the States not reporting, was the entire Southern group where educational, as well as political and industrial conditions, were at that time chaotic. Let one make the estimate for 1871 as liberal as he dares, the contrast with the magnificent income, from all sources, for the common schools, of \$403,647,289 in 1909, is eloquent. Almost as significant are the two facts that the amount we were spending on our public schools in the latter year was an 86 per cent. increase over 1900, and that the large

* See Edwin Grant Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, chap. xiii., "The Development of School Organization and Administration" (1904). This work, and A. P. Laurie (ed.), *The Teacher's Encyclopædia* (7 vols., 1912), Paul Monroe (ed.), *Cyclopædia of Education* (3 vols., 1911, to be complete in 6 vols.), and John P. Garber, *Annals of Educational Progress in 1910 and Current Educational Activities* (1912) are especially helpful.

* *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1871, p. 688.

item in this increase was the income from local taxation—indicating the growing willingness of the people to tax themselves, in this immediate and direct way, for the support of their common schools.*

The accelerated progress of our public school system is graphically indicated from another point of view by examining the expense accounts of this decade (1900–1909). As the population of the country was growing more rapidly than the school population, it cost \$2.84 per capita of population to meet school expenditures in 1900, and \$4.45 in 1909, or an increase of only about 56 per cent. to meet the increase in total expenditures of 86 per cent. In the same period, the total expenditure per pupil for common school purposes increased from \$20.21 to \$31.65, or at the exact rate, curiously enough, of the per capita increase—56 per cent.

The close of the Civil War found the public school system, outside of the rural schools and such town or city schools as made any attempt whatever at classification, roughly divided into primary; elementary, intermediate, graded or grammar; and high. In many cases there were only two divisions, the primary being merged with the intermediate.†

In primary teaching, but little, if

any, advance was made in methods until the whole system was revolutionized and vitalized by the introduction into the public schools of the Froebel kindergarten. This was in 1873, at St. Louis, when Miss Susan E. Blow, in coöperation with Superintendent-of-Schools W. T. Harris, organized a kindergarten under full control of public authorities as an integral part of the city school system. True, about a dozen German kindergartens had previously been started in German-speaking communities—the first one in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855, by Mrs. Carl Schurz; and the first kindergarten for English-speaking children had been organized at Boston, in 1860, by Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, “the apostle of the kindergarten in the United States.” But with the successful outcome of the St. Louis experiment, the kindergarten assumed as rightful a relation to the public school system as was held by any of the other grades. Within two years nearly 100 public schools had adopted the kindergarten; by 1880, 400; and in 1904 the report of the Commissioner of Education showed that there were over 3,000 public kindergartens attended by nearly 200,000 children. The number of private kindergartens was then estimated to be about 1,500.*

* *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1911, p. 6.

† For an excellent review of the entire subject, see Arthur C. Perry, *Problems of the Elementary School* (1910).

* A new trend in primary education, which is attracting much attention, is the “Montessori System” as developed by Dr. Maria Montessori, docent of the University of Rome, in her celebrated “Houses of Childhood.” Its central idea is that of auto-education and auto-discipline

The intermediate and high schools constitute the largest bulk of the public school system and cover the important years in a pupil's life. Even before the war the studies, except in the rural and very small schools, had of course outstripped "the three R's" of sainted memory; but in the last forty years at least, going back to the time when the country first got its breath again, the range of the curriculum in both the elementary and secondary school had almost appallingly widened, some high schools of to-day offering almost as liberal an education, in point of ground covered, as many colleges of yesterday.

In the intermediate schools, radical improvement has been made in methods of teaching the great fundamental subjects, unless it be spelling which, although not yet a lost art, has been somewhat neglected, to the detriment of outer evidences that a child may have to show of having received even a "common-school education." Reading has gained both in method, which is now "phonetic," and in spirit — interpretative rather than declamatory. Grammar, which most of us, as children, "hated," has passed from "parsing" and "diagraming" to "English-study," which is more practical, attractive and assimilative,

though some think less sternly sturdy than the "rules" that, after all, controlled the style of Nineteenth century literature. Arithmetic now concerns itself with present problems, seeking to meet present conditions. Geography now proceeds "from within, out," beginning with the schoolhouse grounds and the home town, county and State, and ramifying into commercial geography and physiography. Nature-study has become a very important and beneficial part of the curriculum. By using the abundant seasonal resources at hand, even if there is no opportunity for cultivating school gardens,[†] scholars obtain, in an intensely interesting way, more than an elementary knowledge of plant and animal life; learn to observe closely and reason carefully; and, better still, imbibe a love of Nature and cultivate an aesthetic taste that opens their eyes to an appreciation of the beauties of the world around them. The study of history has lost as a mere record of facts — largely political and somewhat unrelated — and has gained in the human and humanistic aspects.[‡] Drawing has become a study; music is now regularly taught, not simply sung; hygiene — no longer "physiology" —

* Jacques W. Redway, *The New Basis of Geography* (1901).

† Those interested should consult the chapters on "Nature Study" and "School Gardens" in Laurie, *Teacher's Encyclopedia*, vol. ii., pp. 1-21, and 197-227.

‡ Henry E. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary Schools* (1903).

under the essential condition of "the liberty of the child." Those interested in the subject should read: Garber, *Current Educational Activities*, pp. 164-172 (1912); Anna Tolman Smith, *The Montessori System of Education*, Bureau of Education Bulletin 17 (1912); and an article in *McClure's Magazine* (May, 1911).

is inculcated in many practical and impressive ways, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks, stimulants and narcotics upon the human system; morals and ethics receive a goodly share of attention; and many forms of manual training have been gradually introduced into the grades of both the intermediate and high schools, including, besides drawing and designing, some forms of wood-work, iron-work, modelling in clay, printing, needlework, domestic science, etc. In 1871 manual instruction for other than purely industrial purposes was first given at the Illinois Industrial University, now the University of Illinois—both wood and iron shops being put into operation. The next year, 1872, St. Louis established similar shops at Washington University. The move in the public schools has taken on two forms—that of the introduction of manual branches into the regular curriculum of the schools, as alluded to in the preceding paragraph, and the establishment of separate manual training high schools.*

The number of public high schools reporting 20 or more students in manual or technical training courses reached a total, in 1911, of 425, with 43,126 students in such training, of whom 27,178 were boys and 15,948 girls. Manual and industrial schools (the earliest of which was the St. Louis Manual Training School, opened

in 1880) have increased from 18 in 1889, and 153 in 1901 to 287 in 1911, with 5,017 teachers and 127,130 students—78,500 boys and 48,630 girls. These schools owned buildings and grounds valued at \$38,874,001, and scientific apparatus, furniture, machinery, etc., valued at \$6,140,483; they expended in 1910-11 \$7,543,668, including outlay for salaries, new buildings, improvements, tools, materials, etc. The figures given on schools, not courses, include some of the private schools.*

Manual training is differentiated from both industrial and vocational training by its cultural as well as technical value; and industrial education is different from vocational in being mechanical, while the latter more closely occupies the field of craftsmanship, including for girls, millinery, dressmaking, embroidery, etc. But there is a far more important differentiation. Vocational courses and schools are designed primarily to enable a pupil, under the sympathetic and intelligent guidance of the teacher, to "find himself," and are gaining much favor in private industrial and trade schools, as well as those under the public system.†

At the close of the Civil War there were about 150 public high schools in

* Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, pp. 407-412; *The Manual Training Magazine* (Peoria, Ill.).

* *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1911*, vol. ii., pp. 1229-1259.

† Interestingly and more fully treated in Garber, *Current Educational Activities*, part ii., chap. iii., pp. 97-116; David Snedden, *The Problem of Vocational Education* (1910); and John M. Gillette, *Vocational Education* (1910).

the United States; the number in June of 1911 was 19,234. This enormous growth indicates not at all the bitter animosity which a prolongation of study and time beyond the common school originally encountered; but it does attest to the intrinsic soundness of the high school idea. It not only bridged the chasm between the intermediate school and the college, but met in great measure the intellectual needs of the very large class to whom the privileges of higher education would have been denied. In fact, the high school, even with its unavoidable limitations, is somewhat approaching what it has often been called — the “people’s college.”

The high school has enjoyed — or suffered — two distinct kinds of development. It has had to act the difficult, because divergent, rôles of a college-preparatory and, at the same time, of a life-preparatory school. The difficulties of the “college-feeding” side were not lessened by the increasingly rigorous demands of the college entrance examinations, nor by the modern vociferous outcry against “wasting time on Latin and Greek” — especially the Greek. But the colleges could not afford to ignore the steady stream of matriculants coming from public high schools, so, while requiring of these schools a progressively better grade of work, have also made modifications in their own exactions, until now the relations between the colleges and their “ac-

credited” or “affiliated” schools are most harmonious and mutually beneficial.

But the increasing demands of the college catalogue and those of stern life were radically diverse. It was soon discovered that the old prescribed classical course, which was admirable when supplemented by the four years at college, was a fatally poor preparation for work-a-day duties when not so supplemented; and the first solution attempted was, naturally enough, to extend the number of subjects that would be useful to the students who could not go beyond the high school. This was done almost *ad infinitum*, until, in one instance, the number reached 29, and this in a three years’ course. This structure of almost endless additions to prescribed subjects soon broke down of its own gravity, and made way for one of the greatest improvements in high school régime that has taken place in the period we are considering — the subdivision of these subjects into separate courses, such as classical, Latin scientific, modern language, etc., with the privilege granted to the student of electing a “course” and, as a further later evolution, of choosing a limited number of electives from subjects not included in the course.*

In the 10,234 high schools in the

* John F. Brown, *The American High School* (1909); Horace A. Hollister, *High School Administration* (1909).

United States in the years 1910-11, there were 45,167 teachers — 20,152 men and 25,015 women, an increase of 3,500 teachers over the preceding year. The increase of boys in the same period, of 34,528, and of girls 35,088, brought the number to 433,053 boys and 551,624 girls in 1911 — a grand total of 984,677 students. This includes an enrolment of 14,512 colored students.

Advance from grade to grade is by annual, or sometimes semi-annual, promotion, which, since about 1870, is largely based on the results of written examinations. A practical difficulty as well as frequent injustice consists in simply shunting all scholars through the same hopper, those having high or average scholastic attainments sliding through, while others are subjected to "retardation."* It is one of the great strides made by recent thought along these lines that "the hygiene of grading" is supplanting the pedagogical one — consideration being given to "physiological age, psychological age, ability to work and resist fatigue, the general physical condition, the mental type as regards imagery," power of attention and concentration, home surroundings, etc., — indeed meeting all the idiosyncrasies of "exceptional children."† Some of the difficulties

are being met by "flexible grading," but more often segregation or assignment to special schools or departments is found to furnish a satisfactory solution.

The attempt to grade more scientifically has called medical inspection, among other allies, to its assistance, and this, in turn, has pointed the way to greater reforms. Medical inspection for the detection of contagious diseases has been in vogue since Boston introduced it in 1892; but this was protective, while modern inspection is also preventive. Tests and examinations for defective teeth and subnormal eyesight and hearing are now made; while a most important application of the new system is, perhaps, the detection by the "Binet test" of *incipient* feeble-mindedness or other mental weaknesses, with a view to the special treatment of children so afflicted, of whom, in 1911, there were 17,470 in public and private schools.* The "school nurse" soon followed in the wake of the "school physician," and has been considered indispensable since New York City introduced her in 1902.†

One direct outcome of this definite health-oversight has been the establishment of open-air schools, which have given many a tuberculous or anæmic child a new lease on life — Providence, Rhode Island, setting an

* Louis B. Blan, *A Special Study of the Incidence of Retardation* (1911).

† See the articles *Hygiene of Grading*, *Grammar Grades*, and *Grammar High Schools*, in Paul Monroe (ed.), *Cyclopædia of Education*, vol. iii., pp. 128-130, 138 (1912).

* B. Maennel, *Auxiliary Education*, translated from the German by Emma Sylvester (1909).

† Gulick and Ayres, *The Medical Inspection of Schools*, in *Russell Sage Foundation Report for 1908*.

example, in 1908, that was followed in three short years by 32 other cities.* Another outcome has been the playground movement—184 cities now making “supervised play” as much a province of education as any that ministers to intellectual growth—under play directors.† Sanitation and hygiene in general are being looked after as never before‡—the relations of school architecture and hygiene, the needs of underfed children, the abolition of the common drinking cup, homely but necessary attention to personal cleanliness, health, exercise, etc., and a due regard to sex hygiene.¶

Because no formal religious instruction can be given in our public schools, and all forms of religious belief must be respected and tolerated, the erroneous impression prevails that the spiritual nature of the child has been neglected. If this impression turns only on the old question of “The Bible in the Schools,” it is still unwarranted, for no law had

ever been passed by any State legislature specifically excluding the Bible by name from use in the public schools; on the contrary nine States have passed mandatory or non-exclusion laws, and five States permissive laws.‡ But if religion means, or leads to, morality, the sentiment is utterly untrue; for the moral influence of the public school is entirely on the side of what Dr. Eliot speaks of as the “combination of three ideals which are the supreme result of the best human thinking and feeling through all recorded time—truth, beauty and goodness.”

The Boy Scout movement, school banks, self government (one New York school, at least, has its own “police department”) “street cleaning week,” etc., promote frugality, self-control, and the civic sense, and help to simplify some of the old, vexing problems of “discipline” which used to find their only solution in corporal punishment.† This was abolished from the New York City schools in 1870 and from other schools at varying periods. It is now the age of better, because more indirect, methods; and though there are still truants and truancy schools in spite of compulsory education laws in all northern States and many of those of the South, and an enrolment in our 60 public reform

* See a paper by Leonard P. Ayres, *Open-Air schools*, in *National Education Association Report* for 1911, pp. 898-903.

† Among many other writings on this subject is the chapter on “Recreation” in Garber, *Current Educational Activities*, pp. 73-79; Edward R. Shaw, *School Hygiene* (1901); William F. Barry, *The Hygiene of the Schoolroom* (1904). A magazine, *The Playground*, is published by the Playground Association of America (New York).

‡ Nicholas Murray Butler, *Education in the United States*, vol. i., p. 409 *et seq.* (1900).

¶ For a discussion of the comparatively new subject of sex hygiene, see a thoughtful paper by Dr. Francis M. Green in *Proceedings of the National Education Association* for 1911, pp. 917-925.

* Paul Monroe (ed.), *Cyclopædia of Education*, vol. i., pp. 370-377 (1911).

† John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (1909); George H. Palmer, *Ethical and Moral Instruction in Schools* (1909).

schools, in 1910, of 42,381, there is a more hopeful trend, even when the reformatory stage is reached, of the practical psychological treatment of delinquents found in such schools as the "George Junior Republic" and (in England) of the "Tiny Town."*

The psychology of the text book has undergone a revolution in the last fifty years. On the merely material side this is surprisingly true—paper, ink, type and binding. Maps, charts and tables are much more numerous and accurate; the beauty and finish of illustrations are of course beyond all comparison with those that childish eyes used to consider works of art; but the great advance has been made in the text itself. The modern text-book is humanized; it has been written for the purpose of teaching the pupil, and not for the purpose of presenting a subject; it represents a desire to adjust truths and the presentation of truths to the mind of the pupil.†

The length of the school year varies from 70 days in North Carolina to 190 days in some of the New England States. In New York it is 175. The average length of the school year has advanced from 130 days in 1880 to 155 in 1900. One-half of a school month has been added in the last decade, which has increased educational effectiveness by

8 per cent. School hours also vary greatly. In some large cities, notably New York, where it seems impossible to provide full time for all pupils, in view of the 25,000 annual addition to the school population, half-day shifts for many thousands of children must be resorted to. The entire subject of the school year and school hours is inextricably bound up with the complexities of child labor legislation.*

The number of public school teachers in 1909 was 506,040. The proportion of men to women teachers has diminished, since 1870, from 40 to 21 per cent.; in some States it is now less than 10 per cent. The average monthly salary for men teachers in 1909 was \$63.39, an increase in ten years of \$16.86; for women teachers in 1909 the average salary was \$50.08, an increase of \$11.45. In New York City the long struggle for the principle of "equal pay for equal work" culminated in October of 1911, under the leadership of Miss Grace Strachan, in a successful verdict; the aldermen still fix the salaries, but hereafter no discrimination can be made on account of sex. What the results will be, no one can foretell; if it accelerates the "dearth of male teachers"† and tends to further "feminization,"‡ it complicates a problem already regarded as suffi-

* *World's Work* (March, 1910); Garber, *Annals of Educational Progress*, pp. 251-253.

† Among other authorities, Dexter (*History of Education in the United States*, pp. 207-218) has a chapter on text books.

* See the *Report of the Commissioner of Education on Industrial Education* (1910).

† Dexter, *Educational Progress*, p. 180 et seq.

‡ G. Stanley Hall, *Feminization in School and Home*, in *World's Work* (May, 1908).

ciently serious. There are at least two possible ameliorations — higher salaries for men, and teachers' pensions. The latter subject has received increasing attention since about 1900, and while in some States "teachers' insurance" or "retirement fund" plans prevail, managed by the teachers themselves, the general trend is toward the very logical conclusion that the authority paying the salaries should pay the pensions also.*

Teachers must themselves be taught, and the growth in the number of normal schools in the last half-century has been larger than the growth in any other form of professional education. At the close of the war there were less than 50; ten years later, 66; and in 1911, 288, both public and private; there are also numerous pedagogical courses in high schools, colleges and universities. In 1911 there were 84,095 students reported in the normal schools; 14,680 pursuing normal courses in public high schools, and 5,246 in private high schools and academies; in colleges and universities, 11,256 in the pedagogical departments; bringing the total up to 115,277. The number of normal school graduates in 1911 was 16,669.

Normal schools were, at their inception, largely "model schools" for training in methods, and lay open to the peril of imitiveness and undue

emphasis on externals; but now they are more concerned with principles of pedagogy, the personality of the teacher as the supreme force in character building, and the "psychology of the child," — the latter removed as far as possible from the theoretical realms of "metaphysics," and transplanted to the enchanted but intensely practical field of "child-study" in all its fascinating phases.* A much more definite relationship has also been established between scholastic and professional training, to the advantage of both. But normal schools are not the only source of training for teachers. There are teachers' institutes† of numerous types — an original, *sui generis*, American idea — conferences, meetings, local or State teachers' associations, summer schools in colleges, "Chautauquas," and special gatherings like those at Penikese in the 70's, where "Louis Agassiz, teacher," was such an inspirational guide; while extension and correspondence courses, reading circles, visiting days for public school teachers, and "Sabbatical years" for college and university professors are

* W. Preyer, *The Mind of the Child* (2 vols., 1888-89); Gustave LeBon, *The Crowd* (1896); Edward A. Ross, *Social Psychology*, especially the chapters on "Suggestibility" (1908); Hugo Münsterburg, *Psychology and the Teacher* (1909); John Dewey, *How We Think* (1910); Edward L. Thorndyke, *The Elements of Psychology* (1907); and Edwin A. Kirkpatrick, *Genetic Psychology* (1909), are among the many valuable and interesting books on this subject.

† Butler, *Education in the United States*, p. 382 et seq.

* *Report of Commissioner of Education, 1911*, p. 96-100.

among the instrumentalities that keep the modern teacher in line with the increasing demands of a profession which is probably the mightiest existing force for the betterment of man.*

It must be said that many of the wonderful advances made in both public and private schools do not apply, or are sadly deficient, in rural schools; and while a great improvement is now taking place, especially through the "consolidation" and "township" system, it is true, from the very nature of the case, that the ordinary country school is yet a far cry from the city type. "It is," to quote President Cleveland, "a condition, not a theory," that confronts the schools in thinly populated districts. Poor or inadequate fieldings, too short school terms, low standards of qualifications for teachers, defective courses of study, inadequate inspection, community indifference, ignorance, parsimony and ultra-conservatism of school boards, impossibility of specialization where pupils are so few, and, worst of all, the incubus of the once settled conviction, now happily passing, that the rural school cannot be as proportionally progressive in its field as the city school in a more fortunate environment, are all responsible factors in this condition. "The Committee of Twelve," appointed by the National Education Association in 1895, made an exhaustive report

two years later that throws much light on the subject; and the problem is being tackled through a multiplicity of special adaptations, of which the model rural school at Macomb, Illinois, is an example, whose purpose is "to take up a typical, needy, inefficient country school and build it up through all obstacles to the greatest possible degree of efficiency for the community in which it is located."*

What has been remarked about rural schools may also find partial application, though from a different point of view, to education in the South. Of course the war made havoc with education as with everything else, so that, at first, recovery was tedious and complicated with bi-racial problems. But with governmental as well as denominational aid, and the impetus of great funds, to be referred to later, competent leadership is introducing the "New South" to a new educational era, a veritable renaissance, especially in industrial and vocational training.†

Negro education in the South was initiated by the Freedmen's Bureau, created by an act of Congress in 1865 and placed under the management of General O. O. Howard. In the five years of its existence it established 4,239 colored schools throughout the South, with an enrolment of a quarter

* William C. Ruediger, *Agencies for the Improvement of Teachers in Service*, Bulletin of the Bureau of Education (1911).

* H. N. Loomis, *Normal Schools and the Rural School Problem*, in the *Educational Review* (May, 1910).

† The subject is fully and interestingly treated in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. x., part iv., pp. 184-427.

of a million of pupils, and at a cost of \$6,513,955. Since then, education of the negro has gone steadily forward, aided by the Federal and State governments, and philanthropic and religious bodies. It now embraces the common school, normal, professional and industrial schools, especially the latter, and extends to the high school and college. The most successful and best known of the negro schools are the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, founded by Samuel T. Armstrong in 1868 (Indians were admitted in 1878), and Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, launched on July 4, 1881.*

In 1910 there were 1,116,811 negro children in average daily attendance in the elementary schools of 16 Southern States, an increase of 16 per cent. in ten years. In 1911 there was an enrolment of 9,641 students in the 150 colored public high schools of 23 States reporting to the Bureau of Education — an increase of nearly 60 per cent. since 1900; and in the secondary and higher schools for negroes (not including the public high schools named above) there were 40,945 elementary pupils, 23,834 secondary students, and 5,313 students in professional and collegiate classes.

The great "Education Funds" have been alluded to, of which six have been established since the Civil

War.* The Peabody fund was started in 1867 with a gift of \$5,000,000 by George Peabody, "to promote intellectual, moral and industrial education in the most destitute portions of the Southern States"; in 1912, by the terms of the gift, the remainder of the fund was allotted, and the agency ceased to exist. The John F. Slater fund for negro education was established in 1882 by a gift of \$1,000,000, which has been increased by wise management to \$1,500,000. The General Education Board, chartered by Congress for the purposes of Southern education, received its start from John D. Rockefeller, whose further gifts have brought its endowment up to \$30,000,000. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching started in 1903 with an endowment of \$10,000,000, which the donor had increased by 1912 to \$22,000,000. The Russell Sage Foundation, incorporated in 1907, includes education as one of the beneficiaries of its \$10,000,000 endowment. And in 1907 the will of Miss Anna T. Jeanes, of Philadelphia, set aside \$1,000,000 to the very needy field of rural education for the Southern negro.

Although, as General Sherman said, "we have made more than a thousand treaties with various Indian tribes and never kept one of them," America cannot be charged with neglect of the intellectual welfare of the Indian. From very early colonial days, Indian

* Booker T. Washington, *Working with the Hands*.

* See *The South in the Building of the Nation*, vol. x., chap. xvii., pp. 386-397.

schools have been maintained, until now practically the entire Indian school population is provided for, and, except in some mission schools, under governmental control. In 1911 there were 11,000 Indian children in the public schools of the country; 24,500 in 223 day schools, 79 reservation boarding schools and 35 non-reservation schools, and 4,300 in mission schools—a total of 39,800, an increase of 2,000 in one year. The whole policy of the Government is now directed toward a fusion of Indian educational methods with those of the general educational system, in view of the fact that, in a few generations, the Indian will be entirely fused into citizenship.

The number of pupils in private elementary schools, in 1910, was 1,316,900; and in the 1,979 private high schools and academies, in 1911, 130,649—61,298 boys and 69,351 girls. In college preparatory schools there were 16,301 boys and 6,245 girls; total 22,546. Religious denominations control 1,280 of the 1,979 schools. It will be readily seen how, whatever the *raison d'être* that originally prompted the establishment of private schools, religious preferences and the natural desire of many churches for sectarian instruction for their children, are now prevailing motives.

Of professional schools, the 193 theological seminaries had, in 1911, 10,834 students, as against 3,254 students, in 80 seminaries, in 1870. One hears a great deal about the decreasing

number of students preparing for the ministry, but statistics do not warrant the assumption, for there has been a steady growth through all this period, though not so large an increase in proportion to the population as many other schools show. In law schools the increase, over the same years, has been from 28 to 116; in the number of students, from 1,653 to 19,615. Medical schools, all classes, increased from 90 in 1880 to 122 in 1911; students, from 6,194 in 1870 to 19,146 in 1911. In 1873 there were opened 5 schools for the training of nurses, in connection with general hospitals in as many cities; in 1911 there were 1,129 training schools, and 32,636 pupils. Dental and pharmacy schools show an increase of about 6,000 students each, over the number in their opening years; veterinary schools show an increase of 2,000.

Industrial schools began with the opening of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1824; the founding of Cooper Institute in 1859, the Pratt Institute in 1887; and hundreds of schools of like character have followed. The introduction into schools and colleges of scientific, engineering, technological and industrial departments or courses, have made the last half-century an era of industrial training. Trade schools, apprenticeship schools, coöperative schools, continuation schools,* Young Men's Chris-

* Arthur J. Jones, *The Continuation School in the United States*, Bulletin Bureau of Education (1907).

tian Association classes, textile schools, and correspondence schools have followed one another in bewildering array, and stand as a witness to the enormous demand of modern industry for trained workers. The "agricultural and mechanical colleges," the outgrowth of the Morrill Act of 1862, have had an almost revolutionary effect along the lines indicated. The number of students in this class of colleges alone was 89,188, an increase of 10.6 per cent. in one year. Indeed, the augmented interest in all phases of agricultural education is one of the most significant and hopeful movements in our recent history. In forestry, only short inconsequential courses were given in a few agricultural schools previous to the establishment of the Yale Forest School in 1900. In 1911 there were 18 colleges, 5 graduate schools, and 2 professional schools giving instruction in forestry exclusively, while there were at least 25 college courses in forestry included under the general names of botany or horticulture.

From the time when President Garfield — as college president, not President of the United States — declared that there was room in the educational system for the practical "business college," the standard, as well as the number, has steadily increased. In 1911 there were 278,125 enrolled students in 2,966 different schools — 600 regular commercial schools, 614 private high schools and academies, and 1,752 public high schools and acad-

emies. There should be added between 7,000 and 8,000 students taking business courses in normal schools, colleges and universities. A new evolution is taking place which carries commercial education into advanced fields — the School of Commerce and Finance in New York City and the Wharton School in the University of Pennsylvania.

There is time only for allusion to the rapid and remarkable spread of the domestic science,* or "home making," idea; to the incorporation of military training into public schools and colleges, and the interesting New York City Nautical School, which, since 1875, has been conducted on board the *St. Mary's* sloop-of-war, an annual trans-Atlantic summer cruise constituting part of the course of training; to the marvelous and far-reaching ramifications of art and musical education in various courses and schools — there being 55,000 students in private schools alone, in 1911; nor to the humane work for the deaf and blind — Miss Winifred Holt's "Lighthouse" at New York City being a peculiarly beneficent phase of care for the latter class.

It was about a quarter of a century ago that James Bryce wrote of the American colleges and universities: "Of all the institutions of the country * * * they are making the swiftest progress and have the brightest promise for the future.

* Anna M. Cooley, *Domestic Art in Women's Education* (1911).

They are supplying exactly those things which European critics have hitherto found lacking to America, and are contributing to her political as well as to her contemplative life elements of inestimable worth.”*

What he remarked then is infinitely nearer the mark to-day, which mere statistics for 1911 cannot do more than skeletonize when they state that in the 145 colleges for men there was an undergraduate attendance of 37,144; in the 97 colleges for women, 18,985; and in the 339 co-educational institutions 116,585 — 74,305 men and 42,280 women. In graduate departments there were 10,858 resident students and 970 non-resident. The number of colleges has more than doubled since the Civil War; the total is now 581. The standards of admission have been advanced; the course of study has been radically changed from the early prescribed, single course to the elective systems of infinite variety, and some recognized defects of electives are being remedied by the well-organized grouping of subjects, in which Yale took the initiative in 1911; entirely new fields for research work have been occupied in the universities; and efficiency of management has been greatly promoted — the selection of presidents, for instance, having passed through the clerical and scholastic stages to the present executive qualification. Probably the most notable change since 1865, when

Vassar College was founded, has been the rise of colleges for women, the admission of women to annexes, and the development of the co-educational policy.*

Indirect education, or the extension of educational advantages to the home and community is of beneficent and far-reaching purpose. It is responsible for the origin of the slogan, “a wider use of the school plant,”† for the present time-waste of idle schoolhouses was, in 1912, about 64 per cent., which is not only a waste but a positive deterioration. But a happy change is taking place, for when the children scamper gleefully out of many a schoolhouse door, other and perhaps more appreciative classes of persons are ready to take their place to the rhythm of another slogan — “the wider use of the school idea.” The growth of the “social centre,” the “civic centre,” the “recreation centre” is nothing short of marvelous, and its practical applications almost numberless. Evening schools, both public and private, were multiplied with startling rapidity when once begun, the pupils in the city public evening schools alone numbering 374,364 in 1910. Evening schools were started in a crude way, in the 50’s, but their famous and modern variant, the “Continuation School” began with the Twentieth century.

*Marion Talbot, *The Education of Women* (1910).

†See the book bearing this title, by Clarence E. Perry of The Russell Sage Foundation (1910).

* *The American Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 553.

Summer and vacation schools of all kinds are attended not only by teachers but by multitudes of others who can find no other leisure for study. Free public lectures, designed primarily for working men and working women, have been established in many cities—the first in New York City dating back to 1888; in 1910, over a thousand different courses and subjects were attended by nearly a million people. Study clubs and reading circles at home and in schoolrooms are, again, of almost infinite variety and are directed by school authorities, the university extension system or correspondence schools—the latter, which is perhaps better adapted to individual teaching, being started or at least vitalized by the Chautauqua movement in 1879, and given special effectiveness by President Harper about the same time; teaching by correspondence is now carried on both by such schools, pure and simple, and by many colleges and universities as a subordinate department. With all these and many other opportunities for education of every description, there is no longer a reason why any individual, home, or community should go untaught or uncultured.

And may there not be a third amplification of our slogan—"the wider influence of American Education," which is fast extending educational benefits to Alaska, Porto Rico, the Philippines, in fact to all our

territorial or colonial possessions. And it is within the last half century that the educational forces of Christian missions* have been developed—an increase not unworthy of comparison with our internal, National expansion of education; so that it may now be truly said that, in the pregnant period we have been reviewing, the United States has indeed become a great world-power as an educator.†

* Charles F. Thwing, *Education in the Far East* (1909), and *Education in the United States Since the Civil War*, chap. xiv., pp. 280-304.

† Besides the books and reports already referred to, a few among the hundreds of works of value to all interested in education may be mentioned: G. Stanley Hall, *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene* (1907) and *Educational Problems* (1911); Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform* (1905); Herman H. Horne, *The Philosophy of Education* (1904); Charles DeGarmo, *Principles of Secondary Education* (3 vols., 1907-1910); G. W. A. Luckey, *The Professional Training of Secondary Teachers in the United States* (1903); Samuel T. Dutton, *School Management* (1908); James R. Hughes and L. R. Klemm, *Progress of Education in the Century* (1907); Eugene Davenport, *Education for Efficiency* (1909); Paul Monroe, *A Text-Book in the History of Education* (1905); Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (1906); J. J. Findlay, *The School: An Introduction to the Study of Education* (1912); Lida B. Earhart, *Teaching Children to Study* (1909); Edwin A. Kirkpatrick, *The Individual in the Making* (1911); Ernest N. Henderson, *A Text-Book in the Principles of Education* (1910); William C. Ruediger, *The Principles of Education* (1910); Elmer E. Brown, *The Making of our Middle Schools* (1907); Jeremiah W. Jenks, *Citizenship and the Schools* (1906); Warren R. Briggs, *Modern American School Buildings* (1902); Fletcher B. Dressler, *American School-houses* (1910); Edmund M. Wheelwright, *School Architecture* (1901); *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. xxxiii., no. i. (1909); F. T. Carleton, *Education and Industrial Evolution* (1908).

CHAPTER II.

1865 - 1912.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS IDEALS AND THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

Our third religious revival and its effects — The religious revival of 1875-1880 — Materialism, rationalism, and scepticism as modifiers of religious thought — The consequent change in church activity — Relative denominational growth — Religious statistics.

Religion had entered so thoroughly into our National life during the first half of the Nineteenth century that it was not disturbed by the Civil War as it had been by the Revolution of '76. There were, to be sure, sharp cleavages North and South in most of the denominations, owing to the slavery question, and, when the final appeal to arms came, the dissevered branches were found standing in political alignment with the section in which they existed; but both were still in unison in their religious faiths and doctrines. A little before the outbreaking of the war (in 1858) occurred what is considered as the third great religious revival in the history of this country. It was marked by all the intensity of purpose that characterized the two preceding revivals (in 1740 and 1792), but it differed from them as the people of the Nineteenth century differed from those of the Eighteenth. With no less earnestness and devotion on the part of its promoters, it was more self-restrained and less demonstrative. A particular feature of this

movement was the union of the leading evangelical denominations in its support, a union the like of which had not been known since the beginning of the century. One effect of this revival was that it placed the churches in an advanced position of general religious interest and enabled them better to withstand the generally subversive influences of war in the years immediately following. The exigencies of the war served also to awaken Christian sympathy and to unite the Nation in the bonds of mutual interest and activity in humanitarian measures for the care of the soldiers in the field. Remarkable work of this kind, on a scale never before known in modern warfare, was carried on by the various State soldiers' aid associations, the Christian Commission, the National Sanitary Association in behalf of the Union army, and by similar organizations for the soldiers of the Confederacy.

Another effect of this revival was the increased fraternity of the great religious bodies, and this, too, was

made stronger and more healthful by the close association of the humanitarian activities of the Civil War. The spirit of religious freedom, already fully established, grew strong in this period. It manifested itself in many church divisions and, at the same time, in increased religious toleration. Thus the Congregationalists of New England could calmly discuss the new teachings of Horace Bushnell, while other schisms were regarded with more leniency than was possible a century earlier. The organization of the Free Religions Association in Boston in 1867, the advance in Unitarian and Universalist doctrines, the withdrawal of Henry Ward Beecher and the Plymouth Church from the local Congregational Association in 1882; these and similar movements in the two decades following the Civil War did not put their leaders outside the pale of Christianity.

A fourth great National revival, led by the famous evangelists Moody and Sankey (1875-1880), again stirred the National conscience and stimulated religious life. In general character, this was not unlike the revival of 20 years before, but it was probably more effective in winning converts and in quickening the churches of all leading denominations. The powerful evangelistic oratory of Moody and the singularly winning pathos of Sankey's singing exercised a powerful influence upon the people. Church membership largely increased and interest in

things divine became more widespread and more intense.

But there was another influence at work in this period which for a time seemed to threaten the foundation of religious faith and ultimately made a deep and abiding impress on religious life and thought. A wave of scepticism swept over the country, especially among the educated classes. Paine's *Age of Reason* was resurrected and Voltaire and Rousseau were re-read, and all three exercised a strong influence upon the thought of the period. The authenticity of the Bible as a historical document and its infallibility as a divine revelation were called in question. Renan and Strauss, then the leaders in the new school of Biblical-historical criticism, had thousands of readers. The pure materialism of science, as set forth by Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley and others, planted in the minds of students doubts concerning the accuracy of the Bible in its historical annals and its divine authority in matters of theology. Agnosticism and atheism flourished. Free thought societies sprang up and free thought—that is, anti-Christian—books and periodicals were extensively read. Men like Ingersoll, who denounced Christianity by written and spoken word, had many followers and exercised much influence. Materialistic views of life were adopted by a very considerable portion of the people.

To what extent this intellectual

movement has permanently affected the cause of religion is still problematical. It led, however, to a period of controversy and schism. Free thinking writers put out books attacking the validity of the Scriptures, and Christian apologists energetically defended the faith. A new school of historical criticism of the Bible sprang up, first in Germany and then in England and the United States. Purely speculative atheism and agnosticism did not succeed in establishing themselves, but the examination of the foundations of religious belief in the light of modern science, archaeological discoveries, and historical investigations did not cease. On the contrary, it extended from without to within the church, and in the latter part of the century some of the most radical exponents of latter-day criticism of the theological tenets of the old-time Christianity were found in the professors' chairs of theological seminaries and the pulpits of the church. Heresy trials were not infrequent and the higher criticism was a burning question in nearly all the leading evangelical denominations. The trials of David Swing by the Presbyterians of Chicago in 1874; of H. W. Thomas by the Methodists of Chicago in 1881; and, in subsequent years, of Professor Charles W. Briggs, of the Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and Professor Hinekey J. Mitchell, of the Methodist Boston Theological Seminary—these and others of like character indicate

to what an extent modern criticism has invaded the fold of theology, compelling the conservative element of the church strenuously to combat views deemed destructive of the faith.

To what extent the church generally in its entire membership was affected by this modern thought is difficult—perhaps impossible—to determine accurately. That it has helped to bring about some change in religious thought and faith cannot be doubted. Many Christian writers have expressed views on this point similar to those of Leonard W. Bacon, who (in his *History of American Christianity*) commented upon the fact that religion is now “less pietistic and contemplative than it once was.” In the past the individual Christian was bound to his theology, was much concerned about his own salvation, contemplated the mysteries of the cross and of divine nature, and engaged in pietistic speculation concerning the human will, the love and power of God, and the future life. Now, though religious faith may be as strong as ever with him, he lays less stress upon theology pure and simple, and, as Dr. Bacon has said, upon pietistic contemplation, and dwells more upon good works.

This changed and still changing religious ideal has been evidenced to a marked degree in the increasing activity of the church in the great modern humanitarian movements, in which it has never engaged to such an extent as in the closing years of the Nine-

teenth century and the opening years of the Twentieth. Its practical work, where religion is joined with secular education and improvement, with social and moral reform, with the material and intellectual uplifting of mankind, is seen in many organizations (such as the Young Men's Christian Association, men's clubs and brotherhoods) which, under church inspiration, have come into existence since 1865. In missionary work, home and foreign, the energy of the church has never ceased, although the work had been divided among various organizations along denominational lines. Prohibition and other temperance reforms have been advanced mainly by religionists, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union having been especially prominent in this field. The Young Men's Christian Association, starting in the United States soon after the middle of the Nineteenth century, has attained to large proportions in membership, in varied activities, and in influence in the ensuing 50 years and more. The young people's societies have been a notable development in the evangelical church. The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was founded in 1881 and within a few years extended to all parts of the United States, with a membership of over 3,000,000. Other denominational organizations of similar nature—the Epworth League of the Methodists, the Westminster League of the Presbyterians, the Luther League of the Lutherans, the

St. Andrews Brotherhood of the Episcopalians, the Baptist Young People's Union, and others—followed the Christian Endeavor. To-day these societies have a membership of over 5,000,000.

Incomplete religious statistics were gathered in the census of 1850. In 1880 a mass of information was acquired, but no complete results were available. Figures relating to this subject prior to 1890 are largely estimated or conjectural, being based more or less on incomplete reports (not always accurate) drafted by the respective church organizations. In 1890, for the first time in the history of the Government, an attempt was made to secure a religious census of the country that should be both accurate and comprehensive. According to this census, there were then 42 main denominations, but several of these had branches that were independent in administration, even though not in doctrine or policy and, so listed, the number becomes 143.

The largest church then was the Roman Catholic, with 9,196 priests, 10,276 organizations, 8,816 church edifices, and 6,257,871 communicants. Next in size came the Baptists, with 25,646 ministers, 43,029 organizations, 27,789 church edifices, and 3,717,969 communicants; the Methodists, with 30,000 ministers, 51,489 organizations, 46,138 church edifices, and 4,589,284 communicants; the Presbyterians, with 10,448 ministers, 13,476 organizations, 12,469 church edifices, and 1,-

278,332 communicants; the Lutherans, with 4,591 ministers, 8,598 organizations, 6,701 church edifices, and 1,231,072 communicants. Only three other denominations recorded a membership of over 500,000 — the Disciples of Christ, with 641,051; the Protestant Episcopal, with 540,509; and the Congregational, with 512,771. In all the denominations the total number of ministers was 111,036; organizations, 165,297; church edifices, 142,639; communicants, 20,618,307. The churches had a seating capacity of 43,596,378. The total value of church property was \$679,694,439, of which the Methodists held \$132,140,179; the Roman Catholics, \$118,371,366; the Presbyterians, \$94,869,097; the Protestant Episcopalians, \$82,835,418; the Baptists, \$82,392,423. Only one other denomination held property valued above \$20,000,000 — the Mennonites, with \$35,060,354.

Between 1890 and 1900 there was a large increase in the number of Christian Scientists and a smaller increase in the membership of the Adventists, Mormons, and the German Baptists. The Roman Catholic Church was still numerically the strongest, followed in order by the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans. The rise and phenomenal growth of the Christian Science Church, founded by a woman in 1866, was a conspicuous event in the religious history of this period.

According to the latest statistics the religious denominations of the United

States with their ministers, churches and communicants were:

Denomination	Ministers	Churches	Members
Adventist	1,153	2,488	95,646
Baptist	40,011	55,810	5,774,060
Apostolic	33	24	4,927
Buddhist	15	74	3,165
Brethren			
(Bunkard)	3,429	1,188	122,847
Brethren			
(Plymouth) .....	.....	403	10,566
Brethren (River) ..	220	102	4,847
Catholic Eastern....	233	240	385,000
Roman Catholic....	17,109	13,685	12,304,173
Polish Catholic....	24	24	15,473
Reformed Catholic..	7	6	2,100
Christadelphian ...	.....	70	1,412
Christian	993	1,329	87,478
Christian Catholic..	35	17	5,865
Christian Scientist..	2,208	1,104	85,096
Christian Union....	295	237	13,995
Church of God....	509	595	41,475
Churches of the Liv-			
ing God	101	68	4,286
Church of New Jeru-			
salem	132	152	9,314
Communitic So-			
cieties .....	.....	22	2,272
Congregational	6,045	6,050	741,400
Disciples of Christ..	8,545	13,929	1,519,774
Evangelical	1,489	2,654	182,065
Faith Associations..	241	146	9,572
Free Christian Zion			
Church	20	15	1,835
Friends	1,456	1,097	123,718
Friends of the			
Temple	3	3	376
German Evangelical			
Protestant	59	66	34,704
German Evangelical			
Synod	1,024	1,314	236,615
Jewish Congrega-			
tions	1,084	1,769	143,000
Latter Day Saints..	2,483	1,350	400,650
Lutheran	8,659	13,802	2,243,486
Swedish Evang'cal..	528	423	58,000
Mennonite	1,008	666	55,007
Methodist	42,199	61,191	6,596,168
Moravian	136	136	18,711
Non-sectarian Bible			
Faith	50	204	6,396
Pentecostal	815	458	21,420
Presbyterian	13,342	16,456	1,920,765
Prot. Episcopal....	5,380	7,652	938,390
Reformed	2,110	2,619	448,190
Salvationists	3,196	916	26,275
Schwenkfeldian ...	6	8	850
Social Brethren....	15	17	1,262
Society for Ethical			
Culture	7	6	2,450
Spiritualist .....	.....	1,000	150,000
Theosophical .....	.....	114	3,100
United Brethren ...	2,193	4,266	303,319
Unitarian	558	482	70,542
Universalist	730	881	52,150
Independent Congre-			
gations	267	879	48,073
Total	170,158	218,147	35,332,776

Several of these denominations are subdivided into from two to twenty or more branches. For example: the Baptist, with 15; the Mennonite, with 13; the Methodist, with 19; the Presbyterian and the Lutheran with 12 each. The foregoing figures of membership include actual members of

Protestant churches, and of Catholics, both communicants and unconfirmed minors of Catholic families. The total seating capacity of the church edifices was 43,560,063 in 1890, 58,536,830 in 1906, and over 60,000,000 in 1912. In 1912 the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the United States consisted of three cardinals, 13 archbishops and 94 bishops. The bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, including those in foreign missionary fields, numbered 111. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its various branches, including those in foreign missionary fields, numbered 77.

A comparison of the figures of 1890 with those given above would seem to show that Christianity in the United States not only grew in actual membership, but had also an increased percentage of growth in comparison with the population. In 1890 the church members (20,618,307) were $32 \frac{5}{6}$ per cent. of the population (62,947,714), while in 1910 the church members (34,517,377) were $37 \frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the population (91,972,266). The growth in population in these two decades

was $32 \frac{2}{3}$ per cent., while the growth in church membership was 65 per cent. The complete accuracy of these conclusions may be questioned, for the comparisons are made of figures derived from two dissimilar sources — government enumerators and church officers. That population is in excess of census figures is generally admitted, while it is also conceded that church authorities do not undercount their supporters. Still, actual and comparative increase, as given above, probably represents the general state of things with tolerable accuracy. At any rate, the exhibit is interesting and suggestive.*

* Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States* (New York, 1888); Henry M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last 300 Years* (New York, 1880); H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States*, in *American Church History* series, vol. i. (New York, 1893); Leonard W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, in *American Church History*, series, vol. xiii. (New York, 1897); United States census reports, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1890, 1900, 1910; *American Church History* (13 vols., New York, 1893-1897); I. D. Rupp, *Religious Denominations in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1871); state, county and city histories; sectarian histories of the different denominations; collections and proceedings of historical societies; year books of the different denominations.

CHAPTER III.

1865 — 1912.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.*

Lack of perspective for characterizing this period of American literature — The four representative names of the period — The changing conception of democracy in Lowell and Whitman — The still newer democracy of recent writers — Literary progress and retrogression — The democratization of recent literature — The high average of literary technique — The dearth of truly great literary productions since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* — The "uplift movement" reflected in our literature — General reflections.

It is not easy to say what word or words the future historian of American literature will employ in order to designate the period from the death of Lincoln in 1865 to that of Mark Twain in 1910. Perhaps, with his better perspective, he will see that more years must be added if he would obtain a period based upon logical reasons rather than upon mere expediency or convenience. On the other hand, he may find that somewhere within these 45 years a new note is struck, a new direction taken, and he may conclude to begin a fresh period with the year 1901 — the first of the Twentieth century. The argument is certainly quite conceivable that, with the beginning of the new century, the "civic note," which some authorities have held to be the chief characteristic of our literature from its inception, took on a deeper tone, vibrated more strenuously, sounded more insistently upon the ears of the Nation and of the world. It is even conceivable that

our historian of the future might entitle one of his chapters "The Period of True Democracy, 1901 — ", or that he might show his bias by employing the less complimentary designation, "The Day of the Muck-Rakers."

Fortunately, however, it does not fall to our lot to occupy the authoritative, albeit somewhat uncomfortable, seat of the historian. We are on our feet, and but a small part of the thick, hurrying crowd. The best we can do, and the most that can be expected of us, is quietly to elbow our way out and to stand for a moment to one side, recalling some impressions of the march we have been making and commenting upon the salient features of the motley procession that is scurrying past.

One impression — perhaps the most important we shall receive — is borne in upon us by the glimpse we have had, through their names, of three striking figures — all of them important contributors to American literature, two of them Presidents of the United States, and one of them, in the opinion of many of his admirers, as

* Prepared for this History by William P. Trent, Professor of English Literature, Columbia University.

clearly the greatest author of the epoch we are considering as he is easily the most cosmopolitanly famous of modern American writers pure and simple — that is, of men whose fame rests primarily upon the written word. Lincoln, Mark Twain, Roosevelt — whatever else these three names may stand for, they plainly stand for that subtle, indefinable something known as Americanism. Add to them a fourth name, that of Walt Whitman, who in some senses (though not so completely as Lincoln), belongs to what is often regarded as the Golden Age of our literature, the period from 1830 to 1865. His fame is a matter of some forty years' standing and, like the fame of the three men to whom we have added him, is racily American. Set these four men over against the chief representatives of our older literature and note the contrast. Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell — every one of them (including Poe), was truly American in heart and mind; yet is there not a raciness — a tang — about the Americanism of Lincoln, Whitman, Mark Twain and Roosevelt that is either not distinguishable or else less clearly discernible in the Americanism of the elder group? We are not surprised, for example, to learn that in the original series of the *English Men of Letters*, edited by John Morley, a volume on Hawthorne was included. The inclusion of a volume on Whitman in the later series seems more of a *tour de*

force. The period since the Civil War, whatever else it has done for our literature, has surely intensified its national character. Precisely how it has accomplished this result is something for the future masters of criticism to ponder over; but we may be very certain that the great writers of the early years of the Republic, from Franklin to Hawthorne, played an important part in bringing about the transformation.

The truth of this last statement becomes obvious after a moment's survey of the career of Lowell, who was born the same year as Whitman and died less than a year before him. The first series of the *Biglow Papers* could not well be mistaken for anything but an American product; yet, if the author's point of view had been that of the entire American people, the history of the Nation as a whole might have been greatly changed. Right or wrong, that point of view was comparatively sectional. A generation later, who was better capable of striking the true American note than Lowell? Witness the notable address on "Democracy" delivered at Manchester, England, in 1884. The great struggle of the 60's did more than liberate the slaves; it eventually liberated the American mind from sectionalism. The earlier struggle of the 40's and the period of territorial development that followed it expanded the American mind and more or less freed it from provincialism and colonialism. Liberation and expansion

are the key-notes of the later prose work of Lowell, and they are seen to some extent in his poetry, although the latter in the main is less significant in its Americanism. They are the key-notes also of the entire work of Whitman and, indeed, of the whole literature of the period with which we are here concerned.

But while the phrase "a liberated and expanded Americanism" may be of service in helping us to characterize the spirit of our latter-day literature, a moment's reflection may cause us to ask whether it carries us sufficiently far in our analysis and whether it is adequate to our purposes when we attempt a characterization of the literature of the entire period. All the names we have cited are those of true Americans whose genius has been increasingly subject to liberation and expansion. Most of them have stood for democracy and have sounded the "civic note" in their writings. But is there not a marked difference between the democracy of Lowell and that of Roosevelt, and is not the democracy of the latter particularly characteristic of the literature produced during, let us say, the last ten years of our period—that is, the first decade of the Twentieth century?

It seems almost certain that this question must be answered in the affirmative. Whatever else they were, the great Americans of the last century were individualists, and their political ideas, while taking account

of the people, emphasized the powers and duties of the chosen representatives of the people—that is, were on the whole individualistic. The most conspicuous American of our own day, on the other hand, although displaying in his every word and action a marked individuality, is far from being an individualist in his political theories and his public activities. For him, as for most Americans, the voice of the people is in a larger sense than ever before the voice of God. The representative is much more the people's mouthpiece than a truly constituent part of an ideal system of government—a man of powers commensurate with his responsibilities. We may resolutely decline to use the epithets "socialistic" and "collectivistic" in connection with the political, economic, and social evolution that has taken place in America in the last two decades; but we shall be blind if we fail to recognize the fact that, with the breaking down of sectionalism, with the enormous growth of our population resulting in the occupation, more or less adequate, of our continental domain, and with the acquisition of insular possessions, the American people has been welded into a more compact, articulate, and self-regulated mass of human beings with approximately common thoughts and purposes than any political observer of 1865, the year of Appomattox, could have regarded as possible. The day of the individual and the class is far from over, but its sun has passed

the meridian. The day of the popular mass is not yet fully upon us, but its sun—for in political astronomy the sight of two suns at one time is not an unusual phenomenon—is well above the horizon.

Are these reflections out of place in a sketch of the evolution of recent American literature? It would seem not, when we consider that from the earliest colonial period our literature has faithfully reflected the political, economic and social ideals of our people. The chief literary monuments of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries were those of a Congregational aristocracy in New England and of an agricultural aristocracy in the South. The chief literary monuments of the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth centuries were the writings of the founders of the Republic, of the exponents of a representative democracy organized into a federation of States. With the advent of Irving, Cooper and Bryant the æsthetic value of our literature was greatly increased, but its value as a stimulus to the civic virtues was at least equally augmented. With the next generation this phenomenon was repeated on a larger scale, the poetry of Longfellow and Whittier and the ethical essays of Emerson coöperating with the orations of Webster to develop throughout the North and West a homogeneous population of clear intelligence, glowing patriotism, and active civic spirit. The fact that Poe

and Hawthorne stood somewhat apart from this development of "citizen literature," and that it is precisely these two writers in whom we discover our two greatest literary artists, does not vitiate the truth of the contention that from the founding of Jamestown to the outbreak of the Civil War our men of letters were, first and foremost, truly democratic citizens utilizing their special gifts for the welfare of the country as a whole, rather than artists shutting themselves up with their dreams in isolated, enchanted towers of their own conceiving.

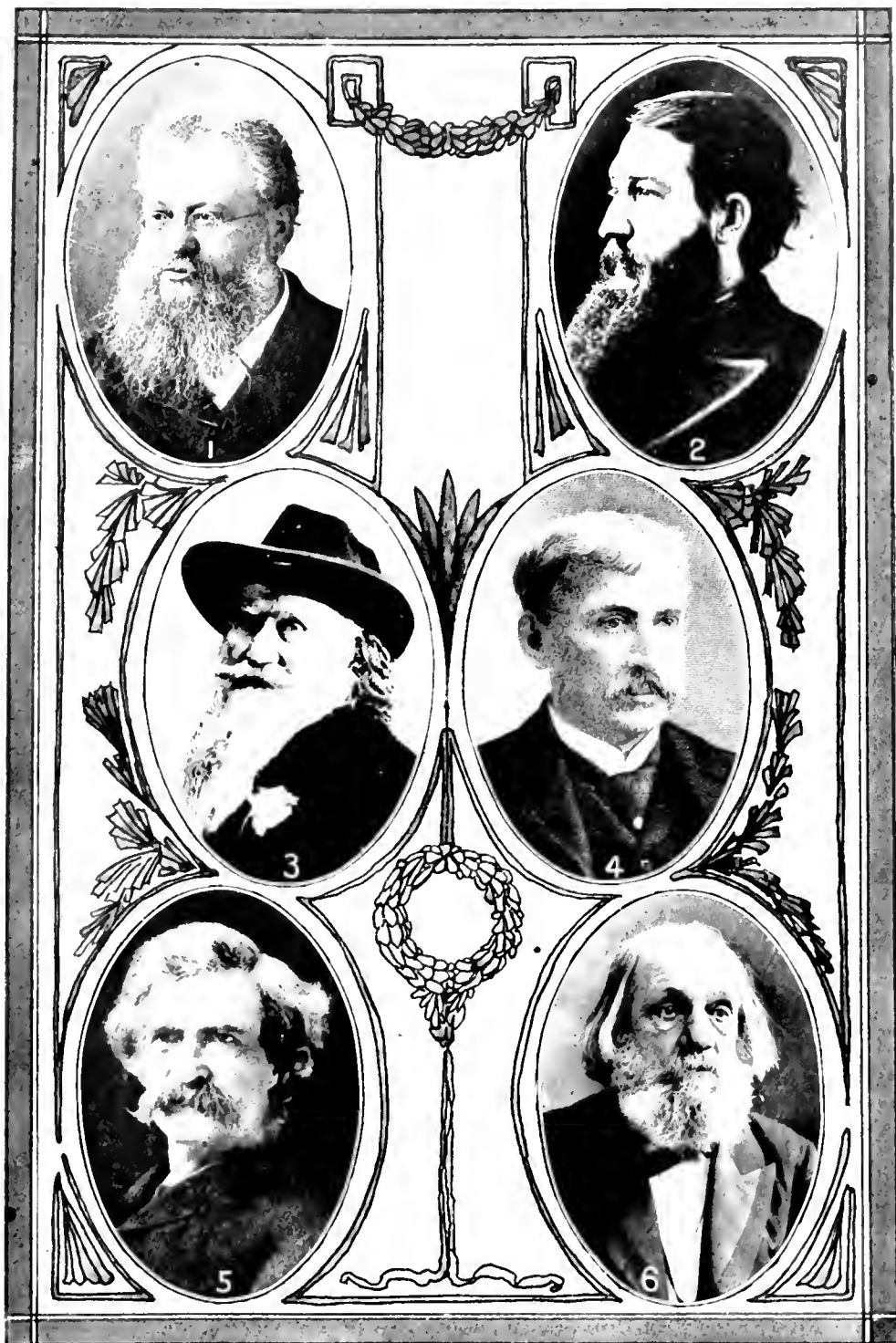
When the war was well over and the worst of the period of reconstruction was behind the united Nation, we celebrated worthily the centenary of our founding. Perhaps, since many of our greatest authors were still living and writing, we did not clearly perceive that the generation which was born and had grown up in the midst of the dissensions that led to the war, did not count among its writers men equal to those who had given America, or, speaking more strictly, New England, the Golden Age of its literature. Bayard Taylor, for example, true poet and versatile man of letters though he was, never fully realized his ambition to secure a place beside Longfellow and Whittier and Lowell. His friends, Aldrich, Stoddard, and Stedman, despite worthy achievements, were also hampered in their race for their high artistic goal. Yet there was progress

as well as retrogression, and, as formerly, our literature went hand in hand with our National development.

Scarcely had the smoke of the battlefields cleared away before an unwonted spirit of literary activity became manifest in the South. The year 1867 saw the first book of Sidney Lanier, and in the few years that remained to him he gave his native section and his country a small body of true poetry, one of the few notable contributions to the higher forms of literature made by the Nation in the last 50 years. Soon he was followed by writers of prose fiction—Johnston, Harris, Cable and their successors—who interpreted to a sympathetic public the spirit of their little understood section, thus making for National union and broad patriotism. Meanwhile, marking both the growth of the West and the increasing predominance of prose over poetry as a literary medium for a newspaper and magazine reading public, three new writers had begun careers destined to be of great distinction—Samuel L. Clemens, better known as “Mark Twain,” Bret Harte, representing the westward expansion of the Nation, and William Dean Howells, representing both an intensified interest in our National life and a cosmopolitan absorption of the best theories and methods of literary art then current in the world at large. Any view of these men which confines itself to their individual books or considers them only as representatives of

classes of writers—that sees, for example, in Mark Twain only our greatest humorist and in Mr. Howells only our chief writer of realistic fiction—is misleading through its narrowness. These authors and those they have influenced are, above all, representative of the attainment by our literature of what may be called a continental quality, so far as concerns its breadth, and of a truly National or racial quality, so far as concerns its depth of spirit.

The period from 1865 to 1900, during which all the writers just named did their most characteristic work, saw also the development of less distinctively American elements in our literature than those represented by the exponents of the new South and West and of the old North and East, as these regions were interpreted by writers of local fiction using realistic methods. It used to be customary to couple the names of Mr. Howells and Mr. Henry James and also to speak of the latter as the chief representative of international fiction; but the evolution of the author of *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square* seems to show that, at bottom, he represents for American literature that development of artistic self-consciousness and that intensified interest in psychology which are characteristic of latter-day literature throughout the world. It is this that makes Mr. James really international or cosmopolitan rather than the facts that America has long since ceased to be his home and that



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1. JOHN FISKE.

3. JOAQUIN MILLER.

5. SAMUEL L. CLEMENS ("Mark Twain").

2. SIDNEY LANIER.

4. BRETT HARTE.

6. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.



his chief characters are often Americans sojourning abroad. It was almost inevitable that our modern emphasis upon our local and National life should have caused some writers to reach out in the direction of the exotic and the introspective. They are exceptions that prove the rule, though the rule scarcely needs the proof they afford. The spread of our newspapers and the greater interest taken by them in literature, the rise of the cheap magazine, the widely diffused movement for the creation and support of a native drama, the partial success of the efforts for better laws of copyright, the addition of English and American literature to the school curriculum, and the great prevalence of the public school system—these and similar phenomena may fairly be said to have necessitated, not only the liberation and expansion of our National literature during the past four decades, but also its unparalleled quantitative and qualitative growth.

The last sentence suggests the propriety of asserting that the democratization of our recent literature is as marked as its National liberation and expansion. Ours is essentially a literature designed for the greatest good of the greatest number. There are no giants among our men of letters, but there is a truly extraordinary number of writers that really count. Never before was the average of style so high—whether in newspapers, or magazines, or books. Even in poetry, with its restricted rewards both in

money and in reputation, the advance made in technique during the last generation has been remarkable, and it has been confined to no one section of the country, as any compiler of a sectional anthology can testify. Publishers know, through the reports of their readers, that one of their chief difficulties lies in the fact that now-a-days comparatively few manuscripts are really bad, and that a formidable number are fairly good—good enough at least to demand consideration. But with all this improvement in style, with the equally remarkable spread of literary ambition through all classes and all parts of the country, the number of contributors to creative literature of high merit and presumptive permanence does not seem to be embarrassingly large. It is not surprising that when the tidal wave of the “best sellers” receded, few traces of its presence were left in the shape of deposits upon the shores of time. But it is disconcerting to look back over a period of more than a generation and discover how few novels and collections of short stories and volumes of poetry a young man or woman eager for culture must be advised to read. There are literally hundreds of volumes and scores of writers he or she may read with profit and pleasure; there are many books which one ought to read if one wishes to be cognizant of the best that one’s countrymen are saying, thinking and doing; but to be posted about one’s country and to spend one’s time not

unpleasantly and not unprofitably will scarcely seem to the true lover of literature the proper be-all and end-all of his literary existence.

What the true lover of literature is forever seeking is the masterpiece that gives rapture, the work that approximates perfection and is *sui generis*, the book that takes its place of divine right among the classics of its kind — in a word, the creation of authentic genius. The patriotic American looking back upon the literary productivity of his country for the past half-century may “point with pride” — to hundreds of conscientious and creditable minor poets, to a large number of talented novelists and writers of short stories, to an army of versatile miscellaneous writers of ability — journalists in the main — and to a fairly imposing array of excellent scholars, competent and in a few cases brilliant critics, conscientious historians, some working on a large and some on a minute scale, and finally to an increasing and important class of what we may conveniently designate as “sociological writers.” These men and women — for in the literature of our period the American woman both as reader and as writer has more than held her own with the American man — have done a truly noteworthy work in lifting the mass of our literature to a comparatively high level of excellence; they have made it perhaps the most extraordinarily efficient instrument for the spread of popular, democratic culture

— by means of newspapers, magazines, books, lectures, libraries, schools and universities, literary clubs and theatres — that has ever been known in the world. But it may be doubted, with regret, whether they have often stirred the pulses or thrilled the hearts of those lovers of literature who, having been born liege subjects of the Muses and having trained their taste upon the supreme classics of the ages, are forever demanding from the books they read that truly aristocratic virtue, the power to produce rapture. We have done well in our literary evolution during the past half century, we have probably done all that was humanly possible through literature to lift the masses of our heterogeneous population and to weld them into a united people of high aspirations, we have made literature, as never before, subserve the greatest good of the greatest number; but in the service of literature in and for itself and in the interests of those to whom it is not only the greatest of the arts but the very breath of their being, we have done — to put it mildly — not superlatively well. We have added to our territorial possessions, we have distributed the products of our invention and our industry throughout the world, we have helped to feed the nations, we have been aggressive expounders of American ideas, we have won respect for our art and science and stimulated foreign interest in our literature; but we have produced, apparently, no book of

world-wide importance since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Perhaps, when we reflect that the two greatest writers of very modern times seem to be a Norwegian and a Russian, we may console ourselves with the thought that we are at least no worse off than most of the older countries of Europe in respect to our lack of great representative writers, and that, of all nations, we are probably the best off in respect to the beneficent influence of our literature upon the masses. The fact remains, however, that the material aspects of our civilization are still those that most impress the world at large.

But we seem to have wandered far away from the question whether the literature of the past decade is not clearly differentiated from that of the preceding generation, which saw the decline of the New England school of writers, the rise of the South and the West in literature, and the practical supremacy of New York, if not as a true literary centre, at least as the home of the chief magazines and publishing houses — that is to say, as the literary emporium of the country. Perhaps we have not wandered so far away from this question, after all. The statement that it is the material aspects of our civilization that most impress the world at large suggests the question — the very important question — whether it is these aspects that most impress ourselves. And the answer to this question, with its vital bearing upon our future literature,

must surely be that, while the material aspects of our civilization do greatly impress us, they impress us with an increasing sense of dissatisfaction, not to say dread, which in time produces a determination to dress the balance, to reduce our material interests to their proper subjection to our spiritual interests — in brief, to purify and elevate our democracy. This sense of moral responsibility for our own prosperity, this determination to purify our democracy, this increasing realization of the need of considering the interests of the people as a whole above the interests of any class or classes, forms the dominant note of American life and thought during the past decade; and, reflecting as our literature always does the course of our life and thought, it is naturally the dominating note of our most recent literature.

This does not mean that in our latter-day literature the "muck-raker" has usurped the place of any or all of the nine Muses. The muck-raker and the magazines and newspapers that employ him have been influential; but they produce journalism, not literature. It is rather in much of the fiction of the period, some of which has not been without effect upon remedial legislation, in the speeches of public men, in the works of economists and sociologists, in biographies and autobiographies of leading public servants, and in that increasingly important class of writings which, for want of a fitter name, we may call the

“literature of social betterment”—it is in this that the new note is struck in a fairly masterful and dominant manner. Perhaps not many of these books and writers will really endure, perhaps the permanent books of the last ten years will be those of our few detached poets and novelists and critics and scholars who serve art and scholarship with undivided allegiance; but assuredly it is the writers whose chief aim is public betterment that will mainly influence the life and thought of the future. Their names may survive only in encyclopedias, their books may stand dusty on the shelves of public libraries, but their influence will survive, and the philosophic historian of our literature will give their collective achievements an important place in his pages. American literature since 1865 has not been in any true sense a mere literature of the Epigoni—a mere literature of the successors of great men. It is the literature of an expanding democracy, endowed with the power of throwing off the effects of auto-intoxication.

It will readily be perceived that the views here expressed involve certain important assumptions. The word “literature,” for example, is used in a very broad sense—used to include all forms of the written word that treat subjects of interest and value in a style fairly adequate to their presentation. If it were used to include only the “literature of power,” the books in which the imagination plays a high and permanent part, we should

find far less to say in favor of the period we are considering. Not that our people and period have been devoid of creative imagination, but that that great faculty has found expression, on the whole, rather in industrial achievements and in political and social development than in artistic creations of any kind. It has been diffused, rather than concentrated in a few great masters, which is perhaps what was to be expected in a thronging democracy educated more and more along utilitarian lines. With the practical abandonment of that cornerstone of the old aristocratic culture, the Greek and Latin classics, it was almost inevitable that standards of literary excellence should be lowered, and that competition for literary rewards should be so stimulated that the body of the country’s writers would resemble a mob rather than a small compact army. Some of us may regret this state of affairs, we may sigh for a return of the day when there were a few great authors, each speaking with the authentic voice of genius to thousands of listening souls ready to translate into action the mandates, or to convert into character the precepts and conceptions, of the inspired prophet. We may resent the installation of a megaphone into the White House and into several gubernatorial mansions, we may doubt the value of the newspaper interviews and the magazine articles that every sort of celebrity is ready to bestow upon the public on

every occasion, we may question the propriety of exploiting by biography or autobiography every personality of more than passing importance — to say nothing of the vulgarization of heroism by the exhibition of our few heroes on the lecture platform — we may object, in short, to the Barnumization of the country of Washington and Lincoln, to the prevailing misconception that advertising is a synonym for living; but, when all is said, what are we going to do about it? We are a growing nation and therefore optimistic; we are a democracy and therefore engaged in subverting everything that makes for really aristocratic distinction. The impulse is consequently irresistible to make the best of what we do in our wholesale way, and, in literature, to emphasize the utilitarian value of the total product rather than the æsthetic value of individual achievements.

Such conduct on the part of critic and reader — and in these days of popular education we have gone beyond Byron's witty conceit, not only every poet being his own Aristotle, but every reader his own critic — is curiously in line with a mode of thought that is said to be increasingly common among men and women who are taking the advice of all our preachers, clerical and lay, and devoting themselves to lives of public usefulness. We are told that these exemplary persons shun the thought of personal distinction as though it were a suggestion of the devil; that they

make absorption in the mass of humanity and the radiation of influence through personal contact the nirvana of their social-betterment Buddhism, the Beatific Vision of their modern Franciscanism. It looks as if authors would have to take a leaf out of the book of the neighborhood guild. They must be content with being an active — not to say a fermenting — part, of the mass into which they are born. They must put aside dreams of great personal distinction, thoughts of competition with the master writers of the past, and hopes of an apotheosis in the heaven of literary renown. They must find their satisfaction in the thought that they are modest, useful contributors to a literature that makes for the greatest good of the greatest number; that, to put it figuratively, they are workmen engaged in hewing stones and carrying mortar for a great popular cathedral of which the Genius of Democracy is the architect.

Will the *genus irritabile* submit to this fate? Does the author of to-day even conceive it possible, when he finds himself the hero of countless tea tables and has no difficulty in inserting in some newspaper an itinerary of his next vacation trip? Will human vanity ever succumb to human agglomerativeness? Who shall answer these questions? But who, glancing back on the history of American literature during the past half-century, can forbear asking them? One calls a distinguished roll of names, but one

has doubts with regard to how many of those names will be called by the critics of the next generation. One speaks of the verse, scarcely of the specific volumes, of a few poets, none of more than minor excellence; one names a few novels rather as representative of their writers or their class of fiction than as masterpieces in their own right; one mentions a few critics, not one of whom is greatly gifted in that chief essential, a large, inspiring interpretation of the supreme writers; one cites with respect certain historical investigators and a few good historians on an extended scale; one recalls the names of some interesting essayists; one speaks with respect of two or three really erudite scholars and of one or two distinguished philosophers and preachers—but before one has finished the roll, one recalls that one is dealing with a country the population of which has passed 90,000,000 and with a period extraordinarily well satisfied with itself, and one wonders whether it is not the part of discretion to lay one's emphasis rather upon the amount and the effects of the country's and the period's literature than upon the genius or the talents of particular writers or upon the unique power and charm of special books. This means that it probably makes little difference whether the vain and irritable race of authors likes or dislikes the democratic conditions under which it is doomed to work. You cannot expel nature with a fork; you cannot prevent the man or woman born to

write from expressing thoughts and feelings which it would be torture to conceal. And, as in all human things, there are compensations to be discovered even in the lot of the author doomed to write in a democratic age and land. Notoriety is cheap in a democracy and yet, paradoxically enough, it produces financial returns that secure most of those solid comforts of life for which many a now famous poet of the past sighed vainly in his garret. Better still, the spread of education and the refining processes in general that accompany the advance of civilization have vastly increased the number of truly cultivated readers sensitive to all that is worthy in literature and art. The writer still finds among these readers, provided he have something worth saying, his audience fit though few. If he is so sensitive and self-conscious that the mere sight of charlatans and philistines makes his heart sink or his wrath fly out, his plight is wretched. But, if he loves his work in and for itself, and if he believes that in answering the needs of a people literature fills a truly noble and beneficent function, he need not repine that his lot is cast in the day of the Carnegie public library instead of in that of the Globe Theatre.*

* Full treatment of the period 1865-1912 is not, of course, to be found in the histories of American literature, but the student may consult with profit the concluding chapters of Barrett Wendell's *Literary History of America*, George E. Woodberry's *America in Literature*, and J. L. Onderdonk's *History of American Verse*. A useful handbook for reading and reference brought nearly



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1. S. WEIR MITCHELL.
3. JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS ("Uncle Remus").
5. EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

2. F. MARION CRAWFORD.
4. WINSTON CHURCHILL.
6. WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.



up to date is *A Manual of American Literature*, edited by Theodore Stanton (1909). See also William B. Cairns, *A History of American Literature* (1912). Some of the numerous text books designed for school use are also worth consulting, e. g. Brander Matthew's *Introduction to the Study of American Literature*. The chief critic of the period after Lowell was the late Edmund Clarence Stedman, whose *Life and Letters* is probably the most important source of information that can be named. Mr. Stedman's *American Poets and American Anthology* should also be used, and volumes IX.-XI. of the *Library of American Literature*, edited by him and Miss Hutchinson (now Mrs. Cortissoz). For Whitman and Lanier *The Chief American Poets*, edited by Curtis Hidden Page, is valuable, and there are important biographies of these poets by Perry, Carpenter, and Mims. For the writers of the new South, consult *Southern Writers* by the late William M. Baskervill, and the final pages of a volume of specimens under the same title by W. P. Trent. There are smaller anthologies devoted to the section, and there is a painstaking and useful *Literature of the South* by Montrose J. Moses (1910).

For the years after 1901, surveys of the literature of each twelvemonth to be found in literary journals and in year books will prove useful in furnishing the names of books and writers that have attracted attention. For the period 1865-1900 the following partial list of writers, arranged somewhat in the order in which they became prominent, may be found helpful as a basis for an extended survey founded on selected reading.

Francis Parkman (*Pioneers of France in the New World*, 1865); Richard Henry Stoddard; Moncure D. Conway; John Esten Cooke; H. H. Brownell; Julia Ward Howe; William Dean Howells (*Venetian Life*, 1866; *Their Wedding Journey*, 1871; *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, 1885); Bayard Taylor (*The Story of Kennett*, 1866; translation of *Faust*, the first part, 1870); Samuel L. Clemens — "Mark Twain" (*The Celebrated Jumping Frog*, 1867; *Innocents Abroad*, 1869; *Tom Sawyer*, 1876; *Huckleberry Finn*, 1884); Henry C. Lea; Bret Harte (*Condensed Novels*, 1867; *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, 1870); Charles Eliot Norton; E. R. Sill (*The Hermitage and Other Poems*, 1867); Louisa M. Alcott; Edward Everett Hale; Thomas Bailey Aldrich (*The Story of a Bad Boy*, 1869); Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward; Helen Hunt Jackson; James Russell Lowell (*Among My Books*, first series, 1870); Charles Dudley Warner (*My Summer in a Garden*, 1870); Walt Whitman (*Democratic Vistas*, 1870); John Burroughs (*Wake-Robin*, 1871); Edward

George Cary Eggleston; H. H. Furness; John Hay; Thomas Wentworth Higginson; Joaquin Miller (*Songs of the Sierras*, 1871); E. P. Roe (*Barriers Burned Away*, 1872); Celia Thaxter; Lew Wallace (*The Fair God*, 1873; *Ben Hur*, 1880); John Fiske; Richard Watson Gilder (*The New Day*, 1875); Henry James (*Roderick Hudson*, 1875); E. C. Stedman (*Victorian Poets*, 1875); Sidney Lanier; Mrs. Francis H. Burnett; Sarah Orne Jewett; Moses Coit Tyler; G. W. Cable (*Old Creole Days*, 1879); F. R. Stockton (*Rudder Grange*, 1879); Henry George; Robert Grant; Joel Chandler Harris (*Uncle Remus*, 1880); James Schouler; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; Constance Fenimore Woolson; Paul H. Hayne (*Poems*, 1880); Brander Matthews (*French Dramatists*, 1881); James Parton; William G. Sumner; Francis A. Walker; F. Marion Crawford (*Mr. Isaacs*, 1882); Thomas R. Lounsbury; Richard Malcolm Johnston (*Dukesborough Tales*, 1883); J. B. McMaster; Justin Winsor; H. H. Baneroft; J. Whitecomb Riley; Henry Cuyler Bunner; Mary N. Murfree ("Charles Egbert Craddock"); Sarah Barnwell Elliott; Woodrow Wilson; George E. Woodberry; Theodore Roosevelt; Edith M. Thomas; Mrs. Freeman (Mary E. Wilkins); Edward Bellamy (*Looking Backward*, 1888); Thomas A. Janvier; Lefebadio Hearn; Irwin Russell; Henry Adams; William James; W. C. Brownell; Bronson Howard; Henry Cabot Lodge; Thomas Nelson Page; Henry Van Dyke; Alice French ("Octave Thanet"); Amélie Rives (Princess Troubetzkoy); Emily Dickinson; Eugene Field; Hamilton W. Mabie; A. T. Mahan; F. Hopkinson Smith; Jacob A. Riis; James Lane Allen; Margaret Deland; Hamlin Garland; Barrett Wendell; Richard Hovey and Bliss Carman (*Songs from Vagabondia*, 1893); James Ford Rhodes; Paul Leicester Ford; John B. Tabb; Stephen Crane; Harold Frederic; Kate Douglas Wiggin (Mrs. Riggs); P. F. Dunne (*Mr. Dooley in Peace and War*, 1898); Edwin Markham; E. N. Westcott (*David Harum*, 1898); Ida M. Tarbell; William Vaughn Moody (*Poems*, 1900); Henry Harland ("Sidney Lusk"); Paul Elmer More. To these may be added the names of George Ade; Gellert Burgess; Irving Bacheller; Cyrus T. Brady; John Kendrick Bangs; R. W. Chambers; Winston Churchill; Justus Miles Forman; John Fox, Jr.; Ellen Glasgow; W. N. Harben; O. Henry; Mary Johnston; Jack London; George Barr McCutcheon; Meredith Nicholson; Frank Norris; David Graham Phillips; Upton Sinclair; Booth Tarkington; Mrs. Wharton; William Allen White; Owen Wister — as representatives of latter day humor and fiction, a list which might be easily extended.

CHAPTER IV.

1865-1912.

ART, MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

The general artistic revival after the Civil War — William Page and other portrait painters — The spread of art museums and art associations — Extension of art education — Sculpture and sculptors — Architecture and architects — Early musical activities — Opening of the Metropolitan Opera House, Carnegie Hall, and the Manhattan Opera House — General musical development — The future of American music — The passing of stock-companies — The commercialization of the theatre — Augustin Daly and other promoters of good American plays — A group of meritorious actors — Augustus Thomas and his serious American drama — The future of American drama.

Art.

The decade following the Civil War and closing with the Centennial Exposition of 1876 showed a marked growth in art, to which the Centennial itself gave great impetus. Many who were full of promise in the earlier period were now to attain their development. There was gratifying advance in landscape painting. J. F. Cropsey, A. F. Bellows, R. W. Hubbard, Kensett, James Hart, W. T. Richards, all treated varied aspects of American scenery, while George Innes, S. P. Gifford — and especially F. E. Church, whose "Niagara" is a work of rare grandeur — had a strength and individuality that placed them in the first rank. There are many conspicuous examples in marine and animal painting. In historical painting Leutze, who studied at Düsseldorf and painted "Washington Crossing the Delaware," is among the leaders.

In portrait-painting William Page easily ranks among the best. Elihu

Vedder is subtle and imaginative, and Albert Bierstadt's "Rocky Mountains," which won immediate fame, is a work of genuine merit. Thomas Hill is identified with Californian scenes; for sentiment Homer Martin and A. H. Wyant are noteworthy; and M. F. H. De Haas was famous for his marines, as was also W. E. Norton, who died in 1876. The first annual exhibition of water-colors in 1867 showed ability, which has grown with time. No less marked has been the development of our *genre* artists. S. J. Guy, T. W. Wood, J. G. Brown and M. A. Woolf are examples of portrayers of child-life. Eastman Johnson and Winslow Homer are distinctively American in their themes, while William M. Chase has a genius for single figures.

It is difficult within present limits to mention later names in all varieties of painting, as well as our masters of engraving and etching, our caricaturists, illustrators, and decorators. Nor is it possible to allude at any length

to the forces so powerfully promoting American art—the rapid spread of art museums, with their students' classes, and the increased attention paid to the arts and handicrafts in our public schools. Art associations are common in cities large and small, and foreign scholarships awarded by some museums give good post-graduate training to worthy students. Recently the generosity of private citizens has brought to our shores famous works by the old masters, while municipal art associations throughout the country tend toward improvement in many ways.

Perhaps the happiest sign is the growing educational character of our art museums, which are becoming less and less storage warehouses. The Boston Museum was the first to undertake the work of art extension, coördinating its work with that of the public schools. Toledo, Detroit, New York, Indianapolis, St. Louis and others carry on similar work. Geography, history, biography, as well as art, are thus taught in the halls of the museum by means of lectures to the groups of classes who attend at stated hours. Elementary instruction in the public schools aims not only to teach drawing for use in various trades, but also to train the pupils' taste in line, mass and color.

Sculpture was more backward than its sister arts in attaining maturity. It was not until the decades preceeding and following the Civil War that America could point to sculptors of

fame, such as Powers and Crawford. Horatio Greenough is among American pioneers in the art in which J. Q. A. Ward, W. W. Story, Harriet Hosmer, Launt Thompson, Randolph Rogers, J. S. Hartley, D. C. French, and Augustus St. Gandens were to attain eminence. The recent exhibitions of our National Sculpture Society in New York indicate the varied quality of its work, which is both plastic and pictorial. Wood and stone carving and monumental work, the decoration of church and civic buildings, have entered sculpture's broadening sphere.

Still more hopeful is the outlook for architecture. Here, too, the close of the Civil War marked an epoch in its growth, as our cities expanded and the need of greater beauty in civic and domestic building was more generally felt. It is a far cry from the simple Colonial or Queen Anne and the severer Gothic to the Romanesque of Richardson and the word of his contemporaries, R. M. Hunt, McKim, and Stanford White. The Institute of Architects (1857), the Commission of Fine Arts recently established by Congress, New York's Architectural League, and similar clubs in other cities which organized the Architectural League of America, with its circuit of exhibitions, its forming of new schools and traveling scholarship at Harvard, are promising signs. Whether a more original and creative period is to dawn, cannot be stated. Landscape architecture, too, has reached a more ambitious stage with

our era of civic planning and rural improvement and the growth of what may be termed National aesthetics. Under this new impetus the group system of public buildings is beautifying our cities, and model industrial villages and recreation centres are widening the scope of architects and designers. Here, too, every effort is made to combine the practical and the artistic.

Music.

The years of civil strife were not propitious to musical development, yet there were intermittent operatic performances under Ullman, Maretzek, Strakosch, Grau, and Carl Anschutz. After the war Offenbach became the favorite, a powerful rival to Italian opera. Then Gilbert and Sullivan's melodious operettas held the boards for some years, to be followed by a mixed multitude of comic operas. New York's musical centre then was Steinway Hall, opened in 1866 with Bateman's concert troupe, which included Parepa, Brignoli, Ferranti, Fortuna, S. B. Mills, Carl Rosa, J. L. Hatton, with Theodore Thomas leading the orchestra. A few years later came Christine Nilsson, first in concerts and then in operatic rôles. "Lohengrin" was heard for the first time in America in 1874. German influence grew more and more paramount, the Philharmonic leading the way, with such conductors as Bergmann, L. Damrosch, Neuendorf, Thomas, Seidel, and others of recent date. Thomas gathered an orchestral

band comparable with the best European organization and began a series of symphony soirées. In 1873 Leopold Damrosch founded the Oratorio Society and in 1878 the Symphony Society, conducting both until his death in 1885, when his son Walter succeeded him. In 1881 and 1882 New York had musical festivals of a high order, under Damrosch and Thomas respectively, the latter on a remarkable scale, with Materna and Gerster, Anna Louise Cary and Emily Winant, Campanini and Candidus, Galassi, Remnertz, and Myron W. Whitney among the solo singers. Mr. Thomas conducted the Wagner festival concerts in New York in 1885 and the American Opera from 1885 to 1887. After a brief sojourn in Cincinnati, he returned as leader of the Philharmonic. In 1891 he organized the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and maintained the high standard of his New York concerts.

The Metropolitan Opera House (opened in 1882) gave a new impetus to Italian and German opera, the latter (under Damrosch and Seidel) supplanting the former, where Wagner's music-dramas were given on a scale of magnificence unsurpassed even in Germany, while production of more recent composers like Strauss, Humperdinck and Franchetti have also been heard. The most eminent vocalists and musicians of the world have been welcomed. Dvorák (1892) for some years was head of New York's Conservatory of Music. The

opening in 1893 of the Manhattan Opera House, the abode for a time of French opera, and of Carnegie Hall (1891), for the symphony and oratorio societies, were further steps in musical progress. No less significant for the West was the Chicago Opera House. Through all the musical gamut—from opera bouffe, vaudeville, and comic operat to the majestic oratorio and solemn music-drama—the taste of the people has been met and developed.

New York is but an illustration in this regard of similar growth throughout the country, with music-festivals, seasons of opera (permanent or temporary), classical concerts, musical clubs and societies in large number. Music is now part of the regular schedule in our public schools, and elementary vocal music instruction is of profound value to the health and culture of millions of pupils. Chairs for music have been founded in some of our universities. Church music has attained a better style; more appropriate compositions are introduced, while public taste is being improved by organ and other free recitals. Of marked influence for good can be mentioned municipal lectures, recitals, orchestral park concerts, and similar agencies for our general musical growth.

After English, Italian and German influences, is there opportunity for native musical art? And what new fundamental art-elements will America produce? There is a long list of

American composers, many of whose works are of merit and promise. In the field of serious composition (excluding the popular ballad and the light opera) there are some eminent names, but none surpasses that of Edward A. MacDowell. His years of activity as teacher and composer were limited, but his worth is recognized. The music festivals at Peterboro, New Hampshire, in his memory, invest American life with a certain ideality which will spread with the years. His "Indian Symphony" is a meritorious American addition to the world's music. No less significant of progress was Horatio Parker's tragic opera "Mona," which won the Metropolitan prize of 1911. Of worth, though lacking in evenness, was Victor Herbert's "Natoma" (1911). Mr. Pulitzer's bequest of \$500,000 to the Philharmonic (1910) means much for musical culture. The formation of a permanent symphony orchestra in San Francisco (1911), with Henry K. Hadley as conductor, was a noteworthy event for Western musical growth. The Boston symphony concerts, held in the chief cities of the country, add appreciably to popular interest in music. In 1911 Liszt's centenary was fitly celebrated by special programs devoted to that master. The enthusiasm aroused indicated the steady musical progress.

The Drama.

With the increased prosperity that dawned after 1865, the rapid growth of our cities, the frequent visits by

foreign stars, the building of new theatres throughout the country, the American stage witnessed a development both in plays and players. The old-fashioned stock companies began to give way to the combination, and the stars were monopolized by a few managers who gradually controlled the chief playhouses. The drama thus became more of a business than an art. With an exception here and there, the really artistic plays are few. It is hardly fair to blame only the manager for present conditions; the public itself is at fault for patronizing what is unhealthy and unworthy. And public taste has admittedly changed. The theatre, in our large cities at least, has ceased to attract the cultured and representative element of former decades. At the same time audiences seem to prefer plays on American themes by American authors. So many foreign masterpieces have proved costly failures on the American boards that managers are giving more thought to native themes, and at last the American drama may deserve and gain recognition. Denman Thompson's "The Old Homestead" was a native drama of genuine American flavor.

Among American managers and playwrights to whom our drama is greatly indebted for artistic representation and an admirably equipped company, Augustin Daly (1899)

merits special mention. Around his theatres cluster the best traditions of the American stage. Other dramatists of distinction are Bartley Campbell (1843-1888), who wrote a number of successful plays; Bronson Howard (1842-1908), whose society drama, "Saratoga," was presented in Berlin; and James De Mille (1850-1893). Among others of similar ability are William Gillette, Clyde Fitch, David Belasco, H. G. Carleton, Charles H. Hoyt, with Epes Sargent (1812-1880), R. W. Bird (1803-1854), Joseph Stevens Jones (1811-1877), a voluminous writer, and George H. Boker (1823-1890).

Of our actors and actresses, may be mentioned John McCullough, Edwin Booth, Laurence Barrett, Joseph Jefferson, John Gilbert, Lester Wallack, W. J. Florence, E. A. Sothorn, Richard Mansfield, James Lewis, John E. Owens, Mrs. Sefton, the Le Moynes, Fanny Morant, Fanny Davenport, with Ada Rehan, Mrs. Crabtree and Maud Adams.

In 1889 an "American Academy of Dramatic Art" was founded in New York by Franklin Sargent to train pupils for the stage.

The history of the American drama is as yet merely a record of plays and players. The great names are few. Present tendencies, with the hold of commercialism on the stage, are not very reassuring. Augustus Thomas,

in his "As a Man Thinks" (1910), shows what a serious American dramatist can do. The popularity of "Get Rich Quick Wallingford" and "Excuse Me" (1910) tell the popular taste. If it is true that every country has the drama it deserves, America must await a broader spirit of culture and a more purified taste before its dramas can attain a higher place. And this can be said as truly of Ameri-

can creative art and music—"the best is yet to be." *

* Samuel Isham, *History of American Painting* (1905); Louis C. Elson, *History of American Music*; L. Taft, *History of American Sculpture*; S. G. W. Benjamin, *American Art*; Dunlap, *History of American Theatre* (1832); Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage 1750-1860* (1891); Ritter, *Music in America* (1900); Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York*, vol. iv., chaps. v., xi., xvii. (1893); L. C. Elson, *National Music of America and Its Sources* (1900); Krehbiel, *Music in America*, in Lavignac's *Music and Musicians*, pp. 489-528 (1904); L. Gilman, *Phases of Modern Music* (1904).

SERIES TWENTY-ONE AND TWENTY-TWO

LECTURES EIGHTY-FOUR TO EIGHTY-EIGHT

*The Development of Governmental Departments and Governmental
Activities in Regulating Commerce and Industry, 1865—1915*

- 85. The Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments
- 86. The Formation of State Constitutions
- 87. Governmental Activities in Regulating Commerce and Industry
- 88. Treaties, National and State Officials, etc.

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I.

1865-1912.

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURE.

Meagreness of Southern representation in Congress in the Civil War period — The great statesmen of that period — The subsequent lowering of the Congressional standard — A new era of Congressional leadership — Important issues raised by the Civil War — Changes in Congressional procedure — Recent popular distrust of legislation and the consequent increase of executive responsibility.

DURING the Civil War Congress sat with incomplete membership owing to the defection of the Southern States. Three new States were admitted to the Union and the Thirty-ninth Congress, which convened in December of 1865, was still without Southern representation and predominantly Union in sentiment and Republican in political party complexion. In the Fortieth Congress some of the recent disloyal States were again represented, and in the Forty-first Congress all were again in the Union, but not with so large a representation as before the Civil War.

The Civil War had brought into the field of public life a few men who in natural ability and statesmanlike achievements were fully equal to the average of those who had preceded them. None could compare with the greatest men of the past — Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry

Clay, James Madison, John Marshall, and others of their class. The constitutional struggle that ended with the beginning of the Civil War had developed statesmen as no other public question could. There were strong men in that period, but few great men, measured by the highest standard of greatness in the past.

After the close of the war came a period in which the average of individual ability in Congress was decidedly lower than it had been for a generation. One need not travel far to discover the reason. While war develops the highest sentiments of patriotism and sacrifice, it also affords opportunity for self-seeking and mediocrity. Naturally Congress reflected this condition in the Nation at large. From the South none of those who had been leaders in the antebellum days returned to Washington. Many of them were dead and, in the course of events, others had been re-

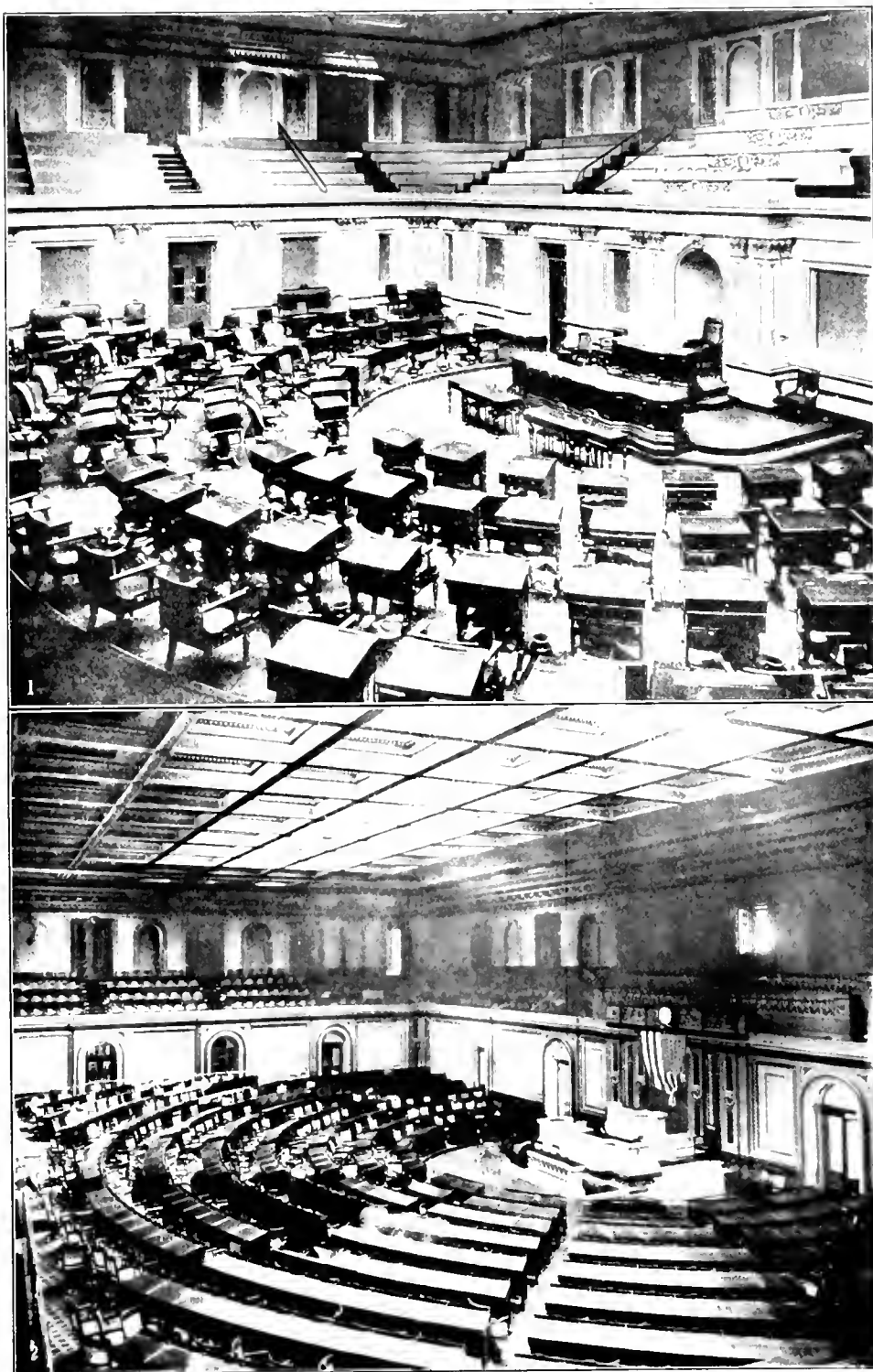
moved from the field of active or even passive influence on public affairs. In their places, both in the Senate and the House, sat men of inferior ability — mostly politicians of the hour, fruits of carpet-bag government. Subsequently, after the South had become politically rehabilitated, the character of the Congressional representatives of the section reached a much higher standard.

In the North, too, the effect of the war was seen in the appearance in the National halls of legislation of many who had come into prominence through loyalty as soldiers rather than from special fitness as legislators. Before the end of the century, however, came a decided change in this respect. The war heroes had for the most part left the scene of active life; the war issues had been settled; entirely new issues had arisen; and men who were giving attention to the new economic, social and industrial questions of the hour figured among legislative leaders. In the years closely following the Civil War such men as James G. Blaine, George F. Hoar, Thomas F. Bayard, Thomas A. Hendricks, William M. Evarts, John Sherman and a few others, were types of the statesmen of the period who were second to none of the past. In latter times Thomas B. Reed and Joseph G. Cannon, Speakers of the House, again sustained the best reputation for Congressional statesmanship.

During the war and long after, legislation naturally dealt mostly with

questions raised by that conflict. The political and social reconstruction of the South; questions of suffrage arising from the sudden addition of an untrained and uneducated mass of negro voters; the liquidation of the enormous war debt; the resumption of specie payments — these were some of the problems which pressed for immediate solution displacing in Congressional debate and in public attention the great constitutional questions of the preceding half-century. Later, with the coming of the Twentieth century, still newer issues, raised by the changed character of National life, came to the fore. In the last decades of the old century the new issues were largely economic. Left over from the olden time, the tariff stood almost alone as an unsettled question that had vexed the people and their representatives for a century. Questions of transportation and industry assumed paramount importance, and, during the two decades following 1890, legislation on these matters occupied by far the greater part of the time and attention of the National legislature.

Procedure in the Senate has not changed much in a hundred years. The Senate is still the dignified, self-restrained body it was in the beginning. In the first Senate seven of the rules of procedure related to the personal deportment of members during the session. No such rules are now in effect, yet the general bearing of the Senators nowadays does not seem to



Photos by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

1. THE SENATE CHAMBER.
2. CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.



have fallen below that of their predecessors. Broadly speaking, it surpasses the best traditions of the august Roman tribunal whose name it proudly bears. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, well said in a speech in the Senate a few years before his death: "The greatest victories of Constitutional liberty since the world began are those whose battleground has been the American Senate and whose champions have been the Senators, who, for a hundred years, while they have resisted the popular passions of the hour, have led, represented, guided, obeyed and made effective the deliberate will of a free people."

Certain changes in the form of procedure in the House of Representatives after 1890 were of particular moment and placed that body in striking contrast with the Senate — indeed with its own historical precedents. The House has always been regarded as particularly the popular legislative body, the body nearer to the people, and therefore more responsive than the Senate to prevailing popular opinions. Indeed it was constituted with that end in view, and freedom of debate on its floor was always considered one of its most essential and most highly prized privileges. As a matter of actual practice, however, in the Senate there is practically no restraint upon the freedom of debate and for a century the same custom prevailed in the House. But the radical innovations instituted

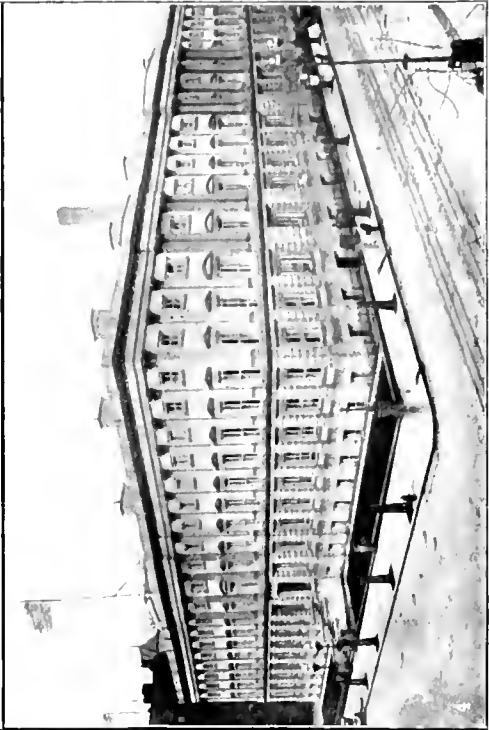
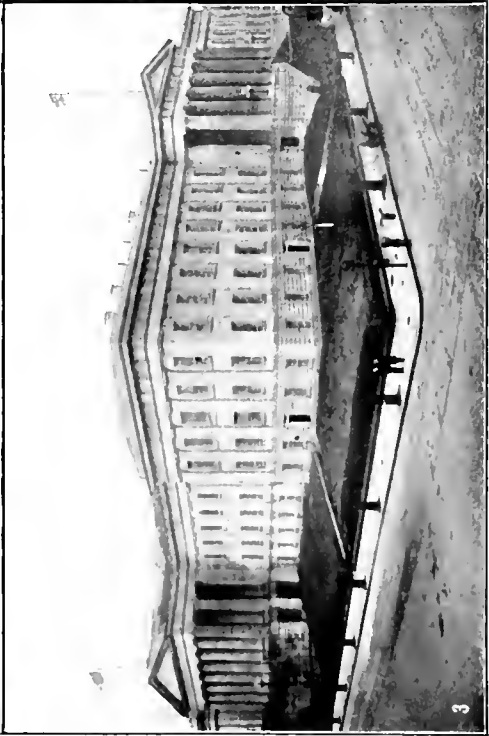
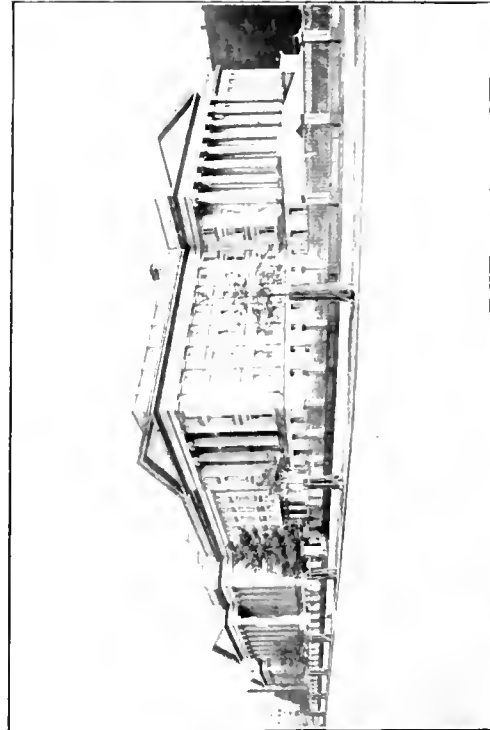
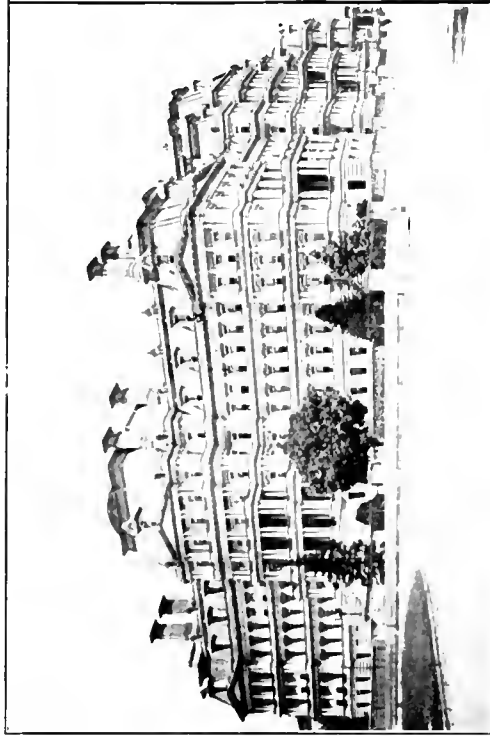
by Speaker Reed changed all that and revolutionized the parliamentary practice that had prevailed from the institution of our Government. Under the Reed rules the power of the Speaker became autocratic, freedom of debate was restricted, and absolute control of the majority over discussion and final legislation was confirmed. After the days of Speaker Reed the system which he established in the face of the most virulent opposition became the recognized procedure of the House. The control of the business of the House, and to a large extent the freedom of debate, passed thereby from the House as a body to the Speaker and committees appointed by him.

At the close of the Nineteenth century the States clung substantially to the legislative forms with which they had started when the Republic was constituted — forms inherited from their colonial experience. In the early part of the century the tendency was to make the legislature supreme. The people had not forgotten their colonial governors and still feared the arbitrary exercise of executive and judicial powers. This feeling led to an undue trust in democracy. Legislatures were held less and less liable to restraint by public opinion, and the executive branch of the government had less power and was held to stricter accountability. This tendency continued beyond the middle of the century, when popular doubt as to the infallibility of legislators and

legislation gradually arose. In many States more power was given to the governor and less to the legislature. The gubernatorial term of office was lengthened while it was provided that the legislature should sit less frequently than once a year as had been the general practice before, and shorter sessions were demanded. More attention was paid to constitutional revisions and to the enactment of laws by constitutional amendments voted by the people at large, rather than by enactments of the legislature. It was found that much legislation was hasty, local, and prompted by special and political interests; and provisions prohibiting such legislation were placed in many State constitutions. As the Twentieth century opened, the disposition to put more responsibility upon the executive, upon heads of departments, boards of commissioners, and other executive officials who could be held more directly amenable to public opinion, was markedly on the increase. The new political policies of the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and city government by commission, adopted

in many States, was a further indication of a popular distrust of executive and legislator and a popular determination to exercise a closer and firmer control over governmental affairs.*

* *Congressional Globe* (Washington, 1865-73); E. B. Andrews, *History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1895); James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2 vols., New York, 1893); M. P. Follet, *The Speaker of the House of Representatives* (New York, 1896); L. G. McConachie, *Congressional Committees: A Study of the Origin and Development of Our National and Local Legislative Methods* (New York, 1898); Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Boston, 1885); John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (2 vols., New York, 1895); J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884-86); S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (Providence, 1885); F. N. Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the United States* (3 vols., Chicago, 1901); *Congressional Record* (Washington, 1873, to date); *The Public Statutes-at-Large* (1865, to date); Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in the United States* (3 vols., Boston, 1872-77); J. J. Lalor (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States* (3 vols., Chicago, 1884); *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1903* (Washington, 1903); Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States During Its First Century* (New York, 1876); George S. Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs* (2 vols., New York, 1902).



Photos by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

1. STATE, WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.
3. PATENT OFFICE.

2. TREASURY DEPARTMENT.
4. INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

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CHAPTER II.

1865-1912.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

The organization and work of the Department of Agriculture — Bureaus of the State Department — Additions to the Treasury Department — Receipts and expenditures of the Government — Prominent incumbents of the office of Attorney-General — Changes in the Postal service — Work of the Post-Office Department — Scope of the Department of the Interior — Establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor — The Presidential succession.

At the close of the Civil War, the State, Treasury, Army, Navy, Post-Office and Interior Departments of the National Government — six in all — were in existence. There was a Department of Agriculture, but it was not on a footing with the other departments. Originally connected with the Patent Office, it became independent in 1862, with a commissioner at its head. In 1889 the department was raised in rank, its head becoming Secretary of Agriculture and a member of the President's Cabinet. The first Secretary was Norman J. Coleman, and his successors have been Jeremiah M. Black, J. Sterling Morton, and James Wilson. Regarded with slight favor at the time of its creation, the department has become one of the most useful branches of the Government and one of the greatest scientific establishments of its kind anywhere in the world. In 1884 a Bureau of Animal Industry was created in the department, and in 1888 the Office of Experiment Stations. Since then there has been added the Weather Bureau in 1891, transferred

from the War Department, and bureaus of Plant Industry, Soils, Forestry and Chemistry in 1901. There are now also divisions of biology and entomology. The department issues a year book, farmers' bulletins, periodicals, pamphlets and books, to the annual number of over 600.

After an assistant Secretary was provided for the Department of State, no additions were made to the official personnel of that department until 1866, when the office of second assistant was created, and 1874, when a third assistant secretary was added. The business of the department is handled by seven bureaus — the diplomatic, consular, indexes and archives, accounts, rolls and library, foreign commerce, and appointments. Since the incumbency of William H. Seward as Secretary (1861-1869) there have been 15 Secretaries, including such statesmen as Hamilton Fish, William M. Evarts, F. T. Frelinghuysen, T. F. Bayard, James G. Blaine, John Sherman, John Hay, Elihu Root, and P. C. Knox. There have been 39 Secretaries during our National existence.

Since the close of the Civil War, the activities of the Treasury Department have been expanded in some directions and curtailed in others. It still has general supervision of the revenues and disbursements of the Government, but several of its bureaus have been removed to other departments, particularly to that of the Interior. The office of the Director of the Mint, created in 1792, became a bureau of the Treasury Department in 1873, the reorganized Marine Hospital Service in 1870, and the Life Saving Service in 1878. In 1862 the Government began to print its own notes and securities, and in 1874 the Bureau of Printing and Engraving was organized. With the institution of the National bank system in 1863, the office of Comptroller of the Currency was created to have supervision thereof.

The following table gives the gross annual receipts and expenditures of the Government from all sources including postal revenues for 1900-1910.*

	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1900	\$686,953,491	\$663,915,277
1901	712,203,099	690,987,355
1902	717,064,085	683,391,489
1903	720,378,141	694,111,489
1904	710,167,679	776,802,225
1905	719,994,021	746,568,098
1906	789,318,771	763,103,908
1907	909,913,238	818,541,147
1908	897,676,792	924,566,889
1909	883,507,121	1,002,303,040
1910	997,587,000	964,086,000

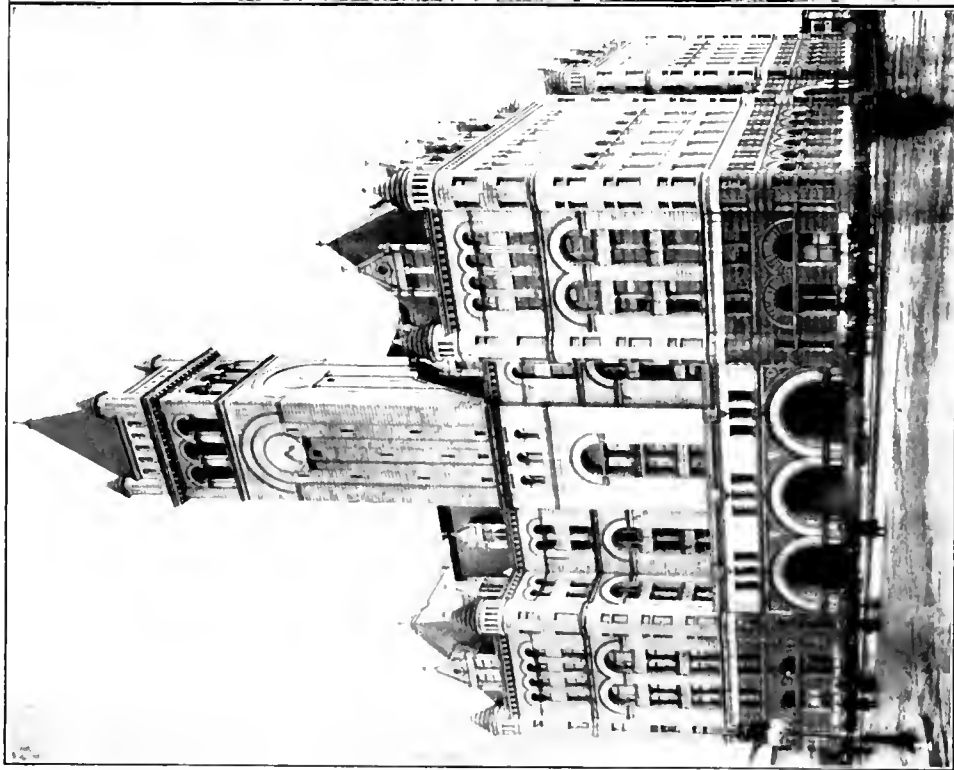
In the War Department there has been little administrative change, ex-

cept as national expansion has added to its duties. After the Civil War a Provost Marshal Generals Bureau and the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands were established to handle certain phases of the reconstruction work in the Southern States. After the war with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippines, the Bureau of Insular Affairs was established to have oversight of the work of establishing civil government in those islands.

There was an Attorney-General as early as 1789, Edmund Randolph being the first. Among his most distinguished successors were Charles Lee, John Breckinridge, William Pinkney, Richard Rush, Roger B. Taney, Benjamin F. Butler, J. J. Crittenden, John Y. Mason, Reverdy Johnson, Caleb Cushing, Edwin M. Stanton, William M. Evarts and Ebenezer R. Hoar. The office was not created into a department until 1870 and Amos T. Ackerman was the first Attorney-General to sit in the Cabinet of the President. From that time the Attorney-Generals have been 16 in number, including Alphonso Taft, Wayne McVeagh, Richard Olney, Judson Harmon, Joseph McKenna, William H. Moody, C. J. Bonaparte, and George W. Wickersham. To assist the Attorney-General, are a solicitor-general, assistant attorney-generals, and other law officers.

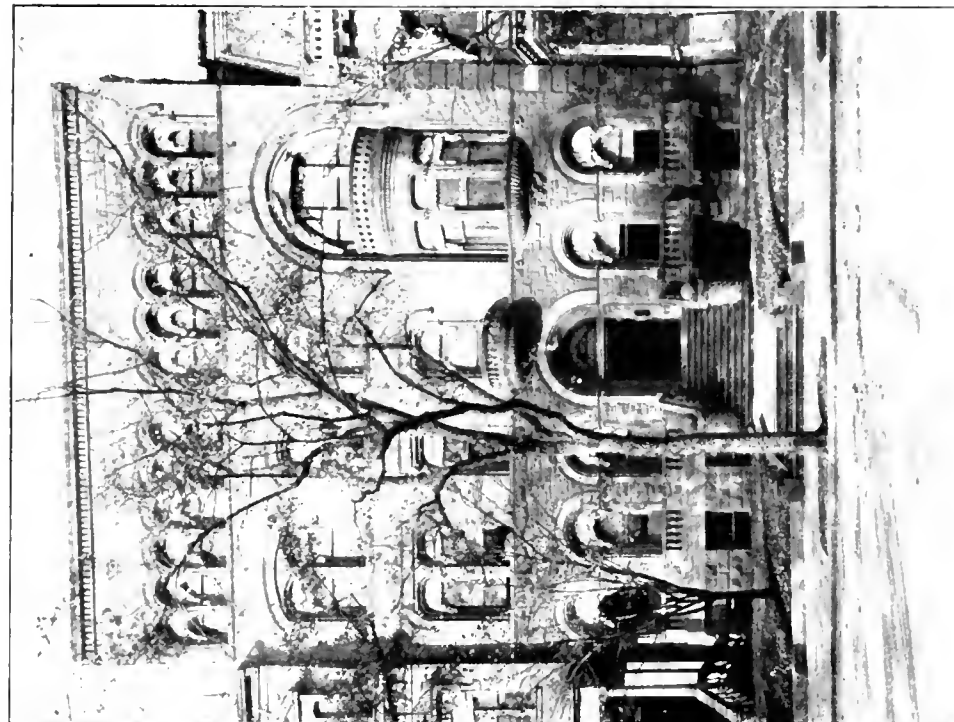
During the administration of President Johnson (1865-1869) important advances were made in the Post-

* See the annual *Statistical Abstract of the United States*.



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1. POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.



2. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

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Office Department. The mail service was widely extended over the Northwest and Southwest; the opening of the railroads to the Pacific coast made it possible to abandon the old mail stage coach; the Atlantic mail steamship service was improved; the Pacific mail steamship service was begun; and the railway postal system was greatly extended. In 1873 the franking privilege was abolished, but later it was conferred upon officers of the Government and members of Congress for official correspondence. Letter postage was reduced to two cents in 1883, and postal cards were authorized in 1872. During this period (1865-1912) there was a gradual extension of the mail service to include the carriage of printed matter and merchandise, and in 1912 a parcels post system was established, to take effect on January 1, 1913, which by an elaborate "zone plan" of graduated payments, will greatly reduce the cost of transportation of merchandise in packages. The free delivery service was constantly extended and in 1896 the experiment of free rural delivery was inaugurated. A postal savings bank system was advocated by Postmaster-General Creswell in 1869, but this was not established until August of 1910, when banks were opened in New York, Chicago and Boston. On January 3, 1911, one bank was opened in a single designated place in each of the 48 States and Territories, with a promise that the system should be extended as rap-

idly as the necessary funds were appropriated by Congress. In the Philippine Islands, however, postal savings banks were started in 1906 and 1907, where within two years 251 banks had 8,782 accounts and \$724,479 deposits. In 1872 there were 31,863 post-offices in the country; in 1882, 46,231; in 1892, 67,119; in 1902, 75,924; and in 1910, 59,580. In the corresponding years the receipts of the department were \$21,915,426, \$41,876,410, \$70,930,475, \$121,848,047, and \$224,128,657; while the expenditures were \$26,658,192, \$40,482,021, \$76,980,846, \$124,785,697, and \$229,977,224. From William Dennison in 1865 to Frank H. Hitchcock in 1912, there have been 24 Postmaster-Generals.

The broad scope of the Department of the Interior in the opening years of the Twentieth century has made it one of the most active, most influential, and most important departments of the Government. Prior to 1878 it had charge of public domain, patents, pensions, Indian affairs, education and the census. In 1911 it retained all those bureaus, except the census, and also had supervision of the geological survey, the distribution of public documents, subsidized railroads, the Territories of the United States, the National parks and reservations, some of the public institutions of the District of Columbia, and other smaller affairs. Since John P. Usher and James Harlan in 1865 to Walter L. Fisher in 1911, the Secretaries of the Interior have been 17 in number,

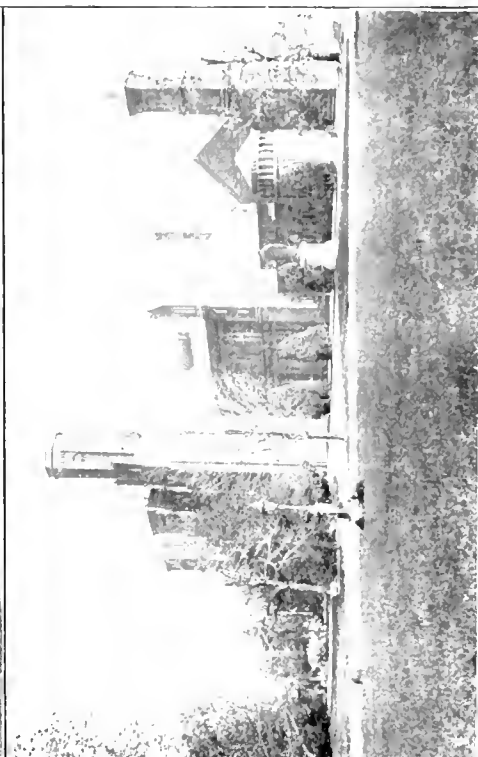
among whom Carl Schurz (1877-1881), Ethan A. Hitchcock (1899-1907), and James R. Garfield (1907-1909) were particularly notable.

The ninth and latest executive department is that of Commerce and Labor, which was established in 1903. It took over several bureaus from other departments, notably the Bureau of Statistics (in the Treasury since 1820); the Light-House Board (in the Treasury since 1852); the Coast and Geodetic Survey; the Bureau of Immigration (established in 1891); the Department of Labor (established in 1884); the Bureau of Corporations; the Bureau of Navigation; the Steamboat Inspection Service; the Bureau of Standards; and the Census Office from the Interior Department; the Fish Commission; the Bureau of Foreign Commerce of the State Department, and a Bureau of Manufactures. There have been four Secretaries of this Department, George B. Cortelyou, Vincent H. Metcalf, Oscar S. Straus, and Charles Nagel.

From the organization of the Federal government until 1886 no provision existed for succession to the Presidency in case of the death, resig-

nation, or disability of both the President and Vice-President. The possibility of such a contingency had been seen at various times, notably at the death of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley. In the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress an act was passed providing that, in such an event, the Secretary of State should act as President until the disability should be removed or the vacancy filled by election, and that the order of succession after the Secretary of State should be the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Interior.*

* George N. Lamphere, *The United States Government: Its Organization and Practical Workings* (Philadelphia, 1880); L. D. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department of the United States* (Washington, 1880); Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States During Its First Century* (Washington, 1876); D. D. Leech, *The Post Office Department of the United States of America* (Washington, 1879); B. P. Poore, *The Political Register and Congressional Directory, 1776-1878* (Boston, 1878); *The American Journal of International Law*, vols. i.-v. (New York, 1903-09); *The Department of State of the United States* (Washington, 1893); annual reports of the several departments; Marshal Cushing, *The Story of Our Post Office* (Boston, 1893).



Photos by Clineinst, Washington, D. C.

1. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
3. CENSUS OFFICE.

2. WEATHER BUREAU.
4. SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

1870

1871

CHAPTER III.

1865-1912.

THE JUDICIARY.

Republicanism of the Supreme Court — Consequent popular distrust of this tribunal — Congressional limitation of its jurisdiction — The new issue before the Court since the rise of industrialism — Broader Constitutional interpretation of recent times — Chief Justice since 1790 — Creation of lower courts by Congress.

With the death of Chief Justice Taney in 1864 the United States Supreme Court entered upon the fourth period of its existence. Taney had lived beyond his time. His intellectual powers remained with him to the end, but the march of events in that critical period of American history had left him somewhat behind. His famous *Dred Scot* decision, misinterpreted as it was and perhaps always will be, brought down upon him an avalanche of popular disapproval throughout the anti-slavery North. Although he retained the office of Chief Justice until the close of the Civil War, his great career as a jurist had ended years before.

Even before Taney had died, changes in the political complexion of the Court had come through the appointment of justices identified with the Republican party. This process was completed in 1864 by the appointment of Salmon P. Chase to succeed Taney. While in modern times party politics has rarely affected the Supreme Court, yet the political principles held by the individual justices undoubtedly have exercised some in-

fluence on their attitude on Constitutional questions. Thus, the Federalism of Marshall and his associates led to the broad Nationalistic reading of the Constitution in that formative period of our judiciary, while with the democracy of Taney and his associates came the broader view of State sovereignty. The gradual republicanizing of the Court marked a return to the position of Marshall and a more decided following of the lines of Constitutional interpretation outlined by this great jurist.

Some popular apprehension concerning the possible attitude of the Court existed at this time. The Civil War had raised Constitutional points hitherto unnoticed, and the resulting Supreme Court decisions were, in many instances, of momentous importance. So impressed was Congress with the situation that on one occasion it legislated to take away certain appellate jurisdiction from the Court in order to prevent it from passing upon the Constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts. Events proved, however, that this was a needless precaution, for the Court, in passing upon

the new questions of the period, took the broadest Constitutional views. In 1870 the Court was reorganized by the resignation of one justice and the increase of its membership by two appointments, made, it was always believed, to bring about the reversals of the Legal Tender Act as unconstitutional. In this period the Constitutionality of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments was among the most important questions before the Court. In 1876 the employment of two justices on the Electoral Commission to decide the Hayes-Tilden Presidential dispute came nearer to weakening the public confidence in the Court than anything else in its history. One particular element of strength of the Court in popular estimation has been the refusal of its members to be drawn into extrajudicial controversies or service.

In the last decade of the Nineteenth century the Supreme Court entered upon what may justly be regarded as the fifth term of its career. Meanwhile, in 1874, Chief Justice Chase had been succeeded by Morrison R. Waite, and he, in turn, by Melville W. Fuller in 1888, but neither of these changes materially affected the character of the Court. The issues of the Civil War had been mostly settled, and, with the great industrial expansion of the country then just beginning, new problems arose. The so-called trust problem was assuming vast proportions. In 1887 Congress passed an act for the regulation of

interstate commerce — the first time the Legislative body had assumed the right to regulate National industry in virtue of its interstate character. In 1890 Congress passed the Federal anti-trust enactment, known as the Sherman Law. From that time legislation of this character was abundant. The corporation movement in industry grew with almost incredible rapidity and soon involved the whole country. Congressional legislation followed with almost equal rapidity and State legislation, especially in the West, surpassed that of Congress in volume and drastic character. Congressional legislation, aiming to restrain monopoly and to control the growing power of corporations, was based upon that clause of the Constitution which declares that "the Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States." State legislation found its justification in the maxim concerning the exercise of authority for the common good. The resulting litigation opened new Constitutional questions undreamed of by Marshall, Taney and their associates.

The recent tendency of the decisions of the Federal inferior courts and of the Supreme Court has been toward a broader and freer interpretation of the Constitution than ever before. Congress and the State legislatures in the years 1890-1910 laid claim to powers in this direction that were unthought of a third of a century before, and the Supreme Court sus-

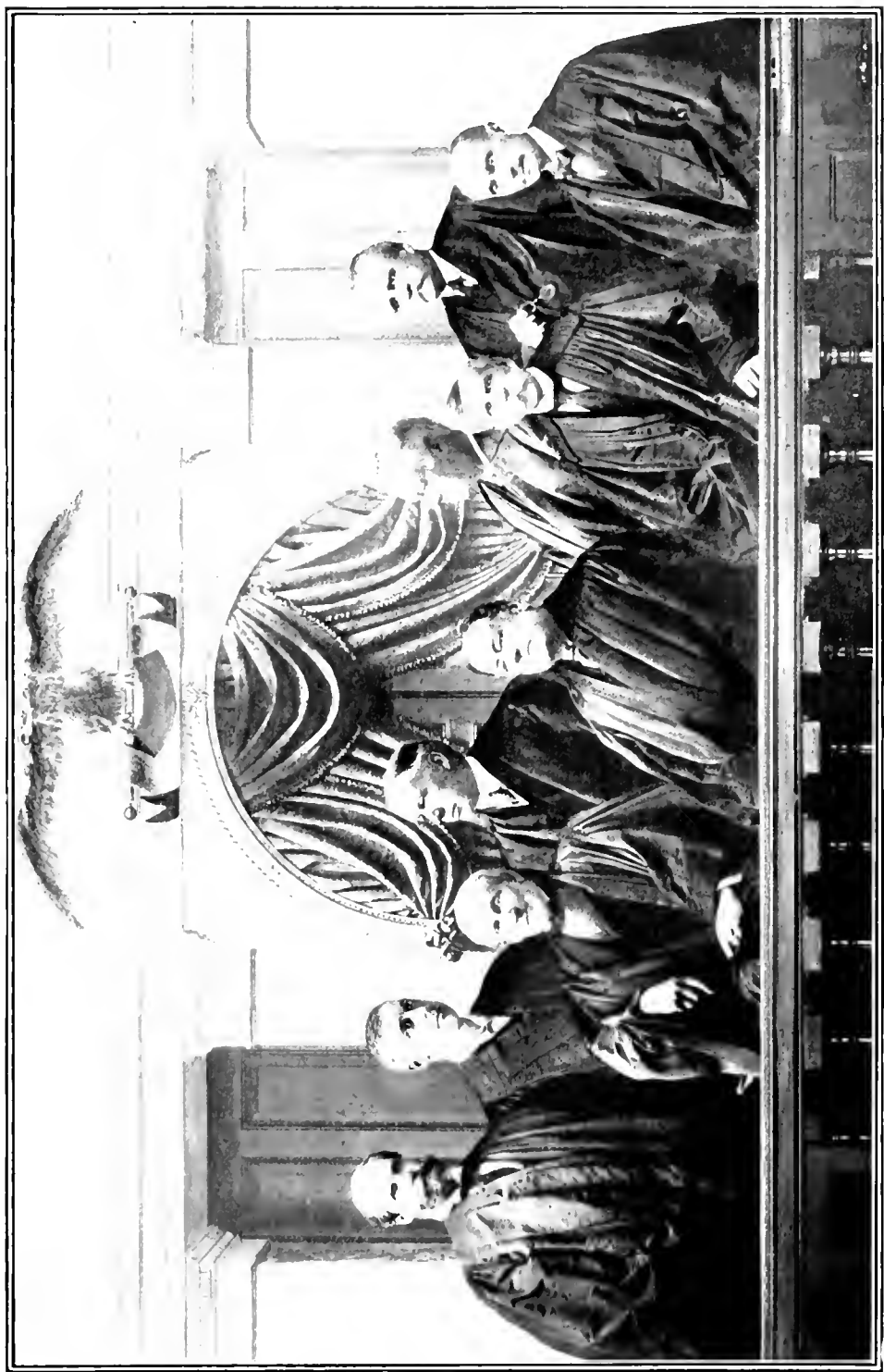
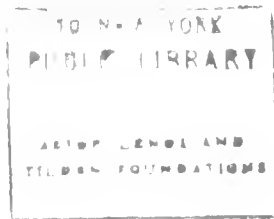


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THE SUPREME COURT.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: JUSTICES HUGHES, PITNEY, MCKENNA, VAN DEVANTER, WHITE, CHIEF JUSTICE, HOLMES, LURTON, DAY.



tained their validity. Taken as a whole, the decisions of this period constitute a body of law unique as regards the questions raised, and of far-reaching importance as establishing the Constitutional power of the Government in directions and for purposes scarcely imagined before. History will not fail to regard this as a period in the life of the Federal judiciary not less interesting and important than any that had preceded it. With the accession of Edward D. White to the Chief-Justiceship in 1910 and the change in the personnel of nearly one-half the Court in that and the preceding year, the Court in effect entered upon a new career, in which the indications were that its wisdom would be called into exercise more than ever before upon questions relating to the commercial and industrial interests of the people.

In its later, no less than in its earlier, career the Supreme Court has proved one of the most efficient and most admirable arms of the Government. One of its warmest admirers has written of it in terms profoundly just, though unduly enthusiastic:

"The establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States was the crowning marvel of the wonders wrought by the statesmanship of America. In truth the creation of the Supreme Court with its appellate powers was the greatest conception of the Constitution. It embodied the loftiest ideas of moral and legal power, and although its prototype existed in the superior courts of the various States, yet the majestic proportions to which the structure was carried became sublime. No product of government either here or elsewhere has ever approached it in grandeur. Within its appropriate sphere it

is absolute in authority. From its mandates there is no appeal. Its decree is law. In dignity and moral influence it outranks all other judicial tribunals of the world. No court of either ancient or modern times was ever invested with such high prerogatives. Secure in the tenure of the judges from the influences of politics and the violence of prejudice and passion, it presents an example of judicial independence unattainable in any of the States and far beyond that of the highest court in England. No institution of purely human contrivance presents so many features calculated to inspire both veneration and awe." *

From its institution in 1790 to 1912 the Supreme Court had only nine Chief Justices, all but two of whom (John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth) died in office. Prior to the incumbency of Chief Justice White (appointed in 1910) the average term of service was little more than 14 years. Prior to 1912 there had been 59 Associate Justices, whose average term of service was about 17 years. Those longest on the bench were Chief Justice Marshall, Justice Joseph Story, Justice Stephen J. Field, and Justice John M. Harlan, each serving 34 years.

While the Supreme Court was created by the Constitution, the creation of the inferior courts was left to Congress. There was even more difference over these courts by the framers of the Constitution than there was respecting the higher court. There was a strong demand for leaving to the State courts jurisdiction in first instance over Federal cases as well as those pertaining to the State.

* Hampton L. Carson, *The Supreme Court of the United States: Its History*, pp. 6-8.

It was feared by many that the inferior Federal courts would in time destroy the power of the State judiciaries. Eventually Congress came to exercise its power of creating these courts and none of the disastrous consequences which had been predicted were ever experienced.

Circuit courts were established and their number was gradually increased as the country grew, until at the opening of the Twentieth century they were nine in number, the jurisdiction of each circuit covering several States. The circuit courts are inferior in power only to the Supreme Court. They have jurisdiction in all cases where the United States is party to the litigation, and exclusive jurisdiction in capital cases against the Federal Government. There are 29 circuit judges, no circuit having less than two. By act of 1891 a Supreme Court Justice and the judges of a circuit were designated a court of appeals for that circuit. Other inferior Federal courts were established. The most important and the oldest of these are the district courts, inferior to the circuit courts. Before them is brought admiralty and bankruptcy business and they have jurisdiction of all crimes, not capital, of which the United States takes cognizance. In each State there is one district court and in several of the larger States there are two or more. A

court of claims, consisting of one chief justice and four associate judges to hear and determine claims against the United States, was established and organized in 1855. By act of Congress in 1891 a court of private land claims was established to determine land claims and grants under the United States law. This court expired in 1903. There have also been other special courts of limited duration, such as the court on the Spanish War claims. The judiciary system of the District of Columbia is Federal, constituted by Congress and consisting of a Supreme Court with powers corresponding to those of the United States District Courts. By act of Congress, June 18, 1910, a commerce court of five judges was created to have the same jurisdiction possessed by circuit courts over cases for the enforcement of orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission other than for the payment of money; over disputes arising from the action of the Interstate Commerce Commission; etc.*

* Thomas M. Cooley, *General Principles of Constitutional Law in the United States of America* (Boston, 1880); A. P. C. Griffin, *List of References on Federal Control of Commerce and Corporations* (Library of Congress, Washington, 1903); W. H. Barnes, *The United States Supreme Court* (Washington, 1877); H. W. Scott, *Distinguished American Lawyers* (New York, 1891); J. W. Schuckers, *Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase* (New York, 1874); Albert B. Hart, *Salmon P. Chase* (American Statesmen series, Boston, 1892).

CHAPTER IV.

1865-1912.

THE FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS.*

State constitutions adopted since the Civil War — Characteristics and tendencies in newer constitutions — Methods of enacting and amending constitutions — Ease and frequency of change.

Thirty-six States were admitted to the Union up to 1865 and twelve States after 1865. The latter are as follows:

- 1866. Nebraska. Enabling act of Congress 1864; Congressional act for admission and President's proclamation announcing admission, both 1867. Later constitution, 1875.
- 1876. Colorado. Enabling act of Congress, 1875, and President's proclamation announcing admission, 1876.
- 1889. Idaho. Enabling act of Congress 1890.
- 1889. Montana. Enabling act of Congress and President's proclamation announcing admission, both 1889.
- 1889. North Dakota. Enabling act of Congress and President's proclamation of admission, both 1889.
- 1889. South Dakota. Same as North Dakota.
- 1889. Washington. Same as North Dakota.
- 1889. Wyoming. Congressional act for admission, 1890.
- 1895. Utah. Enabling act of Congress 1894, and President's proclamation of admission, 1896.
- 1907. Oklahoma. Enabling act of Congress 1906, and President's proclamation of admission, 1907.
- 1910. Arizona. Enabling act of Congress 1910. Constitution adopted in 1910 but not approved by the President and Congress. Joint resolution of Congress August 21, 1911, granting statehood conditional upon elimination of objectionable provisions from State constitutions.
- 1910. New Mexico. Same as Arizona.

The constitutions of this period reveal a tendency to strengthen the powers of the executive and the judiciary; the governors and judges serve for a longer term and the governors have the limited veto power in all States save North Carolina. The legislatures during this period have important limitations put upon their powers particularly as affecting special legislation, internal improvements, State indebtedness, and the length of the legislative session. During this period, too, the field of administrative activity has been enlarged as required by the modern industrial State. The regulation of corporations, the government of cities, the conditions in factories and the hours of labor, public health, public schools, charitable and reformatory institutions, etc., all are considered in the constitutions of this period.

One of the most noticeable features of the newer constitutions is their great similarity. They have an endless variety of detail, but they agree in essentials. Whatever tendencies have been at work, the influence has been the same throughout the Union.

* Prepared for this History by William George Jordan, formerly Secretary of the Governors' Conference.

The constitutions are all longer, the old topics being treated at far greater length than in the first half of the Nineteenth century and the latter part of the Eighteenth century. Education, railroads, private law, State and municipal indebtedness are among the topics which were either untouched or very indifferently mentioned in the early constitutions. The later provisions regarding the judiciary, and particularly those restricting the power of the legislature, have grown far more minute in recent years. This is attributed to the frequent abuses of power and the waning respect for legislative authority. "The time might almost seem to have come," observes Mr. Bryce, "for prescribing that, like Congress, they [the legislatures] should be entitled to legislate on certain enumerated subjects only, and be always required to establish affirmatively their competence to deal with any given topic."

Perhaps the one thing most noticeable in the development of the State constitutions has been the earlier exalting of the powers of the legislature and their subsequent diminution by restrictive clauses inserted in the fundamental law, extending the direct interference of the people through their representatives and changing the constitution itself from a short and simple document to a long and complex one. Just how far this will go in coming years it is impossible to foresee. It is but natural, after all, that the checks and balances of government

should be brought into the fundamental law and there made to represent the guiding principles both of our National life and personal relations, just as the Ten Commandments of old stood by themselves as a fundamental digest or code of laws embracing the many other provisions in the ancient scheme of government; for the State constitution of to-day stands in relation to the statute law as the Ten Commandments stood in relation to the other laws of Moses which follow the Twentieth Chapter of Exodus.

A slight reaction might be noted after the Civil War, up to which time there had been a strong Democratic tendency in all American institutions. The reaction was not against popular sovereignty, which had grown stronger than ever, it was as already stated in favor of strengthening the executive and judicial departments. Undoubtedly the most notable development since 1865 has been the narrowing legislative activity and the checking of its powers by a variety of complicated restrictions. Mr. Bryce, a commentator who is read to-day with as much respect and interest for his clear observation and illuminating suggestion as when he first published *The American Commonwealth*, has this to say regarding this most notable feature in the development of the State constitutions: "It may seem that to take powers away from the legislature is to give them to the people, and is therefore another step towards pure democracy. But in

America this is not so, because a legislature always yields to any popular clamor, however transient, while direct legislation by the people involves some delay. Such provisions are therefore conservative in their results, and are really checks imposed by the citizens upon themselves.”

Since 1789 the States which have been admitted to the Union have previously drawn up their constitutions and submitted them to Congress for approval; or else Congress has passed an act empowering the people of the territory seeking statehood to hold a convention and enact a constitution, and the constitution so enacted has received Congressional endorsement. A state constitution must contain no provisions contrary to the declarations of the Federal Constitution, and none contrary to the decisions of the United States Supreme Court interpreting the Federal Constitution, or opposed to any treaty authorized under the Federal Constitution.

State Constitutions are amended in three different ways in a manner prescribed in the constitutions themselves. Many of them provide for amendment through a constitutional convention to which delegates are nominated and elected. Another method, prescribed in all the States except New Hampshire, is by action of the legislature which is afterward ratified by popular vote. Finally, we now have the method recently adopted in several of the States that of the popular initiative and referendum.

When a new constitution is to take the place of an existing one, the constitutional convention is called for the purpose of drafting and discussing each new provision proposed, and the form of the whole instrument. In several States the existing constitutions provide that such conventions shall be held at regular intervals; and in a number of other States the constitutions require that the people shall vote every seven, ten, sixteen, or twenty years whether a constitutional convention shall be called; and in still other States the legislature is given the power to decide in favor of such convention being called (a two-thirds vote of the members of both houses being generally necessary to pass such a resolution).

The method is to give notice by publication in the newspapers. Then a vote of the people is taken on the question whether a convention shall be called, and the result of this vote determines the action of the legislature, thus: If there is a majority vote in favor of the convention, the time and place of holding it is decided by the legislature, which also arranged for the election of delegates. It is the common practice now to submit the new constitution which the convention has drafted to the vote of the people for their endorsement or rejection. Down to 1887, 157 constitutional conventions had met, 113 of which, following the lead of Massachusetts (1780), submitted their work to the people.

When the entire constitution is not to be revised, special amendments are adopted by the legislature, in many of the States, and submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection. In some of the States only a majority vote is necessary to pass a resolution making a proposal of amendment, but in most States it takes the vote of two-thirds or three-fourths of the members of each house. Some States require that the resolutions be proposed by two successive legislatures before they are acted upon. At some regular election the people ratify or reject at the polls the amendment so proposed by the legislature, special majorities of the popular vote being sometimes required.

The third method of amending a constitution—that of the initiative and referendum—operates by a certain per cent. of the legal voters (eight per cent. in Oregon, for example) proposing the amendment by petition. The proposal is submitted to popular vote and is made part of the constitution if upheld by a majority of the voters. A notable feature in the later development of the State constitutions is the tendency of the new democratic spirit to refer everything to the direct vote of the people.

Some States have made frequent changes in their constitutions, others but few, there being on the whole a strong conservative tendency. This tendency should be, of course, and

usually is, a feature inherent in the very being of such an instrument. The name “constitution” itself means a body of law by which the government is constituted and given organization and functions. Frequent changes, therefore, as well as the introduction of too great a number of subjects which belong more properly to private law through statutory enactments, regulating the relations of citizens to each other in their private capacities, are not in accord with the nature of the instrument and scarcely fall within its legitimate province. Nevertheless, the constitution makers of to-day, particularly those of the newer States admitted to the Union in the last forty years, have shown a most marked tendency to make numerous changes and to treat a great variety of subjects in this instrument. It is undoubtedly true that respect for the State constitutions would be greater if the changes were fewer and that the changes would be fewer if respect were greater. Mr. Bryce went so far as to say that, although a constitution is the fundamental and supreme law of the State, its provisions are no better observed and enforced than those of an ordinary statute; but this is very much to be doubted at present, whatever the facts were in 1889 when *The American Commonwealth* first appeared.

So far as concerns unrestricted proposal of amendments by a single legislative action and the adoption of

amendments by the vote of a majority of the persons voting thereon, there is an undoubted tendency toward the easy amending process. The development in quite recent years has been to make amendment still easier by giving to the people the power of initiating amendments. The constitutions which illustrate best the easy amending tendency are those of California (1897), Florida (1885), Georgia (1877), Idaho (1889), Louisiana (1898), Maine (1819), Maryland (1867), Missouri (1875), Michigan (1908), North Carolina (1875), Oregon (1906), South Dakota (1889), Texas (1875), Utah (1895), Washington (1889), and West Virginia (1872). To this group might be added Colorado, Kansas and Montana, which restrict the legislative proposal of amendments; also South Carolina, which provides for popular proposal and vote upon amendments. The States whose constitutions are least flexible, requiring a popular vote greater than that of a majority of all persons voting upon the amendment, are: Alabama (1901), Arkansas (1874), Illinois (1870), Indiana (1851), Minnesota (1898), Nebraska

(1875), Ohio (1851), Oklahoma (1907), Rhode Island (1842), Tennessee (1870), and Wyoming (1889). With them should be classed Mississippi (1890) and New Hampshire with its requirement that an amendment receive two-thirds of the vote cast upon the question of its adoption or rejection. Where, in addition to the requirement of a majority of all votes at an election, there are other restrictions upon the amending process, the alteration of a constitution often becomes practically impossible. This is true of Tennessee and to a smaller extent of Illinois and Indiana, owing to their special combinations of limitations.*

* F. N. Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws* (7 vols. compiled and edited under act of Congress, 1906); James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*; R. L. Ashley, *The American Federal State*; Charles Borgeaud, *Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America*; J. Q. Dealey, *Our State Constitutions*; H. Hitchcock, *American State Constitutions*; William B. Guitteau, *Government and Politics in the United States*; J. A. Jameson, *Constitutional Conventions*; Judson S. Landou, *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States*; E. McClain, *Constitutional Law in the United States*; James Schouler, *Constitutional Studies*; J. B. Phillips, *Recent State Constitution-Making*.

CHAPTER V.

1865-1912.

ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN REGULATING COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

Federal control of the railways — The Interstate Commerce Commission — Anti-trust legislation — The Sherman Law — Trust prosecutions — The Department of Commerce and Labor and its various bureaus — The Post-Office — The patent system — The Department of the Interior — The Treasury Department and the financial operations of the Government — Tariff legislation — Reciprocity treaties — The commercial importance of the Panama Canal — The Commercial effects of the Bureau of American Republics — The influence of diplomacy on trade — Waterway improvements.

The close of the Civil War marked the beginning of a new era in the United States. The material prosperity of the country had in a measure been halted by that colossal conflict. The dawn of peace brought new tariffs, new business methods, new agencies for the promotion of commerce, a multiplication of banks and clearing-houses, new laws affecting immigration and the conservation of natural resources. But the development of manufactures and commerce was furthered still more by the application of steam and electricity, the telephone and the telegraph, which made it possible to transact business over vast areas with little loss of time. The most revolutionary developments arose from the economic necessity of concentration, which endowed corporations with a tremendous power for good or evil.

Federal Control of Railroads.

In giving Congress control of foreign commerce, the Constitution gave it control also of interstate commerce,

which is foreign commerce in the eyes of the individual States. It was recognized, too, that the commerce clause, while framed to meet primitive conditions, must always be applied to living issues, for the development of the country necessitates statutory control of its expanding activities.

As no effective restrictions or regulations of corporate power could be obtained under a system of diverse State legislation, Congress essayed the correction of the abuses of corporate power in interstate commerce. Discriminations, special rates, rebates and concessions were made between shippers, which fostered monopoly, enriched favored patrons, and strangled individual enterprise. Such a situation called for some kind of restraint.

Federal control of railroad rates began in 1866, but no serious attempt at regulation was made until the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which forbids unjust and unreasonable charges and discriminations by special rates, or rebates, or any unreasonable

advantage to any particular person, or corporation, firm, or locality, or class of traffic.* It forbids the charging, under like circumstances, of a larger sum for the shorter than for the longer haul over the same road. It prohibits the pooling of freights and the division of earnings, requires publicity of rates, and confers upon the Interstate Commerce Commission, created by act of Congress, power to carry out its provisions. This act was amended by the acts of 1889, 1891, 1893, 1903, 1906, and 1910, each representing an addition to the organic growth of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. Of these the most important are the Elkins Act of 1903, which prevents unjust discrimination in railroad charges; the Hepburn Act of 1906 which first gave really effective force to provisions that were merely tentative in preceding acts; and the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which extends the duties and jurisdiction of the Commission both as to carriers formerly subject to law and to other agencies of transportation and transmission. Although the passage of these laws was fought both by trusts and railroad companies, the result has been that the railroads have grown stronger each year, and the rigid prohibitions as to rebates and free passages had an immense effect in improving earnings. The laws that restrict freedom of action throughout the whole rail-

road system, as to its administration, have created vastly improved economic conditions.

The Commission has power to inquire into the management of the business of the common carriers engaged in interstate commerce and to obtain all necessary information for destroying the rebate system and other discriminations, so as to put all shippers on a basis of equality. The Commission is not given the general rate-making power, however, though it can name a reasonable rate for a particular service and adjust overcharges. It also has authority to suspend proposed rates pending investigation as to their reasonableness. On the other hand, where circumstances require swift action, certain rates may be established on short notice. It is required by law to report to the Attorney-General all violations of the interstate commerce laws.

The Commission supervises also steamboat lines doing an interstate business in connection with the railroads under common control, and includes supervision of the interstate commerce of express companies, sleeping car companies, telegraph, cable, and wireless telegraph companies, and pipe line concerns transmitting commodities other than water or gas. The Commission has supervision of railroad accidents, and investigates all such accidents on its own initiative. Congress had adopted the policy of forcing upon railroad corporations the use of safety appliances to reduce ac-

* See pp. 35-36, *ante*. See also chapter on Interstate Commerce by Professor Huebner, *ante*.

cidents to a minimum. The Block Signal and Train Control Board, organized by the Commission, has charge of investigating the thousands of devices that apply to signals, coupling of cars, ties, rails, switches, automatic train control, non-telescoping devices, and inspection of locomotives. Under the provisions of the Erdman Act, a member of the Commission may be appointed by the President to coöperate with the Commissioner of Labor with a view of settling any differences that may arise between railroads and their employés. This law has proved of great benefit to the parties concerned in settling many disputes by arbitration.

Anti-Trust Legislation.

An aggregation of several industrial organizations of a similar kind under a single control is denominated a trust.* The trust was preceded by the combination, which was a feature of industrial development from 1872 to 1882 and which aimed simply at similarity of action between the corporations included therein in maintaining a fixed price, limiting territory, the output of goods, sales-combinations, or profit-sharing arrangements. Combinations were generally held to be illegal at common law and the majority of the States created laws penalizing them. They were superseded in the 80's by the trust. A more ad-

vanced form of trust, and its successor in most cases, is the holding corporation, which differs in certain respects from the usual type of trust. Its property consists of a majority of shares of stock in various corporations, its directors voting the shares held by it at the meetings of the subsidiary corporations and receiving the apportioned dividends. A holding company is a corporation of corporations, which, by virtue of holding a majority of the stock in each, elects the directors of all and through them operates the individual corporations in the interest of the holding corporation.

The legal status of the holding corporation is highly complicated, since it operates under two conflicting jurisdictions, each supreme in its own field — those of the State and Federal governments. Many of the States, under the leadership of New Jersey, have made laws legalizing holding corporations under certain conditions, but these are subject to Federal control only in so far as they interfere with interstate trade.

Public opinion demanded that the pernicious activities of the trusts be curbed, and the first law on the subject (known as the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890 and entitled "An act to protect commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies") was passed by Congress and signed by the President on July 2, 1890.* This Act declares that every contract, combina-

* In this connection see the chapter on Trusts and Industrial Combinations and Associations, *ante*.

* For complete text see *ante*, pp. 46-47.

tion in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is illegal. Any person making such combination or conspiracy is guilty of a misdemeanor, and such offence is punishable by a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both punishments at the discretion of the court.

A significant example of the working of the Sherman Act is exhibited in the defeat of the Northern Securities Company, which was organized in 1901 under the laws of New Jersey as a holding corporation, with power to purchase the securities of any other corporation. Its certificates were exchanged for the stock and bonds of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railways, two parallel railway systems which were thus merged. The Supreme Court declared the combination illegal, being in restraint of interstate and international commerce.

While in theory the Sherman Law prohibits every combination in restraint of interstate commerce, yet in practice few of the large trusts have been prosecuted successfully. It has been held that its provisions are too dangerous to the innocent to be enforced against the guilty. But the act has demonstrated the important principle that Congress, by virtue of its power to regulate interstate commerce, may forbid any conspiracy or combination in restraint of interstate commerce and that a contract for

the purchase price of goods cannot be enforced if such contract forms one of the essential factors in an illegal scheme.

While the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was aimed chiefly at industrial combinations, the decisions of the Supreme Court have made this law an important part of legislation for the regulation of railroads. In fact, its interpretations have given it a wider field of action in inter-railway relations than as a regulator of the relations of purely industrial corporations. The enforcement of the Sherman Law has been greatly facilitated by the enactment of several laws making the testimony of witnesses compulsory and granting immunity to the persons so testifying. These laws, together with the "Expediting Act" of 1903 (which provides that in important cases prosecuted under both the Interstate Commerce and Sherman acts, where the Government is the complainant, a direct appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court), have greatly facilitated the enforcement of trust legislation.

But up to the present time anti-trust legislation has failed to destroy the tendency of corporations to become monopolies or to repress the restraints they exercise upon production and trade. In 1892, when the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the first and most famous trust, was declared by the circuit court to be an illegal combination, the trustees dissolved the corporation by exchange-

ing its certificates for a *pro rata* number of shares in 20 subordinate corporations which controlled the remaining companies in the original trust. In 1899 the charter of the company was amended to allow it to hold and sell the stock of other corporations, and thus the company became the holding company for the Standard Oil interests then distributed among 19 concerns. In 1906 the Attorney-General sued the company in the United States court, and in 1909 its decision declared the company an illegal combination under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and enjoined it from continuing business in its existing form. The company simply exchanged its certificates for shares *pro rata* in each of the 19 subordinate companies and continues doing business, as heretofore, under a mere technical change of form. Another important case was that of the so-called Tobacco Trust.

The Department of Commerce and Labor.

No other department of the Federal government comprises such varied activities for the regulation of commerce and labor as this. The Bureau of Corporations, established in 1903, is authorized to make diligent investigation into the organization, conduct, and management of the business of any corporation, joint stock company, or corporate combination engaged in commerce among the several States, so as to furnish Congress data for legislation for the regulation of such commerce.

The work and province of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization are clearly expressed in its name. A tax of \$4 per immigrant more than defrays the cost of maintaining this Bureau. The Act to Encourage Immigration passed in 1864 allowed the agents of American employers to employ laborers in foreign countries who pledged their wages for cost of shipment hither. This act was repealed in 1868, and in 1875 the importation of coolies was forbidden. The Passenger Act of 1882 excluded convicts, lunatics, idiots, or any persons likely to become a public charge. The Knights of Labor started an agitation against the competition of employes engaged abroad to work at European wages, and in 1885 the Alien Contract Labor Law made it unlawful to assist the immigration of foreign labor under wage contract. Chinese are excluded by the Exclusion Act of 1882, reënacted in 1902.

The Bureau of Labor is concerned with the more radical study of the condition of the laboring classes of the country, but not with the enforcement of labor laws. It collects and publishes information regarding the cost of food, the economic laws for the amelioration of the condition of the working population in other countries, the railroad pension systems in the United States, strikes and strike conditions, laws enforcing compensation for accidents to workmen in foreign countries, old age pensions wherever

compulsory, and the conditions of woman and child labor. In 1869 Congress passed a law fixing an eight-hour day for all workmen in the employ of the United States.

Just as the Bureau of Labor is concerned with the economic welfare of the laborer, so the Bureau of Manufactures seeks to promote the commercial interest of manufacturers. It was provided for by the act of 1903, but was not organized until 1905. It is engaged in classifying the vast amount of commercial information relating to foreign countries supplied by our consuls. Thus the Consular Service, which belongs to the Department of State, is really an adjunct to the Bureau of Manufactures. It deals with commercial affairs in foreign lands, but has nothing to do with political matters, which is the province of the Diplomatic Service. The information supplied by the Consular Service is the means of opening new markets for American commerce and is given to the public in the form of the Consular and Trade Reports. The International Commercial Directory, containing the names of buyers of goods in foreign countries, is one of the achievements of this Bureau.

The Bureau of Fisheries represents a very interesting phase of the activity of this Department and stimulates a highly profitable form of commerce and labor. It annually distributes over 3,000,000,000 eggs and fish. The conservation of oysters, sponges,

lobsters, terrapin, clams and seaweed is being provided for.

An altogether uncommercial function is that of the Lighthouse Board, which has charge of the construction and maintenance of lighthouses on the coasts of the United States. It was first organized in 1789, but its present establishment dates from the law of 1852. It was transferred from the Department of the Treasury to that of Commerce and Labor in 1903. Its duties include the construction and maintenance of light vessels, lighthouse depots, beacons, fog signals, buoys, and everything pertaining to the lighthouse establishment.

The Bureau of Navigation, as its name clearly indicates, has general supervision of the merchant marine and merchant seaman of the United States; yet, strangely enough, it remained as division of the Treasury Department up to 1884. It has general charge of the registration, enrolment and licensing of vessels, and reports on the operation of all laws relating to navigation.

The Steamboat Inspection Service was founded in 1839, reorganized in 1852, and transferred to the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903. Its duty, as its name implies, is to inspect all steam vessels of the United States and those clearing from American ports. It has charge of the general administration of the laws relating to vessels and their officers.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey

dates from 1870, but its methodical organization came in 1832, and its present name in 1878. It was added to the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903. It is charged with the survey of the coasts of the United States and rivers to head of tidewater, or ship navigation, deep sea soundings, researches as to ocean currents, magnetic observations, determination of latitude, longitude and azimuth of geographical positions, and reference points for State surveys. The publications of the survey comprise charts of coast and harbors, advance tide tables, sailing directions in all navigable waters, etc.

The Act of June 1910 created a special court, known as the United States Commerce Court, which was given jurisdiction of all suits brought to enforce the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The first session of this court was held on February 15, 1911, and since then no decision has been rendered by the various circuit courts.

The Post-Office.

The Post-Office is a most important adjunct to the commerce of the country and is the largest institution of its kind in the world. It requires 300,000 employes to handle its enormous business, consisting of 15,000,000,000 pieces of mail matter a year. Its growth has been phenomenal. In 1837 the average citizen spent 32 cents a year in postage, whereas he now spends \$2.30. The receipts vary from

\$5 a year at the smallest post-office to \$25,000,000 a year at the largest.

The railway postal service has 18,000 employes, and its work is the most vital part of the system. The transportation of mails on railways costs \$50,000,000 a year and the pay of the clerks amounts to \$20,000,000 more. The rural free delivery service costs about \$44,000,000 a year, yet does not produce one-fourth of this in revenue. The Government mail, which is carried free, amounts to 50,000,000 pounds annually. The dead-letter office handles yearly 12,000,000 letters and 8,000,000 postals. The most recent innovation in the postal service is the creation of a postal-savings system. Deposits were first accepted on January 3, 1911, in 48 post offices. An agitation for a parcels post recently resulted in the extension of the postal service to carry parcels of the maximum weight of 11 pounds at the rate of 12 cents per pound.

The Patent Office.

Though not such a universal necessity as the Post-Office, the patent office, by its encouragement of American ingenuity, has done as much as, if not more than, any other agency of the Government to make the United States the richest and most powerful nation in the world. Over 36,000 patents for new inventions is the present yearly record. During the last 40 years inventions in the field of electricity alone have created an industry in which the total capital invested is

\$7,000,000,000, employing hundreds of thousands of workmen, with annual salaries aggregating \$350,000,000. Of the 3,000,000 patents issued throughout the world since the institution of such systems, about 1,000,000 have been issued in the United States.

The Department of the Interior.

This department is composed of several unrelated bureaus, chief of which is the General Land Office. With a territory to dispose of consisting in all of 1,835,000,000 acres, it has granted or sold to the people of the United States 1,135,000,000 acres. A large proportion of the public lands has been distributed free in homesteads of 160 acres each. Congress has recently passed a law permitting farmers to settle upon coal lands, while reserving the underlying coal deposits, and in this way crops can be raised pending the exploiting of the coal itself. Thus millions of acres of fertile land have been made available for husbandry.*

The Pension Office is another bureau of the Interior Department. The total number of pensioners on the pension roll at the beginning of 1912 was 900,000. The survivors of the Civil War number over 500,000. The names cancelled by death number 30,000 per annum. The annual payment of pensions for 1911 amounted to \$158,000,000, the average pension being \$171.90. The total amount paid out for pensions up to the beginning

of the fiscal year in 1911 was \$4,000,000,000.

The Reclamation Service of the Interior Department, which is concerned with the irrigation of desert regions in the Western States, is calculated to add enormously to the wealth and commerce of the country. An act of Congress in 1902 set apart all funds received from the sale of public lands in certain States and Territories, which resulted in an aggregate of \$68,000,000. This amount, with other funds appropriated by Congress, has been used in constructing irrigation works, each settler obtaining 40 acres as a homestead. Over 11,000 acres have been thus reclaimed from the desert. The cost of construction is repaid to the Government by the settlers in small annual payments. In some cases the settlers pay for water rights in labor on ditches, flumes, and canals used in irrigation. The yield in crops on irrigated land far exceeds that of lands not irrigated.*

The Treasury Department.

The Treasury Department exercises a most potent influence on the commerce of the country. Among the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury are the preparation of the annual budget, looking after the collection of the revenues, and supervising all the fiscal operations of the Government. He is assisted by three assistant secre-

* See chapter VII. ("Internal Improvements") and VIII. ("Conservation of Natural Resources"), ff.

* See chapter on Land System, *ante*.

taries; several auditors for the different executive departments; the treasurer, who has charge of the receipt and disbursement of money; a comptroller of the currency, who oversees the National banks; a comptroller of the treasury, who supervises all accounts in dispute; a director of the mint, which coins specie of gold, silver, nickel, and copper; a superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which prints paper money and postage stamps and protects people from counterfeiters; and a commissioner of internal revenue, who collects the excise taxes on distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco. During the Civil War Congress issued \$450,000,000 in Treasury notes known as "greenbacks." They became worth so much less than gold that they drove coin out of circulation and remained below par until Congress redeemed them in gold on January 1, 1879. The Supreme Court having decided that Congress could issue paper money in times of peace as well as of war, the Treasury notes of 1890 paid out for silver bullion purchased under the Sherman Act of that year are legal tender. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, paying for it in legal tender paper. The law was repealed during the panic of 1893. Gold and silver certificates are being constantly issued in place of gold and silver coins, the paper being much more convenient to handle. A good part of our business

is done by means of paper money issued by banks chartered under National law. The currency law passed in March of 1900 transformed the whole monetary system of the country. The gold dollar was made the standard of value, and all forms of money issued or coined by the Government reached a parity with gold. The Treasury notes of 1890 were to be retired as soon as possible, their place in circulation being taken by new silver coins or new silver certificates. Greenbacks paid into the Treasury were not to be reissued save for gold, and for the redemption of greenbacks a gold reserve of \$150,000,000 was to be maintained. New regulations regarding the denomination of the different kinds of paper money and bank notes to be issued were enacted, so that no gold certificates for less than \$20 or silver certificates for more than \$10 would be issued. The act included other salutary monetary reforms, reducing the monetary laws to some order.*

Tariff Legislation.

Perhaps the most important way in which the Government regulates our commerce and industry is through tariff legislation. The excessive war tariffs necessary for raising revenues to prosecute the war had educated the people to the cause of high protection. It was necessary indeed to continue to saddle the Nation with high

* See chapters XI. and XII., *ante*, on Banking, Currency, and Finance, and the index under these titles.

taxation of both imports and domestic products to provide for a financial indebtedness of \$2,800,000,000 as the aftermath of the titanic conflict. To adjust a tariff to the exigencies of the situation was a serious task. Prices were 90 per cent higher than before the war, while wages were only 60 per cent higher. Though the duties on imports were supposed to balance internal taxation equitably, the greatest inequalities existed. The tariff in many cases fell below the taxes, while in others the taxes greatly exceeded the tariff. The manufacturers clamored for more protection, and Congress, following to the line of least resistance, abolished those taxes that bore most heavily on the productive resources of the country. The most important acts for reducing the internal revenue of the country were those enacted in July of 1866, March of 1867, July of 1870, and June of 1872. The reduction of the war tariff was a different kind of proposition. Many industries had been established and others greatly extended under the influence of the war tariffs, and the projectors of these industries claimed they would be ruined by any change. Thus extreme protection, which was looked upon only as a temporary expedient during war times, came to be regarded as a permanent institution.

Mr. Wells' tariff bill of 1867, which proposed to reduce the duty on raw materials and which either maintained the duties on manufactured goods without charge or only slightly low-

ered them so as to deprive them of their pernicious effect, was passed by the Senate but did not obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the House. On the other hand, at the demand of the wool growers, Mr. Hayes in 1867 introduced a wool bill providing a duty that would prohibit imports, and, by dint of personal influence, secured a tariff of 50 cents a pound, and 35 per cent. *ad valorem* on wool.*

The success of the wool bill led the Lake Superior copper interests to demand protection for copper, and, by virtue of a strongly organized lobby they secured the passage of a bill in February of 1869 that put a duty of 25 cents a pound on copper ore. This, however, was vetoed by the President. The increased cost of copper put an end to the copper bottoming and repairing of wooden ships, just as the high tariff on iron and lumber was putting an end to iron shipbuilding. The act of 1870 reduced the duty on pig iron, brandy, sugar and spices, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, and those on tea and coffee 40 per cent. The inspiration of the bill was the demand for "a free breakfast table." The Dawes bill of 1872 was another compromise between political and commercial pressure and allowed a reduction of 10 per cent. on articles made of cotton, wool, iron, paper, glass and leather, and a reduction on lumber, coal, salt, and several

* For the legislative history of these bills see previous pages of this History and the Index under "Tariff."

other articles. Materials to be used for shipbuilding in the United States were admitted free. A bill was passed also taking the duty off tea and coffee entirely. The tariff of 1883 was intended as a concession to a general desire for a real revision of the tariff, but in reality it made but few changes in the protective system. The panic of 1873 furnished an excuse for the tariff bill of 1890, known as the McKinley bill, in which rates on all industrial products needing protection were increased. In some cases these were practically prohibitory. On the other hand, the duty on refined sugar was reduced from $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents to $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound, the duties on raw sugar were repealed, and a bounty of 2 cents a pound was allowed for 14 years on the production of sugar within the United States. The act also recognized commercial reciprocity, and commercial agreements relating to the reciprocal trade were made with Brazil; Spain, on behalf of her colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico; San Domingo; Guatemala; Salvador; Germany; Great Britain, on behalf of her West Indian colonies; Nicaragua; Honduras; and Austria-Hungary. On the whole, the McKinley bill proved unpopular, as prices and the cost of living increased with no compensating advance in wages.

The losses sustained by the Republicans, due to a widespread belief in the political immorality of the McKinley tariff, were regarded by the Democrats as an endorsement of their tariff

principles. The Democrats won in the campaign of 1892, with the tariff as the dominant issue. In 1894 the Wilson bill was passed, which placed most raw materials on the free list, reduced somewhat the protective duties, and provided for an income tax on incomes exceeding \$4,000 a year. The bill was merely a compromise between the warring factions—one party desiring the maintenance of protection and the other a tariff of revenue only. It reduced the average of the McKinley bill of 49.5 per cent. to an average of 39.94 per cent. President Cleveland, declaring that it was based on no distinctive principle, permitted it to become law without his signature. The Supreme Court declared the income-tax clause unconstitutional and thus made it a dead letter.

The Republicans once more came into power in 1896 and President McKinley, though really elected on the currency issue, regarded the victory as an endorsement of his protective policy. The Dingley tariff bill of 1897 gave protective duties to every business interest that could possibly be encouraged by them, the rates being higher than those fixed by any previous tariff. The average range of duties was 57 per cent.

During his administration, Mr. Roosevelt adroitly avoided meddling with the tariff, but in the campaign of 1908 the Republican party declared for a downward revision, and on this pledge elected its candidate, Mr. Taft.

The Payne-Aldrich bill of 1909, however, was an upward rather than a downward revision of the tariff. There was a slight reduction of duty on a few articles, it is true, but the intensive protection of favored industries was continued.

The Panama Canal.

The most epoch-making event of recent years was the determination of Congress to build the Panama Canal.* The piercing of the isthmus uniting the two Americas by a ship canal will probably revolutionize the commerce of the world. Distance of from 5,000 to 10,000 miles will be clipped off most oceanic voyages. The eastern seaboard of the United States will be brought 8,000 miles nearer the Pacific coast. The canal is over 40 miles in length, the middle section of 34 miles being 85 feet above sea level. Vessels are to be admitted to this section by means of gigantic double locks both on the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the canal. For the greater part of its length, the canal is a great lake formed by the colossal Gatun Dam, which causes the waters of the Chagres River to flood its valley over an area of 164 square miles. The minimum depth of the canal throughout is 45 feet, and it will permit the passage of 100,000,000 tons of freight between the oceans per annum, without overtaxing its capacity.

The Pan-American Union.

Among the indirect means by which the general government has stimulated American commerce and industry is the Pan-American Union. In 1823 President Monroe announced his famous doctrine that the welfare of the United States made it necessary that no country of the Old World should acquire another foot of territory in the New, and that attempts to do so would be regarded as acts of unwarranted aggression. This doctrine has become a principle in international law, and as a result the American republics have been drawn together by political and commercial interests. The building of the Panama Canal has intensified this feeling. The Pan-American Union was organized at the conference held in Washington in 1890 and was presided over by James G. Blaine, Secretary of State. The attending delegates passed a resolution providing for a commercial Bureau of the American republics that would collect and distribute commercial information of all kinds, not only in order to increase the volume of trade between the respective countries, but also to redeem their peoples from the ignorance of each other which, unhappily, existed hitherto. Congress purchased land in Washington for the sum of \$250,000 on which to build a palatial structure to house the Pan-American Union. The cost of the building was \$1,000,000, of which Mr. Andrew Carnegie defrayed \$750,000. It is the permanent home

* For the history of the canal see previous pages of this volume.

of the American republics, containing assembly hall, banqueting rooms, committee rooms, a patio in the Moorish style, with its garden of tropical flowers.

Dollar Diplomacy.

One of the latest functions of Congress, acting through the Department of State, is the use of American dollars to stimulate the expansion of trade and the rehabilitation of the weaker American republics and in advancing forms in China and elsewhere. The promotion of foreign trade is the *raison d'être* of this new department in international economics.

In the tariff negotiations of 1910, which were carried on with several foreign countries for the purpose of adjusting the requirements of the maximum and minimum provisions of the Payne-Aldrich law, the Department of State, in the interest of equality of commercial treatment in foreign markets for American products and of like products of competing countries, has effected such regulations as will greatly stimulate trade. For example, in the Brazilian budget for 1911 and 1912 a considerable number of American products have been granted a reduction of 20 per cent.

In 1907 the United States agreed to collect the customs revenues of San Domingo through a receiver-general. The foreign bondholders agreed to this arrangement because the interest was practically guaranteed by such interposition. Last year the revenues were \$3,485,000.

Liberia has undergone a process of financial housecleaning that has rescued it from impending bankruptcy. French and German bankers have co-operated with an American Receiver-General, and the progress of Liberia is assured. Similar arrangements are about to be made with Honduras and Nicaragua, by means of which the constantly recurring revolutions will be suppressed in favor of peace and prosperity.

In China American dollars are performing a function that is not only commercial, but moral as well. In the treaty of 1903 China abolished the liken, a most objectionable internal tax that crippled trade. Not only is American money earning interest in China, but is aiding to maintain her territorial integrity.

Waterways.

The waterways of the United States have an aggregate length of 60,000 miles, but only half of this mileage is used for navigation. From 1802 to 1890 Congress appropriated \$214,039,886 for deepening and improving harbors and waterways. From 1890 to 1906 the amount was \$301,447,046. Gigantic projects are being urged in the construction of new waterways. Among the plans under consideration is that of a canal from Boston to Jacksonville, Florida, and across Florida to the Gulf of Mexico, so that ships can avoid the dangers of the ocean. Another plan is to link Lake Michigan with the Gulf of Mexico by

a deep canal and a deepening of the Mississippi River. Some States are doing great work in building new waterways. New York State is building a new barge canal running along the old Erie Canal from Albany to Buffalo, with a branch from Syracuse to Oswego.

CHAPTER VI.

1865-1912.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY IN REGULATING COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

Promotion of commerce and industry by the Government after the Civil War — First attempt to regulate interstate commerce — State anti-trust legislation — The Missouri law — The Illinois act — Railroad commissions — The Granger movement — Recent regulation of interstate commerce — The Public Service Commission.

After the close of the Civil War the policy of direct government aid in stimulating industry was generally confined to the United States as a whole. In fact, this reversal of State policy began even before the war. The untoward experiences of many States and municipalities in aiding turnpike, canal and railroad construction had much to do with this change in public sentiment, and the urgency of the great political questions that beset the country for over a decade prior to 1861, kept men's minds in uncertainty and their thoughts on other matters than the future industrial development. Nationalism, as distinguished from the old-time Federalism, was the prime outcome of the war, and that greatly encouraged the tendency of relegating all questions of trade, commerce and industry to the central government. State rights had gone into the background, and though this mostly affected the South, all the States felt the change. Accordingly

the history of this period shows an almost complete absence of State or municipal concern for the advancement of private business interests. Abundant National aid in a protective tariff, in land grants to railroads, in expenditures for harbor and river improvements, and in other ways, was forthcoming. An era of great business and industrial prosperity followed; business became stronger than the political State. It controlled legislation in many commonwealths and its interests were advanced in many ways by special privileges, franchises and so on, which took the place of the old-time bounties, subsidies, and State, county and municipal bond issues. But this policy finally fell very much into disfavor by the shift of public sentiment regarding corporate wealth after 1880.

It was not, however, until well toward the close of the century, when the problems arising from the concentration of capital in large corpor-

ate enterprises began to loom large in the public eye, that there was any very serious attempt anywhere in the United States at legislation at all intended in restraint of methods of trade. Congress made the first move in February of 1887, by passing the first act for the regulation of interstate commerce. Soon after, individual States began to take action.

In a little more than a decade 29 of the States and Territories had legislated on trusts, passing statutes defining monopoly more definitely and imposing penalties of an ultra-severe character, in order to meet existing business conditions and to prevent the enhancing of prices, the crushing of competition, and other interferences with the natural freedom of trade. To Maine belongs the distinction of enacting the first anti-trust law put upon the statute books of any State. It was passed in 1889 and was of a sweeping and drastic character. So far, however, little has been done under it. Closely following Maine, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, and the three Territories of Idaho, Montana and North Dakota also passed anti-trust laws. In 1890 Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana and South Dakota passed similar laws and Missouri added to that already on her statute book. In the three following years, Alabama, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, Wisconsin and California also fell into line with legislation, and later came Georgia, Indiana,

Mississippi, Ohio, Utah, Arkansas, Illinois, Oklahoma and South Carolina. The States of Washington and Wyoming put provisions against trusts into their constitutions in 1889, and Kentucky and Missouri in 1891. Ultimately Colorado, Idaho, Michigan, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Connecticut, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Utah legislated to the same end.

Naturally there was wide variance in the details of this legislation. In most of the States the law made it a crime for two or more persons to enter into an agreement which should prevent free competition and sale, whether such agreement be reasonable or unreasonable. Several States made it a criminal conspiracy for two or more persons to agree to regulate the quantity or price of any article to be manufactured, mined, produced or sold, whether prices be raised or lowered. In other States the attempt to monopolize any commodity by two or more persons in association was made a criminal offence. Mississippi declared in its statute that it was a criminal conspiracy for two or more persons, not simply to regulate prices, but also to settle the price of an article between themselves or between themselves and others.

As various as the definitions of what constituted the crime and the methods of judicial procedure against offenders were the penalties. These took the form of imprisonment and fining of individuals, fining of firms

and corporations, forfeiture of goods and franchises, liability for damages, and deprivation of the right to enforce contracts or collect debts. Imprisonment might be as short as thirty days or as long as ten years in the penitentiary. Georgia, Indiana, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas went to the limit of ten years. The possible fines for individuals ranged from \$50 to \$5,000. Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas naming the larger amount. In South Dakota, Montana and North Carolina a fine of \$10,000 was possible. In Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas the fines of corporations ran as high as \$5,000. In Montana, South Dakota, Utah and North Carolina the guilty corporation might be mulcted to the amount of \$10,000, and in Utah the fine for any offence subsequent to the third was \$15,000.

To a considerable extent, this legislation was successfully contested, mostly on the ground of unconstitutionality. Because they exempted certain special industries, the first anti-trust laws of Illinois, Texas, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Michigan and Tennessee were thus declared by the courts to be invalid. More effectual defence for the corporations was

found in the protection afforded them in several States, notably New Jersey, Delaware and Virginia. Those States, instead of following the example of others in passing exacting laws, extended their protection by liberal corporation legislation and became in popular parlance "the home of the trusts"—especially true of New Jersey. More than 90 per cent. of the large corporations which came into existence at that time were incorporated in one of these States, which had no anti-trust laws. Their corporations were unmolested, and their charters—and to a considerable extent their business—were protected from attack in other States under the interstate commercial comity guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Nevertheless some progress was made in the enforcement of the State laws, and under them some court decisions were rendered which added much to the distinction of American jurisprudence. The Missouri law made it a criminal conspiracy to maintain a pool, combine, agreement, confederation or understanding to regulate prices or to fix the premiums for fire insurance. Under this statute action was brought against the insurance companies doing business in the State and the case—*State vs. Firemen's Fund Insurance Company et al.*—was carried to the State Supreme Court, where it was decided to be constitutional. Seventy-two foreign insurance companies were convicted of combining and conspiring to fix and

maintain uniform premium rates and all were forbidden to do further business in the State. In every instance, the sentence was changed to a fine of \$1,000, which the companies paid and continued to do business in the State under the new law. Under the same act it was held that the National Lead Company, a holding corporation controlling between 50 and 75 per cent. of the white lead in the United States, was doing business in violation of the State law and therefore could not enforce payment for goods purchased by its customers in Missouri.

Statutes and cases under them in other States contributed much to the anti-corporation jurisprudence of this period. Under the Illinois Act the Distilling Feeding Company, a purchasing corporation formed to acquire the properties previously united in the Distillers and Cattle Feeders Trust, was compelled to surrender its charter in 1895. Under the same act the law was enforced in 1899 against a New Jersey corporation, the American Glucose Company, a constituent member of the Glucose Sugar Refining Company, which controlled more than 90 per cent. of the output of the country. In its decision the court forbade the company to sell its properties or contract with the holding company, holding it liable to the State law inasmuch as most of its business was done in Illinois, adding in the opinion:

"Citizens of Illinois cannot evade the laws of Illinois passed against trusts and combines and defy the public policy of the State, by going into

a foreign State, and chartering a corporation to do business in this State in violation of its laws. When these foreign corporations come into this State to do business they must conform to the laws and public policy of this State."

"Any combination of competing corporations for the purpose of controlling prices, or limiting production, or suppressing competition is contrary to public policy and void. It makes no difference whether the combination is effected through the instrumentality of trustees and trust certificates, or whether it is effected by creating a new corporation and converging to it all the property of the competing corporations."

The decision in this case was of special interest and importance, in being one of the earliest to set forth clearly and strongly the legal status of combinations in restraint of trade and to assert the rights of the State over foreign corporations. In these particulars it followed the decision of the Missouri courts rendered in the insurance cases a year before.

In its report of 1900 the United States Industrial Commission reviewed the legislation of the preceding ten years, explained the statutes that had been passed, and presented some of the most important decisions by the United States and State courts. Commenting upon the subject, the Commission expressed the opinion that "possibly at times the fear of a new form of business organization may have led to the extension of legal privileges of interference with private business beyond what the public welfare demands. Some of the statutes, if read literally, would seem to forbid many perfectly innocent associations among individuals; but the courts seem invariably to have assumed that

only monopoly — at least virtual monopoly — was attacked and the decisions have been made accordingly.” *

State legislation seeking to restrain or control business enterprises has concerned itself more with railroads than with any other form of corporate property. When the modern transportation system began in the United States (in the third decade of the Nineteenth century), no one had any conception of the magnitude this form of modern enterprise would assume and of the abuses of power that might develop to the public injury. The only thought then was to encourage the building of railroads as rapidly as practicable so as to give the people the quickest and greatest benefits to be derived from the new transportation service, and to that end to keep the enterprises as free as possible from any restrictions that might hinder their growth. More than a century had passed before the necessity of a reversion of policy in this particular began to be realized.

Early legislation to restrain the railroads originated in the States. Primarily it took the form of taxation, the fixing and enforcing of liabilities, and the supervision or control of charges. For the most part, this legislation was desultory, hasty and unscientific. Much of it was ill-considered, and, as a whole, ineffective.

After the Civil War had been brought to a close, many questions as to the relative rights of the railroads and the public pressed for solution. The first attempt to meet the situation was made in 1869 with the establishment of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission. This commission had little or no real power. It was merely supervisory and its influence, which gradually became considerable, was exercised entirely by an intelligent conservative policy of advice and direction, behind which grew up a strong supporting public opinion. In 1870 Illinois initiated a broader measure for control of railroads by establishing a State Railroad Commission vested with powers to prescribe maximum rates, prohibit discrimination, and generally to regulate the roads. In the course of time similar commissions were established in Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, California and other States. Some of these were patterned upon the Massachusetts idea, but most of them followed Illinois. The trend of the period was steadily toward broadening and increasing the power of the commissions. Everywhere they acquired a more positive position of authority and in some instances — notably in several Western States — their assumption of power to control the transportation corporation was little short of revolutionary. A few

* *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. ii., p. 8.

States failed to adopt these policies. Says one writer of authority:

"The exceptions to this general principle are significant. Eight Cordillieran States and two territories, where the need of transportation facilities overrides every other consideration, and five Eastern States, where the Railroad interests control the legislatures, have as yet provided no supervision commission." *

Coincident with the period of establishing railroad commissions was the Granger movement of the West in 1870-1877, directed almost entirely against the railroads of the country. One immediate result of this movement was anti-railroad legislation in several Western and Southern States, principally in the direction of fixing rates. Illinois passed the first law of this kind in 1871 (amended in 1873); afterward similar laws were passed by Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee and other States. Although the constitutionality of these laws was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1877, they did not always work so well industrially as their promoters had expected. They were most successful in some Southern States.

For a few years after 1900, there was a decided disposition to leave to the National Government the duty of regulating and controlling the large corporations engaged in inter-state commerce. So far had this gone that Secretary of State Root, in a notable speech in December of 1906, warned

the people that the failure of the States to curb predatory wealth would result in the continuous strengthening and centralization of power in the Nation. Presently, however, the pendulum began to swing in the other direction. Several of the Western States, notably Nebraska and Michigan, took vigorous action against the railroads on rate questions, and when the protection of the United States courts was sought the State authorities denounced this as subverting the powers and the rights of their commonwealths. The historic State rights principle was awakened again after its long slumber.

Several pieces of legislation in New York in this period show the growing popular demand for some sort of State supervision of corporate business. These included the new corporation act of 1897, a scientific, conservative and powerful statute, probably unsurpassed as a whole by any similar measure of any State in the Union, the establishment of the principle of a franchise tax upon corporations engaged in the public service; and the creation of the two Public Service Commissions in 1907. The commissions thus created succeeded the railroad, gas and electricity and rapid transit commissions with increased powers that gave them almost arbitrary control of the corporate management and public service of the steam and electric railroads, gas, telephone, telegraph and electric light companies. The act was the most advanced legis-

* Katherine Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, p. 324.

lation for State control of public utilities that had ever been enacted anywhere in the country. The general

success of the New York idea influenced New Jersey to create a similar commission.*

CHAPTER VII.

1865-1912.

HISTORY OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Early opposition to water transportation — Principal canals completed since 1860 — Canals and rivers utilized in 1880 — The Erie and other canals — The extent, importance, and history of the Panama Canal — Irrigation and land reclamation — The Desert Land Act — The National Irrigation Act — River and harbor improvement by the Federal government — Their cost and importance.

The ravages of the Civil War in the South and its repressive influences in the North had first a deterrent and next a stimulating effect upon internal improvements. What had been destroyed in the South and what had been neglected in the North called for prompt and vast undertakings after 1865. More attention than ever before was given to the canal system of the country and to the improvements of rivers and harbors.

Despite the destructive competition of railroads, there was still in many quarters a strong feeling in favor of the continuance and development of the canals of the country to meet the transportation needs of the commercial interests. That water transportation—interstate and, to the seaboard, feeding export—was cheaper than railroad transportation was not disputed. The influence of the railroads, however, was everywhere against the canals, and the political power exercised by those corpora-

tions as well as the quicker service rendered by rail, even though at

* Charles Fisk Beach, Sr., *A Treatise on the Law of Monopolies and Industrial Trusts in England and in the United States* (St. Louis, 1898); Richard T. Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts* (New York, 1900); Edward W. Bemis, *Municipal Monopolies* (New York, 1893); Robert B. Porter, *Municipal Ownership* (New York, 1898); Arthur T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation* (New York, 1885); A. B. Stickney, *The Railway Problem* (St. Paul, 1891); F. H. Dixon, *State Railroad Control* (New York, 1896); Frank Hendrick, *Railway Control by Commission* (New York, 1900); J. W. Jenks, *The Trust Problem* (New York, 1900); A. B. Nettleton, *Trusts or Competition?* (Chicago, 1900); Lyman Horace Weeks, *The Other Side, A Brief Account of the Development of Industrial Organizations in the United States* (New York, 1900); H. D. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth* (New York, 1894); William Miller Collier, *The Trusts* (New York, 1900); James Edward LeRossignol, *Monopolies Past and Present* (New York, 1901); Gilbert Holland Montague, *Trusts of To-Day* (New York, 1904); George L. Bolen, *The Plain Facts as to the Trusts and the Tariff* (New York, 1902); Albert Stickney, *State Control of Trade and Commerce by National or State Authority* (New York, 1897); William Hudson Harper, *Restraint of Trade: Pros and Cons of Trusts in Facts and Principles* (New York, 1900); Francis A. Adams, *Who Rules America?* (New York, 1899); Charles W. Baker, *Monopolies and the People* (New York,

greater cost, very nearly brought about the complete destruction of the canals. For example, the costly and useful Erie Canal across the State of New York was transformed into an almost worthless ditch by the insidious influences of the railroads which paralleled it. Not until the opening of the Twentieth century was there a general revival of interest in waterway transportation and a general recognition of the value of the canals and rivers of the country, both as supplementary to, and as salutary restraints upon, the monopolistic tendencies of the railroads.

The principal canals completed in and after 1860, their cost, and their mileage were:

| | | | |
|---|-------------|----|-------|
| Albemarle and Chesapeake, 1860 | \$1,641,363 | 44 | miles |
| Des Moines Rapids, 1877 | 4,582,009 | 7½ | " |
| Illinois and Mississippi, 1895 | 568,643 | 4½ | " |
| Louisville and Portland, 1872 | 5,578,631 | 2½ | " |
| Muscle Shoals and Elk River
Shoals, 1889 | 3,156,919 | 16 | " |
| Portage Lake and Lake Superior,
1873 | 528,892 | 25 | " |
| Port Arthur, 1889 | | 7 | " |
| Sante Fé, 1880 | 79,000 | 10 | " |
| Sault Ste. Marie, 1895 | 4,000,000 | 3 | " |
| Sturgeon Bay and Lake Michigan,
1881 | 99,661 | 1½ | " |
| St. Mary's Falls, 1896 | 7,909,367 | 1½ | " |

1899); William D. P. Bliss (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York, 1897); United States Industrial Commission, *Trusts and Industrial Combinations*, vol. ii. of the commission's reports (Washington, 1900); *Revised Statutes of the several States*; William Wilson Cook, *The Corporation Problem* (New York, 1891); Lionel Norman, *Legal Restraints on Modern Industrial Combinations and Monopolies in the United States* (St. Louis, 1899); J. J. Lalor (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States* (3 vols., Chicago, 1881); Katherine Coman, *Industrial History of the United States* (New York, 1905).

Another canal enterprise of vast importance was the Chicago Drainage Canal, intended chiefly to carry off the sewage of the city of Chicago, but available also for commercial purposes. It was begun in 1902 and completed several years later at a cost of \$45,000,000. The main channel (29 miles long, 22 feet minimum depth, and 160 feet wide at the bottom) is the largest artificial channel in the world.

In 1880 the canals and canalized rivers operated by the Federal government, State governments and corporations were 62 in number, with a mileage of 3,325 and a total construction cost of \$183,952,302. In 1889 the number was 67, the mileage 3,383, and the cost \$188,185,880; in 1906 it ran — number, 64, mileage, 3,644, and cost, \$233,208,863. Between 1880 and 1906 887 miles had been abandoned and there were additions of 1,296 miles, leaving a net increase of 409 miles and an increase in cost of \$49,256,561, or nearly 27 per cent. in a quarter of a century. In 1906 the canals and canalized rivers in the different States were: New York and Illinois, 6 each; Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Louisiana, 5 each; Texas and Oregon, 4 each; Ohio, Michigan, South Carolina and West Virginia, 3 each; New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Tennessee and Alabama, 2 each; Maryland, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa and Arkansas, 1 each.*

* *Transportation by water, 1906 Census Report.*

The history of the Erie Canal presents a striking illustration of the rise, decadence, and rejuvenation of canal facilities. From its completion in 1825 it was the source of almost untold commercial advantage to the West of the Great Lake region, to New York City, and to our foreign trade. After the middle of the century the influence of the railroads crossing central New York State almost succeeded in destroying it. Opposition to it was at times sufficiently strong to have the question of its entire abandonment seriously considered. Changes in the methods of modern transportation, demanding waterways adapted to large tonnage and using steam or electricity in place of the old-time horse-drawn canal boats, also lessened its usefulness. But general confidence in its commercial utility ultimately prevailed and in 1903, after years of public agitation, the people of the State, in a general election, approved a legislative enactment to expend \$101,000,000 for its enlargement and improvement, together with improvements of the Oswego and Champlain canals. Up to 1904 the cost of the Erie's construction, enlargement and maintenance was \$52,540,800, less than one-half the amount required after that date to make it a modern waterway. The Sault Ste. Marie ship canal, 63 miles in length and connecting Lakes Superior and Huron, is another of the great canals of the world, with an annual tonnage and freight movement

far exceeding those of the Suez Canal. Although extra-territorial, the Panama Canal is a government enterprise which politically and economically is destined to have a profound effect upon the future of the United States. In its engineering magnitude, its cost, its ultimate commercial and industrial influences and its international bearings, no single work has ever been undertaken by the Nation that is at all comparable with it. A canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was thought of as far back as 1513, and from that time until the latter part of the Nineteenth century the project was considered again and again and several surveys were made. The canal was finally begun in 1881 by a French company under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps, constructing engineer of the Suez Canal. The enterprise was a colossal failure and, after millions of dollars had been lost in it, was finally abandoned. In 1904, after several years of engineering investigation, political controversy, diplomatic negotiations with Great Britain and the Republic of Colombia, and the revolutionary erection of Panama into an independent state, the United States purchased from the French Company what existed of the canal for \$40,000,000 and paid Panama \$10,000,000 for canal zone rights. Under the direction of the Isthmian Canal Commission, work was begun in 1905, according to plans which contemplated

the completion of the structure by January 1, 1915. The canal will be 50 miles long from deep water to deep water, of a minimum depth of 41 feet, of surface widths from 300 to 1000 feet, of average bottom width of 649 feet, and have six locks.

In the middle of the Nineteenth century the Great American Desert was accepted as an undisputed fact. Time demonstrated that it was less a desert than had been supposed, while modern methods of land improvement made clear the possible fertility and usefulness of territory seemingly most unpromising. Irrigation has been the principal means by which this land has been recovered for agricultural purposes, a thing scarcely thought of before 1860. In some sections of the country local and State laws and customs had been applied to regulate the use of water for irrigation, mining and other purposes, but this was done in a comparatively small way and in widely separated localities. National attention was given to the subject after the close of the war, when the necessity of systematic plans to increase the productivity of poor land came more and more to be realized. In 1866 Congress passed a law recognizing the existing local laws and customs in regard to the matter, and under this encouragement water rights were established in several of the Western States. This policy of leaving to the States control of water projects was continued, without important modification, for more than a

third of a century. It was in substance reaffirmed by the National Reclamation Act of 1902, but in this later period the Federal Government began gradually to exercise a large and increasing control over irrigation, the subject finally becoming one of the most important demanding National consideration and legislation.

Prior to 1880 most of the irrigation was done by the coöperative efforts of those specially interested in their home localities. Many of these early enterprises were the outcome of the workings of the Desert Land Act of 1877 allowing settlers to take up 640 acres of land for irrigation and improvement, but very little of permanent value was accomplished thereby. In the years following 1880 commercial enterprise entered the field and investment companies were organized to carry on the work. Eventually most of the States felt impelled to exercise supervisory powers over these corporations to remedy abuses and impotency.

A more decided step was taken by the Federal Government in 1892, when the National Irrigation Act was passed. This provided for government and private coöperation in the field of irrigation finance. Under its provisions receipts from the sale of public lands were advanced for irrigation works in those States where the land lay and was sold. A great deal was accomplished by this law in the years immediately following its enactment. In 1889 the land under

irrigation — mostly in the Far Western States, but including rice fields in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas — aggregated 3,631,381 acres; in 1899, 7,778,904 acres; in 1902, 9,681,289 acres; in 1907, about 10,000,000 acres; and in 1909, about 13,036,700 acres. The total construction cost to 1899 was \$71,226,074; to 1902, \$92,731,594; to 1907, about \$148,200,000. In 1909 the National Reclamation Service had 29 irrigation projects in process of construction. The work thus engaged in was planned for the ultimate irrigation of 2,700,000,000 acres. The total land in the country available for and needing irrigation was then estimated to be about 44,375,000,000 acres. The computed cost of irrigation works for this enormous territory was \$110,290,000, to be spread over many years.

Federal expenditure for the improvement of rivers and harbors began after 1810. To the close of the fiscal year 1908 there had been expended on this account over \$511,000,000, of which about \$53,000,000 had gone for a few unimportant projects then existent or for obsolete projects of earlier date long discontinued. Prior to 1880 appropriations for this purpose had been irregular and were generally regarded with disfavor. In 1846 President Polk, and in 1854 President Pierce, vetoed such bills upon constitutional grounds. After the Civil War, however, broader opinions concerning constitutional limitations began to prevail, and in 1870 an appropriation of \$2,000,000

was made — the largest up to that time, though small compared with subsequent appropriations.

A decided impetus was given to the matter by the 1874 report of the Senate Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard. The Committee recommended that the United States undertake to improve the mouth of the Mississippi, to open a route by the Ohio and Kanawha rivers and a railway or canal to Virginia tidewater, and another by canal or railway from the Tennessee River to the Atlantic Ocean. None of these plans was adopted, but the report of the Committee greatly influenced the future in the conclusion that the constitutional power of Congress to regulate commerce includes the power to aid and facilitate it, thus conferring upon Congress the power to improve or create channels of commerce on land or by water. This broad interpretation of the Constitution effectually fixed the policy of the Government and probably forever determined its course of action in the matter. From that time on, appropriations were more frequent and of more considerable size, and every Congress gave much attention to the subject. But the funds made available being still inadequate, the work was carried on in a manner not calculated to produce the best and the most economical results. Finally the River and Harbor bills became the subject of grave scandal, being loaded with appropriations for worthless projects

involving the expenditure of money for purely political purposes, regardless of public needs. The scandal assumed such importance that the bill of 1902 specifically provided that thereafter all projects be referred to a technical board of review and favorably passed upon before being undertaken.

In 1908 the Government was engaged upon the improvement of harbors, rivers and other waterways to the total of over 500, including even a few that were practically insignificant. Some of these works had then been under way for many years and large sums of money had been expended upon them from their inception to the close of the year 1908.

In the list were 17 harbors of refuge, upon which \$14,312,000 had been expended; 24 harbors used for refuge and commerce, which cost the United States \$24,083,772; 265 lake and coast commercial harbors and tidal rivers, with expenditures of \$172,707,000; 76 rivers under improvement by regulation or by locks and dams, with expenditures of \$204,718,500; 67 interior shallow streams under slight improvements, with expenditures of \$7,200,000; 7 inland waterways and canals, with expenditures of \$9,956,000; 12 cases of special work, auxiliary channels, etc., with expenditures of \$11,264,432; 5 channels connecting the Great Lakes, with expenditures of \$25,198,000.

Among the greatest of these enterprises was the improvement of the

Mississippi River, upon which the Mississippi River Commission had expended \$53,500,300, mostly for levees, while \$23,277,000 had been used for the operation and maintenance of locks and dams. Other large enterprises in this enumeration, with expenditures to date, were:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| The Delaware River breakwater and harbor of refuge | \$5,045,000 |
| Chicago Harbor | 12,056,000 |
| Cleveland Harbor | 5,351,000 |
| Buffalo Harbor | 5,268,000 |
| Oswego Harbor | 2,144,700 |
| Boston | 7,187,838 |
| New York Harbor..... | 5,506,000 |
| The Giovanni (N. Y.) Bay Channel..... | 2,256,000 |
| The Delaware River | 8,583,000 |
| The San Pedro deep water harbor..... | 2,514,000 |
| Patuxent River..... | 6,282,000 |
| Potomac River | 3,074,200 |
| James River | 2,399,400 |
| Charleston Harbor | 4,641,000 |
| Savannah Harbor | 8,018,000 |
| Cumberland Sound | 3,290,500 |
| St. Johns River..... | 3,779,300 |
| Mobile Harbor | 5,148,000 |
| Southwest Pass (Mississippi River)..... | 3,974,000 |
| Galveston Harbor | 9,968,000 |
| Buffalo Bayou | 2,862,300 |
| Sabine Pass | 3,931,000 |
| Duluth Superior | 5,413,000 |
| Toledo Harbor | 2,520,700 |
| Oakland Harbor | 2,287,000 |
| Humboldt Harbor | 2,179,000 |
| Mouth of Columbia River..... | 5,517,000 |
| Hudson River | 5,228,000 |
| Warrior River | 2,235,800 |
| Red River | 2,300,400 |
| Arkansas River | 2,427,900 |
| Mississippi River (between Ohio, Missouri, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and including reservoirs) | 27,764,900 |
| Missouri River | 11,798,000 |
| Cumberland River | 3,203,600 |
| Tennessee River | 4,518,400 |
| Ohio River | 15,754,700 |
| Monongahela River | 10,708,600 |
| Kanawha River | 4,228,100 |
| Kentucky River | 2,927,000 |
| Fox River | 3,195,000 |
| Columbia River Canal..... | 3,819,000 |
| Illinois and Mississippi Canal..... | 7,319,500 |
| East River and Hell Gate..... | 4,833,800 |
| Yazoo River and Vicksburg Harbor..... | 2,011,400 |
| Hay Lake and Neebish Canal..... | 7,172,400 |
| St. Mary's Canal..... | 7,427,000 |
| Detroit River | 4,210,000 |
| Rivers and connecting channels..... | 3,338,000 |
| St. Clair River..... | 2,951,200 |

The original commerce of these waterways, calculated for the period 1890-95, before improvements were instituted, amounted to \$281,760,000 tons annually. The total commerce in

1908 was 591,977,700 tons, a gain of 340,217,700 tons. The projects which showed an increase of tonnage, presumably on account of the improvements, were 217, while 111 showed a decrease and the rest showed no commercial effects. It was estimated that the annual cost to the United States for this increased commerce was 2.4 cents per ton. But, for various reasons, much of this commerce was reported in duplicate or even more frequently, and, after making proper allowances, it appeared that the total water-borne commerce at this time approximated 256,000,000 tons per annum. On this basis it has been

figured that the cost per ton to the United States has been about 6 cents, considering the total outlay on all improvements since the beginning of the work. What savings resulted to commerce from these improved facilities it is impossible to estimate even roughly. There have been instances where, for certain favored localities, it has been calculated to be as high as \$1 per ton. In other instances it was little or nothing. Undoubtedly much of the benefit derived from the improvements has been of indirect character and has been entirely lost sight of in the great bulk of commercial and industrial wealth of the country.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1865-1912.

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

Early indifference to waste of natural resources — The first alarm — Waste of water, agricultural lands, and mineral resources — Enormity of the problem of conservation — The Inland Waterways Commission of 1907 — The White House Conference and the National Conservation Commission of 1908 — The National Conservation Association of 1909 — Vital principles of conservation — Congressional apathy to the movement — The forest reserves enactment of 1891 — Federal and State reservations.

Although wastefulness of our natural resources dates from the first peopling of the continent, conservation of natural resources did not have its inception before the last quarter of the Nineteenth century.

To the pioneers the resources of the new country naturally seemed infinite. Land, forests, water, minerals and fish were so plentiful as to become in many instances obstacles to prosperity and comfortable existence. For 250 years

land was almost given away, except as it grew in value in favored localities.

* E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1907); Emory R. Johnson, *Ocean and Inland Water Transportation* (New York, 1906); *Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterway Commission* (Washington, 1908); Alexander H. Weber, *The Waterways of the United States: Actual Expenditures and Results to Navigation and Commerce*, Doc. 15 of the National Waterways Commission (Washington, 1910); *Report of the United States Industrial Commission* (19 vols., Washington, 1900-1902); *Transportation Routes to the Seaboard*, Report of the Select Committee of the Senate, Doc. 307.

Millions of acres of woodland were burned because they were in the way or because modern industry demanded logs and lumber. That mines of coal, copper and precious metals might in course of time become exhausted was something not even dreamed of. Of course, land fertility would never fail, lakes could never dry up, and the waters of rivers could be depended upon to run forever regardless of what drafts might be made upon them.

When the country was new and the population scant, this view of the case did not much matter. Under the conditions then existing it was scarcely possible for waste, extravagance, and recklessness to progress with the work of destruction faster than nature could repair the damage. But the older the Nation grew, the faster went on depletion. The increasing population of the country, the demands of modern industry and of modern living developed new problems of supply, and these were met by draughts upon natural resources that grew heavier every year.

Long before the general public had the slightest appreciation of the situation, the scientists realized that the pace, if kept up, meant overwhelming National disaster. They studied other countries, learned the conditions which

had been brought about there in the course of centuries, and raised the cry of alarm. Forestry was a subject that had engaged scientific attention in Europe, and in that the first step in the National conservation movement in the United States was taken.

Some apprehension over the rapid reduction of our forests was felt about 1870, but it was not of much moment and the public disposition was to laugh it down. But in 1873 the American Association for the Advancement of Science presented a memorial to Congress and, when nothing had been done, presented another memorial on the subject in 1890. As a result of these representations, a forestry division was established in the Department of Agriculture in 1887 and laws were passed which led to the first National reserve in 1891. In 1897 a Bureau of Forestry was established in the Agricultural Department and Gifford Pinchot was made its chief, holding that position until 1910.

Originally the forests of the United States covered 850,000,000 acres. In addition, there were about 150,000,000 acres of scrub forest and brush land. The former was all good timber material, but the latter was of little direct commercial value. In less than a century and a quarter this magnificent heritage was reduced by nearly one-half, with practically no efforts made to restore the loss. Of the original 1,000,000,000 acres of forest land, there were left at the close of

43d Congress, 1st session (Washington, 1874); *Statutes-at-Large of the United States* (1865-1910); *The Statistical Abstract* (Washington, 1900-1910); N. S. Shaler, *American Highways* (New York, 1896); *Transportation by Water* in Census Report, 1906; Annual reports of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army.

the first decade of the Twentieth century approximately 550,000,000 acres forest-clothed. Even in this acreage most of the best timber had been cut while the forests had been damaged by fire and otherwise. Still this remaining portion was a very considerable estate, being one-fourth of the entire area of the United States. No other nation on the face of the globe then had proportionately such a vast forest land. About four-fifths of this property was owned by private individuals, the rest still being held for the public. Properly protected and wisely conserved from further deforestation and developed with new growth, this great area may yet save the country from disaster. But the destruction that has been going on in recent years and that must be halted if there is any hope for the future, is certainly appalling. In the north-western States an army of nearly 200,000 men is annually employed in lumbering, and it is estimated that they waste a billion feet of lumber for every five billion that they get out.

In 1880 the timber cut of the United States was 18,000,000,000 board feet; in 1890, 24,000,000,000; in 1900, 35,000,000,000; in 1906, 50,000,000,000. The States bordering on the Great Lakes once had over 350,000,000,000 feet of standing white pine; the census of 1900 showed only 50,000,000,000 feet left. White pine had practically disappeared from the lumber market in the next decade, and yellow pine was going the same way. The census esti-

mate of 1880 was 237,000,000,000 feet of standing southern yellow pine; in 1909 the amount was 137,000,000,000, with an annual cut of 12,000,000,000 feet. Oak, poplar, elm, hickory, maple, spruce, ash, birch—in fact all the woods that were in common use and plentiful in the middle of the Nineteenth century—were becoming almost rarities in the opening years of the next century. It was then estimated that the quantity of standing timber was between 1,400,000,000,000 and 2,000,000,000,000 feet and the annual cutting was 50,000,000,000. That rate of consumption would make the country timberless in from 30 to 40 years.

The sole source of our fresh water is rainfall, including snow. From this all running, standing and ground waters are derived, and upon these depends the habitability of the country. Our mean annual rainfall is about 30 inches; the quantity is about 215,000,000,000,000 cubic feet per year—a sum, altogether incomprehensible as expressed in figures, equivalent to the flowage of ten Mississippi rivers. Half of this is evaporated, much flows to the sea, and only about one-sixth is consumed or absorbed. How to reduce the amount of water permitted to run to waste; how to increase the supply by increasing the forest area; how to control the rivers and lakes for navigation, irrigation and power; how to prevent the enormous yearly damage by floods which increased from \$45,000,000 in 1900 to over \$238,000,000

in 1908; these are some of the problems calling for determination in this branch of conservation.

The mineral production of the United States for 1907 exceeded 2,000,000,000 tons and contributed 65 per cent. of the total freight traffic of the country. The waste in the extraction and treatment of minerals during the same year amounted to more than \$300,000,000, or 15 per cent. of the whole. Gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, coal, petroleum, iron, phosphates, clay, stone, cement and natural gas were included in this category.

Although continental United States has a great area of land cultivated and capable of cultivation, the yield per acre is less than that of many European countries and this result is largely due to preventable waste of soil and unscientific methods of cultivation. It has been estimated that loss to farm products due to injurious mammals probably exceeds \$130,000,000 annually; the loss through insects, \$650,000,000; the loss through soil exhaustion and erosion and through plant diseases, each to several hundred million dollars more. In fact, the annual loss to the farming interests of the country from all causes must amount to much more than a billion dollars, most of which could be saved.

In its entirety, the conservation movement seems in an economic sense to mean almost the complete making over of the country and the development of a commercial and industrial

progress compared with which the greatness of the first century of the Republic must fall far behind. The project involves expenses that rise to billions of dollars and it is estimated that this will result in more billions of dollars of National wealth. Under the reclamation act of June 17, 1902, there was spent for irrigation in the ensuing seven years \$45,750,000, when it was reckoned that the cost of the undertakings then either finished or in process of completion would be at least \$115,500,000. For improvement of waterways, to add to transportation facilities, to lessen flood damage, to reduce forest fire destruction, to add to water power and to save soil erosion, \$500,000,000 to be spent in ten years was called for, and it was argued that this would result in an annual national saving of \$1,000,000,000, or twenty times the cost. For the protection of woodland, reforestation and other measures, the figures of cost rise to similar figures, with similar proportionate ultimate enrichment in savings and profits.

In March of 1907 President Roosevelt appointed the Inland Waterways Commission, and the first report of this commission pointed out that the problem was broader than the single question of water power and navigation. It involved the control and use of water to conserve coal, iron and the soil, and the preservation of the forests to increase rainfall so as to add to our water supply. The completely interdependent character of

all these natural resources was dwelt upon and the necessity of strong concerted action in the interests of all.

The ideas that were then presented grew into a larger movement to bring the individual States as well as the Nation into considering and acting upon the matter. The President called a conference of the governors of the States, other prominent public men, representatives of scientific and industrial societies, and others interested in the subject which so quickly assumed national importance. This White House Conference in May of 1908 was exceptional in many respects, but in nothing more than that it was the first time in the history of the country that the governors of the States and eminent citizens had been assembled to consult upon the National welfare. The conservation movement, which had been slowly developing, came from this conference fully grown and clothed with an importance and a power that made it the greatest national enterprise undertaken for over a third of a century.

As an outcome of this conference, both popular and official interest in the subject was awakened to a remarkable degree. Before the governors had separated, they drew up a series of resolutions in which they surveyed the subject in all its branches, taking advanced position in condemning the extravagance and waste which has characterized the past and urging in the strongest terms the importance of protecting and developing

our natural resources as the foundation of our future prosperity. Immediately a National Conservation Commission was appointed by the President, and in less than two years more than forty State conservation commissions and more than fifty similar commissions representing organizations of National scope had been created. In 1909 the National Conservation Association was organized, independent of the official commission created by the President, but designed to work in harmony with that and all other organizations devoted to the cause. The special purpose of its founders is to make it the centre of a great propaganda. With the holding of several conventions and the production and distribution of much literature on the subject, the supporters of the cause made a considerable and definite progress in the first few years of their active work prior to 1911, and laid plans for the future that were even international in scope.

The vital principles of conservation were clearly set forth in the declaration which emanated from the conference of governors in May of 1908. In this declaration it was asserted that the resources of the country were a heritage not to be wasted, deteriorated or needlessly destroyed; that these resources supply the material basis upon which the perpetuity of the Nation rests and yet that this material basis is threatened with exhaustion; that the conservation of these resources—the land, the waters, the

forests and the minerals—is a subject of transcendent importance which should engage unremitting attention of the Nation, the States, and the people in earnest co-operation; that there should be a continuation and extension of forest policies adapted to secure the husbanding and renewal of diminishing timber supplies, the prevention of soil erosion, the protection of headwaters and the maintenance of the purity and navigability of streams; that laws should be enacted looking to the conservation of water resources for irrigation, water supply, power and navigation, and to the prevention of waste in the mining and extraction of coal, oil, gas and other minerals, with a view to their wise husbanding for the use of the people.*

Congress has been less enthusiastic for conservation than have been the active supporters and endorsers of the movement. Legislation to make effective the plans of the National Commission was urged by President Roosevelt and also by President Taft, but was refused by the legislative branch. Nevertheless something has been done by Congressional enactment, especially in the direction of forest protection. In 1891 the first law treating of the subject was passed. This provided “that the President of the United States may, from time to time, set apart and reserve in any state or territory having public land bearing forests, any part of the public

lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not, as public reservations, and the President shall, by public proclamation, declare the establishment of such reservations and the limits thereof.”

Under the provisions of this law magnificent National forests, not surpassed in extent by any nation of Europe, save perhaps Russia, have been secured to the people forever. The general policy of the Government has been to withdraw from entry lands which are more valuable for timber than for purposes of agriculture. President Harrison withdrew 13,416,710 acres; President Cleveland, 25,686,320 acres; President McKinley, 7,050,089 acres; President Roosevelt, 148,346,925 acres; making a total of national forest area of 194,500,043 acres. Of the 149 national forests existing in May of 1909, 617,677,749 acres were in continental United States, 26,761,626 acres in Alaska, and 65,950 acres in Porto Rico. Most of the continental acreage was in the Far West, but there were portions in 22 States and Territories. As the first decade of the Twentieth century came to an end, the question of the reservation of extensive tracts of the Appalachian range and the White Mountains of New Hampshire was being agitated with every prospect of a favorable outcome.

Following the example of the National Government, more than 20

* United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers' Bulletin* 340.

States and Territories made a start in forest reserves. These range in size from 1,957 acres in Maryland, 4,000 acres in Nevada, and 9,000 acres in New Jersey, to 2,695,187 acres in Minnesota, 1,599,638 acres in New York, and 1,000,000 acres in Montana. In 1908 the total in State reserves was 9,460,622 acres.

As part of the National conservation movement, the setting apart of extensive forest regions for National parks was notable in this period. Most of these parks are in the ex-

treme Western States. They range in size from the 2,142,720 acres of the Yellowstone Park in Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho to the 480 acres of the Casa Grande River in Arizona. Altogether they make up a territory of nearly 4,400,000 acres. Generally these are forest and game preserves, but some of them have been set apart to preserve mineral springs of medicinal value, while others are to be kept intact for the investigation and study of the ruins of prehistoric American races.*

CHAPTER IX.

1865-1912.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The nature of civil service and civil service reform — The evils of the "spoils system" — The Civil Service Law of 1883 — Its provisions and its operation — Recent extensions of its benefits.

Civil service in its broadest sense is, the conducting of public business by chosen officials, whether elected or appointed. In its usual and restricted meaning, however, it is government service, outside of the army and navy, that is performed by appointive, not elective, officers.

Into this system abuses gradually crept, from the very nature of things, and improvement in methods of appointment, rules of conduct, etc., became not only desirable but imperative. Hence came "civil service reform"—a movement which looks to the appointment of public servants according to fitness for their duties

rather than as a reward for any political services they might have performed or were supposed to perform,

* Treadwell Cleveland, Jr., *A Primer of Conservation*, United States Forest Service circular (Washington, 1908); Gifford Pinchot, *The Conservation of Natural Resources*, United States, Agricultural Department, *Farmers' Bulletin* 327 (Washington, 1908); articles on the same subject in *The Outlook* (New York, 1907), and *The Fight for Conservation* (New York, 1910); Sir Horace Plunkett, *The Rural Life Problem of the United States* (New York, 1910); Joseph Hyde Pratt, *The Conservation and Utilization of Our Natural Resources* in *Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society Journal*, vol. xxvi. (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1910); *United States Conservation Conference* (Washington, 1909); Report of United States National Conservation Commission (Washington, 1909); Charles Richard Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*

either by personal effort or by contributions of money. It is "the adoption, by legislation or executive action, of rules for improving the civil service of the State by prescribing the qualifications of candidates for public office and for the good behavior of public servants and their independence of external control."

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the evils which have grown up under what is called the "spoils system." In a republican form of government public policies may, of course, be changed by the electorate. If the people desire a different administration of the tariff, for instance, they may elect officers who are pledged to carry out their views, and these officers may greatly modify protective principles, or even reverse the policy of a preceding administration. But the routine business of the custom houses must go on practically unchanged "forever," like Tennyson's brook. And it is highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that officers

who are appointed, not elected, should carry on public business undisturbed and uninterruptedly, from year to year. But that is just what, under the spoils system, they were not allowed to do.

In the first forty years of the history of the United States, the six Presidents made less than a hundred removals from office — and every one of these only for cause. But with the incoming of President Jackson in 1829 a revulsion, rising to a revolution, took place. Thousands of subordinates in the Government service were removed for no other reason than that their places were desired by those who had supported or helped to seat the new Administration.

A period of corruption and of deterioration of the public service set in, which was to continue for half a century and intrench itself so deeply and powerfully that only the assassination of a President (President Garfield) could arouse the Nation to a sense of its peril and bring about the overthrow of a system which was second only to slavery itself in its baleful influence on public morals.

This change was not effected without vigorous and prolonged struggle which characterized the half century. In 1835 a great debate took place in the United States Senate, participated in by Clay, Calhoun, Webster and others — men who differed radically on many other great questions of the day and who were bitter rivals in personal ambition, but who were agreed

(New York, 1910); Rudolf Cronau, *Our Wasteful Nation: the Story of American Prodigality and the Abuse of Our National Resources* (New York, 1908); William B. Bosley, *Conservation and the Constitution* in *Yale Law Review*, vol. xx. (New Haven, 1910); Andrew A. Bruce, *The Conservation of our National Resources* in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. xxviii. (Philadelphia, 1908); George L. Knapp, *The Other Side of Conservation* in *North American Review*, vol. cxi. (New York, 1910); W. J. McGee, *The Cult of Conservation* (Washington, 1908); *Declaration of Principles*, North American Conservation Conference (Washington, 1909); Smith Riley, *Preservation and Utilization of the National Forests* in *Colorado Scientific Society Proceedings*, vol. ix., (Denver, 1909).

as to the nature and needs of the public service and as to the tendency of the evils that had fastened upon it. Clay denounced the new movement as "a detestable system drawn from the worst periods of the Roman republic"; and Webster epitomized the arguments of the three mighty intellectual giants in the memorable and weighty words: "The theory of our institutions is plain; it is, that government is an agency created for the good of the people, and that every person in office is the agent and servant of the people. Offices are created, not for the benefit of those who are to fill them, but for the public convenience."

But the lofty and patriotic view of these great statesmen was not allowed to go unchallenged. They were to see other policies prevail, the spirit of which was badly and unblushingly proclaimed by Senator Macey of New York: "The politicians of the United States are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are as to disclosing the principles on which they act. They see nothing wrong in the rule that *to the victors belong the spoils*."

Thus it came about that, after every election involving a change of administration, an almost complete change in the personnel of officeholders took place, from the consular service as well as foreign ambassadors to fourth-class postmaster-ships. No one was secure if some one in the opposite party wanted his place and the emoluments that went with it — and usually not one, but many, "were hungry and

thirsty" for it. Elections, save perhaps that of 1860, became more and more contests for spoils and less and less disputes about principles. Candidates would promise certain offices in return for support. Officeholders would not only work less efficiently, but less honestly, when insecure in their tenure of office. The prevailing tendency was to curry favor with those in power and to use every means, lawful or otherwise, to continue them in power and "hold their own jobs down."

It was a sordid, disgusting, corrupting state of affairs, difficult to realize in these cleaner days, whose effects ramified into many channels that could not have been foreseen and would not have been believed possible. One of the worst of its morally debasing aspects was the system of political assessments under which government employes were forced to pay a considerable fraction of their salaries into party funds, besides giving much of their time — time belonging to government service — to active work for the party in power, in order to retain their places. It came to pass also that the time of the Presidents was so encroached upon by the pressure of office seekers that at least one-third of every working day was consumed by appointive details, and six-sevenths of the President's callers were of this pernicious class. It was a serious handicap to the transaction of public business. As President Lincoln once quaintly expressed it: "I wish I

could get time to attend to the Southern question. I think I know what is wanted, and believe I could do something toward quieting the rising discontent, but the office seekers demand all my time. I am like a man so busy letting rooms in one end of his house that he cannot stop to put out the fire that is burning in the other."

Perhaps the situation has never been better summed up than was done by Senator Oliver P. Morton in the early 70's:

"The countless minor offices of the United States are filled by a distinct class known as 'professional politicians.' These men live by politics, receiving place as reward for political work. Their control of public office is monopolistic. Mr. Brice estimates their number at two hundred thousand, but this is underestimated. * * * The influence which the office-holders wield is altogether out of proportion to their numbers or to their intellectual attainments. But they possess this advantage over other classes—they are unified and organized. They make the management of primaries and conventions the serious business of their lives, and acquire a skill and experience in 'wire-pulling' which ordinary citizens cannot hope to cope with. The politics of the country is in the hands of these men. * * * In this barter and sale of public place, the proper transaction of public business is lost sight of. Competency does not appoint an applicant and cannot save an incumbent. Other motives of a selfish or mercenary character control in both cases. Office brokerage is a shameless and conspicuous fact, as the newspapers and congressional debates daily attest. It is the great object of civil service reform to restore these offices to the people, and to overthrow the bastard aristocracy who have debased them."

The iniquities of the "spoils system" have been dwelt upon at some length in order to emphasize the almost complete reversal of conditions

in the Federal service brought about by the achievements of the "merit system." The change has been gradual, it is true, and is not yet fully accomplished; but it is a marvelous change, nevertheless, and it is now only a question of a comparatively short time when every government position, save those that are elective or confidential, will be rescued from the clutch of the spoilsman.

It was about the time that Senator Morton was uttering the words quoted above that the first active efforts were made in Congress to secure the enactment of reform laws; but not much of a practical nature was accomplished, until the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed officeseeker awoke the Nation to a realization of the depths to which the spoils system had reduced public morals and the need for a return to better principles. This crime led directly to the passage in January of 1883 of a law entitled "An Act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the United States." The object of the law was to secure appointment and promotion in government offices for fitness, instead of on the basis of party services or fealty. The act was drawn on such broad lines that successive Presidents have been enabled to bring different classes of offices within its scope—hence the name "classified service," under which its workings are known.

By the provisions of the law, competitive and non-competitive examina-

tions are held at intervals in different parts of the country. Candidates who wish to try these examinations make application in regular form, and then appear before the examiners at the specified time and place. An "eligible list" is kept of those who pass the examinations, arranged in the order of candidates' standing; when a vacancy occurs, selection for the position is made from the three highest on the list. The appointment is probationary for a term of six months. If the service of the applicant be satisfactory, the appointment is made permanent; if not, the applicant is discharged. In the non-competitive examinations, the same procedure is observed, except that appointments are made without regard to relative standing.

There is absolutely no distinction of candidates on the ground of party connections or party services; all are on equal footing within certain age limits and other necessary qualifications. As for the examinations, the law requires only that they "shall be practical in their character and, as far as may be, shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed."

It is the practical, specific character of these examinations that have commended them to confidence. For clerks and accountants, for instance, tests are made as to quickness and exact-

ness in figures, clearness and rapidity in writing, familiarity with bookkeeping methods, etc. For technical positions, such as engineering, architecture, and mining, technical knowledge is of course required; and in all cases practical experience and business capacity are the chief requisites.

The "merit system" of selection of candidates for government office, while highly developed, has not reached a state of complete perfection, to be sure; but it is by far the best that has yet been devised and infinitely superior to old methods. There is no question but that it is extremely effective in securing far more honest and efficient public service than was possible under the old régime, besides removing the corrupting influence of the dictum that "to the victors belong the spoils." When a man is secure in his position no matter which party is in power, he will not only do better work but be of morally higher tone than when his abilities and much of his salary were diverted into efforts to keep his party "at the public crib."

President Arthur, who signed the Civil Service Law in 1883, brought nearly 16,000 places within its provisions. Every President since his time has added to the number, President McKinley having the lowest record, and President Cleveland the highest, civil service with the latter being a practical application of his famous aphorism: "Public office is a public trust." There are now more than

400,000 offices and employés of the Federal Government under the National Act. Many States and cities also — especially cities under the "commission" form of government — have civil service laws and are amenable to their conditions.

Recent innovations are the bringing of consular service under civil service rules, and also certain departments of the postoffice, including 8,000 assistant postmasters. This marks a long step toward removing the Postoffice Department, where pat-

ronage has seen some of its worst abuses, from the field of politics.*

* William Harrison Clarke, *The Civil Service Law* (1891); George William Curtis, *Orationes and Addresses*, vol. ii. (1894); Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals*, pt. ii. (1900); Carl Schurz, *Some Object Lessons* (1903); George S. Bernard, *Civil Service Reform vs. The Spoils System* (1905); Carl Russell Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage* (1905); Henry F. Greene, *The Enforcement of the Provisions of the Civil Service Law in Regard to Political Assessments* (1906); annual reports of the United States Civil Service Commission; reports of State and municipal commissions; and the reports, pamphlets and addresses issued by the National Civil Service Reform League.

TREATIES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

Ever since the colonies succeeded in winning their independence from the Mother Country and formed a National government, American statesmen have endeavored to foster the spirit of friendship and trust between the United States and foreign nations by means of treaties, conventions, compacts, agreements, etc., and scarcely a year passes that does not witness the enactment of one or more of such evidences of mutual confidence. Furthermore the United States is noteworthy among the nations of the world as a treaty-keeping power, for while the history of foreign countries will show many pledges ruthlessly broken upon the slightest provocation, the history of the United States is remarkably free

from such blemishes. Treaties of course have been abrogated but their abrogation, in the majority of cases, was at the notice or request of the foreign power.

In addition to treaties with separate and distinct countries, the United States has been a party to many important international agreements, executed at Geneva, Brussels and The Hague, and has shown its willingness to avoid war by the great number of disputes submitted for settlement to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The following is a list of the important international agreements to which the United States has been a party:

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

| SUBJECT | Concluded | Proclaimed
by United
States |
|--|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Establishing International Bureau of Weights and Measures..... | May 20, 1875 | Sept. 27, 1878 |
| Geneva convention..... | Aug. 22, 1864 | Mar. 1, 1882 |
| Amelioration of condition of wounded in war..... | Aug. 22, 1864 | July 22, 1882 |
| For protection of submarine cables..... | Mar. 14, 1884 | May 22, 1885 |
| For international protection of industrial property..... | May 20, 1883 | June 11, 1887 |
| For international exchange of official documents, scientific and literary productions..... | Mar. 15, 1886 | Jan. 15, 1889 |
| Formation of an international union for publication of customs tariffs..... | July 5, 1890 | Dec. 17, 1890 |
| General act for repression of African slave trade..... | July 2, 1890 | April 2, 1892 |
| For international protection of industrial property (supplementary convention)..... | April 15, 1891 | June 22, 1892 |
| Regulating importation of spirituous liquors into Africa..... | June 8, 1899 | Feb. 6, 1901 |
| Relative to settlement of international disputes..... | July 29, 1899 | Nov. 1, 1901 |
| Relative to launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons, etc..... | July 29, 1899 | Nov. 1, 1901 |
| For adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva convention..... | July 29, 1899 | Nov. 1, 1901 |
| Relative to laws and customs of war on land..... | July 29, 1899 | April 11, 1902 |
| Additional act for protection of industrial property..... | Dec. 14, 1900 | Aug. 25, 1902 |
| Treaty with Latin-American republics for arbitration of pecuniary claims..... | Jan. 30, 1902 | Mar. 24, 1905 |
| Universal postal convention..... | May 26, 1906 | Oct. 16, 1906 |
| Algeciras conference..... | April 7, 1906 | Jan. 22, 1907 |
| Convention exempting hospital ships from dues and taxes..... | Dec. 21, 1904 | May 21, 1907 |
| International convention for amelioration of the wounded of armies in the field..... | July 6, 1906 | Aug. 3, 1907 |
| International convention revising duties on spirituous liquors imported into Africa..... | Nov. 3, 1906 | Dec. 2, 1907 |
| International sanitary convention..... | Dec. 3, 1903 | May 18, 1907 |
| Creating an international institute of agriculture at Rome..... | June 7, 1905 | Jan. 29, 1908 |
| Convention of American republics on literary and artistic copyrights..... | Jan. 27, 1902 | April 9, 1908 |
| International agreement for suppressing trade in white women..... | May 18, 1904 | June 15, 1908 |
| International arrangement for establishing international office of public health..... | Dec. 9, 1907 | Nov. 14, 1908 |
| Convention with Latin-American republics to promote sanitation..... | Oct. 14, 1908 | Mar. 2, 1909 |
| International sanitary convention..... | Oct. 14, 1905 | Mar. 1, 1909 |

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS — *Concluded.*

| SUBJECT | Concluded | Proclaimed by United States |
|---|---------------|-----------------------------|
| AT THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE. | | |
| International arbitration..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Respecting contract debts..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Relative to the opening of hostilities..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Respecting the laws and customs of war on land..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Respecting neutrals in war on land..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Relative to laying submarine mines..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Concerning bombardment by naval forces..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| For the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva conference..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Relative to right of capture in naval war..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Concerning neutrals in naval war..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Declaration prohibiting the discharge of projectiles from balloons..... | Oct. 18, 1907 | Feb. 28, 1910 |
| Concerning the restriction of the Chinese opium trade..... | Jan. 23, 1912 | |
| Relative to the repression of the circulation of obscene publications..... | May 4, 1910 | April 18, 1911 |
| Convention with Central and South American Republics establishing an International Law Commission..... | Aug. 23, 1906 | May 1, 1912 |
| Convention with certain European, Asiatic and South American nations relating to wireless telegraphy..... | Nov. 3, 1906 | May 25, 1912 |

Treaties with Foreign Nations.—The following list gives the treaties, conventions, agreements and compacts entered into by the United States from 1778 to 1912 and those now in force.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Algiers..... | Treaty..... | Peace and amity in consideration of an annual payment..... | Sept. 5, 1795 | Mar. 2, 1796 | Superseded. |
| Algiers..... | Treaty..... | Peace and amity: The abolition of the annual payment..... | June 30, 1815 | Dec. 26, 1815 | Superseded. |
| Algiers..... | Treaty..... | Peace and amity..... | Dec. 22, 1816 | Feb. 11, 1822 | Became obsolete. |
| Argentine Republic..... | Treaty..... | For the free navigation of the rivers Parana and Uruguay..... | July 10, 1853 | April 9, 1855 | In force. |
| Argentine Republic..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | July 27, 1853 | April 9, 1855 | In force. |
| Argentine Republic..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Sept. 26, 1896 | June 5, 1900 | In force. |
| Australia..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | May 10, 1905 | June 19, 1905 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Treaty..... | Liberty of commerce and navigation..... | Aug. 27, 1829 | Feb. 10, 1831 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Disposal of personal property and consular jurisdiction..... | May 8, 1848 | Feb. 25, 1850 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | July 3, 1856 | Dec. 15, 1856 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Consular convention..... | July 11, 1870 | June 29, 1871 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | Sept. 20, 1870 | Aug. 21, 1871 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Registration of trade marks..... | Nov. 25, 1871 | June 1, 1872 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | { Oct. 9, 1908
Nov. 12, 1908 } | | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Arbitration..... | Jan. 15, 1909 | May 18, 1909 | In force. |
| Austria-Hungary..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | June 27, 1910 | June 30, 1910 | In force. |
| Baden..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Jan. 30, 1857 | May 19, 1857 | * |
| Baden..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | July 19, 1868 | Jan. 10, 1870 | * |
| Bavaria..... | Convention..... | Abolishing taxes on emigration..... | Jan. 21, 1845 | Aug. 15, 1846 | * |
| Bavaria..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Sept. 12, 1853 | Nov. 18, 1854 | * |
| Bavaria..... | Treaty..... | Naturalization..... | May 26, 1868 | Oct. 8, 1868 | * |
| Belgium..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Nov. 10, 1845 | Mar. 31, 1846 | Terminated.† |
| Belgium..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | July 17, 1858 | April 19, 1859 | Terminated.† |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Regarding import duties and capitalization of Scheldt dues..... | May 20, 1863 | Nov. 18, 1864 | Superseded. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Extinguishment of the Scheldt dues..... | July 20, 1863 | Nov. 18, 1864 | In force. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | Nov. 16, 1868 | July 30, 1869 | Superseded. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Consular convention..... | Dec. 5, 1868 | Mar. 7, 1870 | Terminated.† |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Registration of trade marks..... | Dec. 20, 1868 | July 30, 1869 | Terminated.† |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Mar. 19, 1874 | May 1, 1874 | Terminated.† |
| Belgium..... | Treaty..... | Liberty of commerce and navigation..... | Mar. 8, 1875 | June 29, 1875 | In force. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Consular convention..... | Mar. 9, 1880 | Mar. 1, 1881 | In force. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | June 13, 1882 | Nov. 20, 1882 | Superseded. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Registration of trade marks..... | April 7, 1884 | July 9, 1884 | In force. |
| Belgium..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Oct. 26, 1901 | June 14, 1902 | In force. |
| Belgium..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | Nov. 19, 1904 | Feb. 1, 1905 | In force. |
| Bermuda..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | { Dec. 13, 1906
Jan. 15, 1907 } | Feb. 1, 1907 | In force. |

* The formation of the German Empire in 1871 by the consolidation of the North German Union, etc., has, in some instances, abrogated the treaties entered into with the independent German governments now embraced in the empire. † Upon notice of foreign power. ‡ On exchange of ratifications of the treaty of 1882.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------|----------------|---|
| Bolivia..... | Treaty..... | Peace, friendship, commerce and navigation..... | May 13, 1858 | Jan. 8, 1863 | In force. |
| Bolivia..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | April 21, 1900 | Dec. 30, 1901 | In force. |
| Borneo..... | Convention..... | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | June 23, 1850 | July 12, 1854 | In force. |
| Brazil..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | Dec. 12, 1828 | Mar. 18, 1829 | Terminated.* |
| Brazil..... | Convention..... | Securing payment of 530,000 milreis to satisfy claims of citizens of United States..... | Jan. 27, 1849 | Jan. 19, 1850 | Satisfied. |
| Brazil..... | Agreement..... | For protection of trade marks..... | Sept. 24, 1878 | June 17, 1879 | In force. |
| Brazil..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals..... | May 28, 1898 | April 30, 1903 | In force. |
| Brazil..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | April 27, 1908 | April 2, 1910 | In force. |
| Brazil..... | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | Mar. 26, 1910 | Mar. 30, 1911 | In force. |
| Bremen† | Convention..... | Arbitration..... | Jan. 23, 1909 | Aug. 2, 1911 | In force. |
| Brunswick and Lüneburg..... | Convention..... | Respecting the disposition of personal property..... | Aug. 21, 1854 | July 30, 1855 | † |
| Canada..... | Convention..... | Regulating postal affairs. Amendment..... | June 28, 1901 | Aug. 18, 1901 | In force. |
| Central America..... | Convention..... | Peace, amity, commerce and navigation..... | Dec. 5, 1825 | Oct. 28, 1826 | Abrogated. |
| Chile..... | Convention..... | Peace, amity, commerce and navigation..... | May 16, 1832 | April 29, 1834 | Terminated.‡ |
| Chile..... | Convention..... | For arbitration of Macedonian claims..... | Nov. 10, 1858 | Dec. 22, 1859 | Satisfied. |
| Chile..... | Convention..... | In adjustment of claims against Chile..... | Aug. 7, 1892 | Jan. 28, 1893 | Satisfied. |
| Chile..... | Protocol..... | Regarding claims of Patrick Shields..... | May 24, 1897 | | Satisfied. |
| Chile..... | Convention..... | For the amicable adjustment of claims..... | May 24, 1897 | Mar. 12, 1900 | Satisfied. |
| Chile..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals..... | April 17, 1900 | May 27, 1902 | In force. |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity and commerce..... | July 3, 1844 | April 18, 1846 | Terminated.* |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity and commerce..... | June 18, 1858 | Jan. 26, 1860 | In force in so far as it is not modified by the treaty of Oct. 8, 1903. |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Establishing trade regulations and tariff..... | Nov. 8, 1858 | | Became obsolete. |
| China..... | Convention..... | To establish claims against China..... | Nov. 8, 1858 | | Satisfied. |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Trade, consuls and emigration..... | July 4, 1868 | Feb. 5, 1870 | In force in so far as it is not modified by the treaty of Oct. 8, 1903. |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Immigration..... | Nov. 17, 1880 | Oct. 5, 1881 | In force.* |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Commercial intercourse and judicial procedure..... | Nov. 17, 1880 | Oct. 5, 1881 | In force in so far as it is not modified by the treaty of Oct. 8, 1903. |
| China..... | Convention..... | Regulation of Chinese immigration..... | Mar. 17, 1894 | Dec. 8, 1894 | In force. |
| China..... | Treaty..... | Extension of commercial relations..... | Oct. 8, 1903 | Jan. 13, 1904 | In force. |
| China..... | Convention..... | Arbitration..... | Oct. 8, 1908 | Nov. 29, 1909 | In force. |
| Colombia (New Granada)..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | Oct. 3, 1821 | May 31, 1825 | Expired. |
| Colombia (New Granada)..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity, navigation and commerce..... | Dec. 12, 1816 | June 12, 1818 | In force.* |
| Colombia (New Granada)..... | Convention..... | Consular convention..... | May 4, 1850 | Dec. 5, 1851 | In force. |
| Colombia (New Granada)..... | Convention..... | Satisfaction of claims against Colombia..... | Sept. 10, 1857 | Nov. 8, 1860 | Unsatisfied. |
| Colombia (New Granada)..... | Convention..... | Satisfaction of claims against Colombia..... | Feb. 10, 1864 | Aug. 19, 1865 | Satisfied. |
| Colombia..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | May 7, 1888 | Feb. 6, 1891 | In force. |
| Congo Independent States..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | Jan. 24, 1891 | April 2, 1892 | In force. |
| Costa Rica..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | July 10, 1861 | May 26, 1852 | In force. |
| Costa Rica..... | Convention..... | Satisfaction of claims against Costa Rica..... | July 2, 1860 | Nov. 11, 1861 | Satisfied. |
| Costa Rica..... | Convention..... | Money orders..... | Jan. 6-26, '03 | | In force. |
| Costa Rica..... | Convention..... | Arbitration..... | Jan. 13, 1909 | July 21, 1909 | In force. |
| Costa Rica..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | June 10, 1911 | June 6, 1912 | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Agreement..... | Naval and coaling stations in Cuba..... | Feb. 16-23, '03 | | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Lease..... | Coaling and naval stations..... | July 2, 1903 | | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Convention..... | To facilitate commercial intercourse..... | Dec. 11, 1902 | Dec. 17, 1903 | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Convention..... | Supplement to commercial convention..... | Jan. 26, 1903 | Dec. 17, 1903 | Terminated. |
| Cuba..... | Convention..... | Regulating postal affairs..... | June 16, 1903 | Aug. 19, 1903 | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Treaty..... | Future relations of U. S. with Cuba..... | May 22, 1903 | July 2, 1904 | In force. |
| Cuba..... | Convention..... | Supplementary to treaty on future relations..... | Jan. 20, 1904 | July 2, 1904 | Terminated. |
| Cuba..... | Treaty..... | Extradition..... | April 6, 1904 | Feb. 8, 1908 | In force. |

* In part. † Acceded to extradition treaty between United States and Prussia. ‡ The formation of the German Empire in 1871 by the consolidation of the North German Union, etc., has, in some instances abrogated the treaties entered into with the independent German governments now embraced in the empire. ‡ Upon notice of foreign power.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|----------------|---|
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Friendship, commerce and navigation.... | April 26, 1826 | Oct. 14, 1826 | Abrogated but renewed except Art. V., by convention of April 11, 1857. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Satisfaction of claims against Denmark.... | Mar. 28, 1830 | June 5, 1830 | Satisfied. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Discontinuing sound dues | April 11, 1837 | Jan. 13, 1858 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Consular convention..... | July 11, 1861 | Sept. 20, 1861 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Naturalization | July 20, 1872 | April 15, 1873 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Agreement.... | Concerning claims of Carlos Butterfield & Co..... | Dec. 6, 1888 | May 24, 1889 | Disallowed. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Protection of trade marks and labels..... | June 15, 1892 | Oct. 12, 1892 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Jan. 6, 1902 | April 17, 1902 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Treaty..... | Extradition — supplementary..... | Nov. 6, 1905 | Feb. 19, 1906 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Parcels post..... | { June 30, 1906 }
Aug. 15, 1906 | Oct. 1, 1906 | In force. |
| Denmark..... | Convention... | Arbitration | May 18, 1908 | Nov. 29, 1909 | In force. |
| Dominican Republic..... | Convention... | Amity, commerce, navigation and extradition..... | Feb. 8, 1867 | Oct. 24, 1867 | Terminated.* |
| Dominican Republic..... | Convention... | Collection and application of customs revenues..... | Feb. 8, 1907 | July 25, 1907 | Terminated. |
| Dominican Republic..... | Convention... | Extradition..... | June 19, 1909 | Aug. 26, 1910 | In force. |
| Dutch Guiana..... | Convention... | Parcels post..... | Aug. 28, 1909 | Sept. 4, 1909 | In force. |
| Ecuador..... | Treaty..... | Peace, friendship, navigation and commerce..... | June 13, 1839 | Sept. 23, 1842 | Terminated.* |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Satisfaction of claims against Ecuador..... | Nov. 25, 1862 | Sept. 8, 1864 | Satisfied. |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Naturalization | May 6, 1872 | Nov. 24, 1873 | Terminated.* |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Extradition of criminals | June 28, 1872 | Dec. 21, 1873 | In force. |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Satisfaction of claims of Julio R. Santos..... | Feb. 28, 1893 | Nov. 7, 1894 | Satisfied. |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Parcels post..... | Dec. 28, 1906 | Dec. 28, 1906 | In force. |
| Ecuador..... | Convention... | Arbitration | Jan. 7, 1909 | June 23, 1910 | In force. |
| Egypt..... | Agreement.... | Regarding commercial affairs | Nov. 16, 1884 | May 7, 1885 | In force. |
| Ethiopia..... | Treaty..... | Commercial relations..... | Dec. 27, 1903 | Sept. 30, 1904 | In force. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Amity and commerce | Feb. 6, 1778 | ..... | Abrogated, 1798. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Alliance to carry on the war with Great Britain..... | Feb. 6, 1778 | ..... | Abrogated, 1798. |
| France..... | Contract.... | For repayment of war loans..... | July 16, 1782 | ..... | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Contract.... | For new and repayment of old loans..... | Feb. 25, 1783 | ..... | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Convention... | Consular convention..... | Nov. 14, 1788 | ..... | Abrogated, 1798. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Peace, commerce and navigation | Sept. 30, 1800 | Dec. 21, 1801 | Expired by limitations. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | For the cession of Louisiana..... | April 30, 1803 | Oct. 21, 1803 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | For payment of purchase of Louisiana..... | April 30, 1803 | Oct. 21, 1803 | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Convention... | Satisfaction of claims against France..... | April 30, 1803 | Oct. 21, 1803 | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Convention... | Navigation and commerce | June 24, 1822 | Feb. 12, 1823 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | Claims and duties on wines and cotton..... | July 4, 1831 | July 13, 1832 | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Convention... | Extradition of criminals | Nov. 9, 1843 | April 13, 1844 | In force. |
| France..... | Article..... | Addition to extradition convention..... | Feb. 24, 1845 | July 24, 1845 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | Consular convention..... | Feb. 23, 1853 | Aug. 12, 1853 | In force. |
| France..... | Article..... | Addition to extradition convention..... | Feb. 10, 1858 | Feb. 14, 1859 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | Protection of trade marks..... | April 16, 1869 | July 6, 1869 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | Satisfaction of war claims..... | Jan. 15, 1880 | June 25, 1880 | Satisfied. |
| France..... | Convention... | Extension of term of claim commission..... | July 19, 1882 | Dec. 29, 1882 | ..... |
| France..... | Convention... | Extension of term of claim commission..... | Feb. 8, 1883 | June 25, 1883 | ..... |
| France..... | Agreement.... | Commercial reciprocity..... | May 28, 1898 | June 1, 1898 | In force. |
| France..... | Agreement.... | Additional agreement of reciprocity..... | Aug. 2, 1902 | Aug. 22, 1902 | In force. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Relations in Tunis..... | Mar. 15, 1904 | May 9, 1904 | In force. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Arbitration | Feb. 10, 1908 | Mar. 14, 1908 | In force. |
| France..... | Convention... | Parcels post..... | June 15, 1908 | ..... | In force. |
| France..... | Treaty..... | Extradition..... | Jan. 6, 1909 | July 26, 1911 | In force. |
| German Empire..... | Convention... | Regulating consular affairs and trade marks..... | Dec. 11, 1871 | June 1, 1872 | In force. |
| German Empire† | General act... | Neutrality and autonomous government of the Samoan Islands..... | June 14, 1889 | May 21, 1890 | Annulled by treaty of Dec. 2, 1899, for the adjustment of jurisdiction. |
| German Empire† | Convention... | Amicable adjustment of jurisdiction in Samoa..... | Dec. 2, 1899 | Feb. 16, 1900 | In force. |
| German Empire† | Convention... | Settlement of Samoan claims by arbitration..... | Nov. 7, 1899 | Mar. 8, 1900 | Satisfied. |
| German Empire..... | Agreement.... | Regarding commercial affairs | July 10, 1900 | ..... | In force. |

* Upon notice of foreign power.

† Great Britain also a party.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|--|
| German Empire... | Agreement (proclamation) | Regarding commercial affairs | April 22, 1907 | July 1, 1907 | In force. |
| German Empire... | Agreement | Patents | Feb. 23, 1909 | Aug. 1, 1909 | In force. |
| German Empire... | Convention | Postal | Jan. 9, 1909 | Feb. 11, 1909 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Provisional treaty of peace | Nov. 30, 1782 | April 11, 1783 | Abrogated. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Peace and amity | Sept. 3, 1783 | Jan. 11, 1784 | Abrogated. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Amity, commerce and navigation | Nov. 19, 1794 | Feb. 29, 1796 | Terminated.* |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Relating to passage of Indians between the two countries | May 4, 1796 | | Terminated.* |
| Great Britain... | Article | Explanatory to Article V, treaty of 1791 | Mar. 15, 1798 | | Terminated.* |
| Great Britain... | Convention | For payment of indemnities, etc. | Jan. 8, 1802 | April 27, 1802 | Terminated.* |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Peace and amity | Dec. 24, 1813 | Feb. 18, 1815 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Commerce and navigation | July 3, 1815 | Dec. 22, 1815 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Respecting fisheries, boundary and the restoration of slaves | Oct. 20, 1818 | Jan. 30, 1819 | Terminated.† |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Settlement of claims against Great Britain | Jan. 3, 1821 | Jan. 11, 1823 | Unsatisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Settlement of claims against Great Britain | Nov. 13, 1826 | Mar. 19, 1827 | Satisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Respecting the boundary from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean | Aug. 6, 1827 | May 15, 1828 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Respecting commercial affairs | Aug. 6, 1827 | May 15, 1828 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Relative to the Northeastern boundary | Sept. 20, 1827 | May 15, 1828 | Determined, 1842. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Boundary, suppression of slave trade and extradition | Aug. 9, 1842 | Nov. 10, 1842 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Establishing boundary west of the Rocky mountains | June 15, 1846 | Aug. 5, 1846 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Relative to ship canal between Atlantic and Pacific oceans (The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty) | April 19, 1850 | July 5, 1850 | Superseded. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Settlement of claims | Feb. 8, 1853 | Aug. 20, 1853 | Satisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Relative to fisheries, duties and navigation in British North America | June 5, 1854 | Sept. 11, 1854 | Terminated.‡ |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Extension of term of claim commission | July 17, 1854 | Sept. 11, 1854 | Satisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | For suppression of African slave trade | April 7, 1862 | June 7, 1862 | In force, but modified by treaty of June, 3, 1870. |
| Great Britain... | Article | Additional to slave trade treaty | Feb. 17, 1863 | April 22, 1873 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Settlement of claims | July 1, 1863 | Mar. 5, 1864 | Satisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Naturalization | May 13, 1870 | Sept. 16, 1870 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | For the suppression of slave trade | June 3, 1870 | Sept. 16, 1870 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Renunciation of naturalization | Feb. 23, 1871 | May 5, 1871 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | For the settlement of all causes of difference | May 8, 1871 | July 4, 1871 | Certain article still in force. |
| Great Britain... | Article | Additional to treaty of May 8, 1871 | Jan. 18, 1873 | April 15, 1873 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Declaration | Affording protection to trade marks | Oct. 21, 1877 | July 17, 1878 | |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Extradition of criminals | July 12, 1889 | Mar. 25, 1890 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Relating to fur seals in Behring sea | Feb. 29, 1892 | May 9, 1892 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Prohibiting the killing of fur seals during arbitration | April 18, 1892 | May 9, 1892 | Terminated. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | For the recovery of deserters from merchant vessels | June 3, 1892 | Aug. 1, 1892 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | For delimiting boundaries not permanently marked | July 22, 1892 | Aug. 26, 1892 | |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Extending the terms of the Alaskan boundary commission | Feb. 3, 1894 | Mar. 28, 1894 | |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Settlement of claims | Feb. 8, 1896 | June 11, 1896 | Satisfied. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Tenure and disposition of real and personal property | Mar. 2, 1899 | Aug. 6, 1900 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Supplementary to extradition convention | Dec. 19, 1900 | April 22, 1901 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | To facilitate the construction of a ship canal | Nov. 18, 1901 | Feb. 22, 1902 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Import duties in Zanzibar | May 31, 1902 | Oct. 17, 1902 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Relative to the Alaskan boundary | Jan. 24, 1903 | Mar. 3, 1903 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Light and harbor dues in Zanzibar | June 5, 1903 | Dec. 24, 1903 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Agreement | Protection of trade marks in Morocco | Dec. 6, 1899 | | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Parcels post | Feb. 3, 1905 | | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Parcels post | Feb. 17, 1905 | | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Relinquishing extra-territorial rights in Zanzibar | Feb. 25, 1905 | June 12, 1905 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Extradition. Supplementary | April 12, 1905 | Feb. 12, 1907 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Alaska boundary line | April 21, 1906 | Aug. 21, 1906 | Terminated. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Arbitration | April 4, 1908 | June 5, 1908 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Preservation of Canadian fisheries | April 11, 1908 | July 1, 1908 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Convention | Canadian boundary | April 11, 1908 | July 1, 1908 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty | Reciprocal rights of Canada for emancipation of prisoners, wreckage, salvage, etc. | May 18, 1908 | July 10, 1908 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Agreement | North Atlantic fisheries | Jan. 27, 1909 | Mar. 4, 1909 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Agreement | Postal | July 7, 1908 | Aug. 8, 1908 | In force. |

* By the War of 1812. † In part. ‡ Upon notice by the United States.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Great Britain... | Treaty..... | Relating to boundary waters with Canada. | Jan. 11, 1909 | May 13, 1910 | In force. |
| Great Britain... | Treaty..... | Fixing the boundary line in Passamaquoddy Bay. | May 21, 1910 | Sept. 3, 1910 | In force. |
| Greece..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | Dec. 22, 1837 | Aug. 30, 1838 | In force. |
| Greece..... | Convention. | Consular. | Dec. 2, 1902 | July 11, 1903 | In force. |
| Guatemala..... | Treaty..... | Peace, friendship, commerce and navigation. | Mar. 3, 1849 | July 28, 1852 | Terminated. |
| Guatemala..... | Agreement.... | For arbitration of the claim of Robert II. May. | Feb. 23, 1900 | ..... | Satisfied. |
| Guatemala..... | Agreement.... | For arbitration of the claim of Robert II. May, supplementary. | May 10, 1900 | ..... | ..... |
| Guatemala..... | Convention.... | Protection of trade marks and labels. | April 15, 1901 | April 11, 1902 | In force. |
| Guatemala..... | Convention.... | Real and personal property. | Aug. 27, 1901 | Sept. 18, 1902 | In force. |
| Guatemala..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice. | Feb. 27, 1903 | July 17, 1903 | In force. |
| Guatemala..... | Convention.... | Protection of patents. | Nov. 10, 1906 | July 9, 1907 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce, navigation and extradition. | Nov. 3, 1864 | July 6, 1865 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Agreement.... | Relative to claim by Charles A. Van Bokkelen. | May 24, 1888 | ..... | ..... |
| Haiti..... | Agreement.... | Relative to claim by John D. Metzgar & Co. | Oct. 18, 1899 | ..... | ..... |
| Haiti..... | Treaty..... | Naturalization. | Mar. 22, 1902 | Mar. 24, 1904 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Treaty..... | Naturalization, supplementary. | Feb. 22, 1903 | Mar. 24, 1904 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Treaty..... | Extradition. | Aug. 9, 1904 | June 28, 1905 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Convention.... | Arbitration. | Jan. 7, 1909 | Nov. 10, 1909 | In force. |
| Haiti..... | Convention.... | Parcels post. | Aug. 26, 1910 | Feb. 4, 1911 | In force. |
| Hanover..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | May 20, 1840 | Jan. 2, 1841 | Superseded. |
| Hanover..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | June 10, 1846 | April 24, 1847 | Terminated. |
| Hanover..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals. | Jan. 18, 1855 | May 5, 1855 | Terminated. |
| Hanover..... | Convention.... | Abolishing State dues. | Nov. 6, 1861 | June 17, 1862 | Terminated. |
| Hanseatic Republic*..... | Convention.... | Friendship, commerce and navigation. | Dec. 20, 1827 | June 2, 1828 | Superseded. |
| Hanseatic Republic*..... | Convention.... | Relating to arrest of deserters. | June 4, 1828 | July 29, 1829 | Superseded. |
| Hanseatic Republic*..... | Convention.... | Consular. | April 30, 1852 | June 6, 1853 | Superseded. |
| Hawaiian Islands..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce, extradition and navigation. | Dec. 20, 1849 | Nov. 9, 1850 | Terminated. |
| Hawaiian Islands..... | Treaty..... | Commercial reciprocity. | Jan. 30, 1875 | June 3, 1875 | Terminated. |
| Hawaiian Islands..... | Treaty..... | Additional reciprocity. | Dec. 6, 1884 | Nov. 9, 1887 | Terminated. |
| Hesse..... | Convention.... | Abolishing taxes and emigration. | Mar. 26, 1844 | May 8, 1845 | In force. |
| Hesse..... | Convention.... | Naturalization. | Aug. 1, 1868 | Aug. 31, 1869 | In force. |
| Honduras..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation. | July 4, 1864 | May 30, 1865 | In force. |
| Honduras..... | Convention.... | Naturalization. | June 23, 1908 | June 8, 1909 | In force. |
| Honduras..... | Convention.... | Extradition. | Jan. 15, 1909 | July 10, 1912 | In force. |
| Hong Kong..... | Convention.... | Parcels post. | Nov. 21, 1903 | ..... | In force. |
| Hungary..... | Convention.... | Copyright. | Jan. 30, 1912 | Oct. 15, 1912 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Consular. | Feb. 8, 1868 | Feb. 23, 1869 | Superseded. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Extradition of criminals. | Mar. 23, 1868 | Sept. 30, 1868 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Consular. | Jan. 21, 1869 | May 11, 1869 | Expired. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Additional to extradition convention, 1868. | Jan. 21, 1869 | May 11, 1869 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | Feb. 26, 1871 | Nov. 23, 1871 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Consular. | May 8, 1878 | Sept. 27, 1878 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Supplemental to consular convention, 1878. | Feb. 24, 1881 | June 29, 1881 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Declaration.. | Protection of trade marks. | June 1, 1882 | Mar. 19, 1884 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Additional to extradition convention, 1868. | June 11, 1884 | April 24, 1885 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Parcels post. | June 16, 1908 | ..... | In force. |
| Italy..... | Convention.... | Arbitration. | Mar. 28, 1908 | Jan. 25, 1909 | In force. |
| Italy..... | Proclamation.. | Reciprocity. | April 24, 1909 | ..... | In force. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity and commerce. | Mar. 31, 1854 | June 22, 1855 | Superseded. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Commercial and consular. | June 17, 1857 | June 30, 1858 | Superseded. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | July 29, 1858 | May 23, 1860 | Superseded. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Establishing tariff of duties. | June 25, 1866 | ..... | Superseded. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Relating to commercial affairs. | July 25, 1878 | April 8, 1879 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice. | April 29, 1886 | Nov. 3, 1886 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | Nov. 22, 1894 | Mar. 21, 1895 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Patents, trade marks and designs. | Jan. 13, 1897 | Mar. 9, 1897 | Superseded. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Parcels post. | Jan. 30, 1904 | ..... | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Copyright. | Aug. 1, 1904 | ..... | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Extradition—supplementary. | Nov. 10, 1905 | May 17, 1906 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Reciprocal protection of inventions, designs, trade-marks and copyrights in Korea. | May 17, 1906 | Sept. 26, 1906 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Reciprocal protection of inventions, designs, trade-marks, and copyrights in China. | May 19, 1908 | Aug. 11, 1908 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Convention.... | Arbitration. | May 19, 1908 | Aug. 11, 1908 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation. | May 5, 1908 | Sept. 1, 1908 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Protocol..... | Provisional tariff arrangement. | Feb. 21, 1911 | April 5, 1911 | In force. |
| Japan..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity, commerce and navigation. | Feb. 21, 1911 | April 5, 1911 | In force. |
| Korea..... | Treaty..... | Peace, amity, commerce and navigation. | May 22, 1882 | June 4, 1883 | In force. |
| Low Chew..... | Compact..... | Friendship and commerce. | July 11, 1854 | Mar. 9, 1855 | In force. |

* Bremen, Hamburg and Lubeck.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------|----------------|---|
| Liberia..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Oct. 21, 1862 | Mar. 18, 1863 | In force. |
| Liberia..... | Convention..... | Money orders..... | April 25, 1903 | June 9, 1903 | In force. |
| Luxemburg..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Oct. 29, 1883 | Aug. 12, 1884 | In force. |
| Luxemburg..... | Declaration..... | Trade marks..... | Dec. 23, 1904 | Mar. 15, 1905 | In force. |
| Mecklenburg-Schwerin*..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Dec. 9, 1847 | Aug. 2, 1848 | Superseded.† |
| Mecklenburg-Strelitz*..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Feb. 11, 1867 | Oct. 1, 1868 | Superseded. |
| Madagascar..... | Treaty..... | Friendship and commerce..... | May 13, 1881 | Mar. 13, 1883 | Terminated. |
| Madagascar..... | Treaty..... | Limits of boundary..... | Jan. 12, 1828 | April 5, 1832 | Obsolete. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Limits of boundary..... | April 5, 1831 | April 5, 1832 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | April 5, 1831 | April 5, 1832 | Terminated. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Limits of boundary..... | April 3, 1835 | April 21, 1836 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | April 11, 1839 | April 8, 1840 | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | Jan. 30, 1843 | Mar. 30, 1843 | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Peace, friendship, limits and settlement..... | Feb. 2, 1848 | July 4, 1848 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Boundary, cession of territory, etc. (Gadsden treaty)..... | Dec. 30, 1853 | June 30, 1854 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Dec. 11, 1861 | June 20, 1862 | Terminated.† |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | July 4, 1868 | Feb. 1, 1869 | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Naturalization..... | July 10, 1868 | Feb. 1, 1869 | Terminated.† |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of claims convention of 1868..... | April 19, 1871 | Feb. 8, 1872 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of claims convention of 1868..... | Nov. 27, 1872 | July 24, 1873 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of claims convention of 1868..... | Nov. 20, 1874 | Jan. 28, 1875 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of claims convention of 1868..... | April 29, 1876 | June 29, 1876 | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Relating to boundary limits..... | July 29, 1882 | Mar. 5, 1883 | Terminated.† |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Commercial reciprocity..... | Jan. 20, 1883 | June 2, 1884 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Rio Grande and Rio Colorado boundary..... | Nov. 12, 1884 | Sept. 14, 1886 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Commercial reciprocity..... | Feb. 25, 1885 | May 4, 1886 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of time for boundary commission..... | Dec. 5, 1885 | June 28, 1887 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Commercial reciprocity..... | May 14, 1886 | Feb. 1, 1887 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Revival of expired boundary commission..... | Feb. 18, 1889 | Oct. 14, 1889 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Limits of boundary..... | Mar. 1, 1889 | Dec. 26, 1890 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Aug. 24, 1894 | Oct. 18, 1894 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Oct. 1, 1895 | Dec. 21, 1895 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Nov. 6, 1896 | Dec. 23, 1896 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Oct. 29, 1897 | Dec. 21, 1897 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Dec. 2, 1898 | Feb. 3, 1899 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Feb. 22, 1899 | April 24, 1899 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Treaty..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Dec. 22, 1899 | May 7, 1900 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Extension of boundary convention..... | Nov. 21, 1900 | Dec. 24, 1900 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Protocol..... | Relative to the adjustment of "The Pious Fund of the Californians"..... | May 22, 1902 | | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Supplemental to extradition convention..... | June 25, 1902 | April 3, 1903 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Agreement..... | Reciprocal right to pursue savage Indians across the boundaries..... | June 25, 1890 | | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Relative to the Rio Grande boundary..... | Mar. 1, 1889 | Dec. 26, 1890 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Agreement..... | Right to pursue savage Indians..... | Nov. 25, 1892 | | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Agreement..... | Right to pursue savage Indians..... | June 4, 1896 | | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Agreement..... | Relative to claims of Oberlander and Messenger..... | May 2, 1897 | | Satisfied. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Providing for the equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande..... | May 21, 1906 | Jan. 16, 1907 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Territorial jurisdiction of bancos in the Rio Grande..... | Mar. 20, 1905 | June 5, 1907 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Arbitration..... | Mar. 24, 1908 | June 29, 1908 | Expired. |
| Mexico..... | Convention..... | Arbitration relating to the Chamazal tract..... | June 24, 1910 | Jan. 25, 1911 | In force. |
| Mexico..... | Protocol..... | Relating to the Chamazal tract..... | Dec. 5, 1910 | Jan. 25, 1911 | In force. |
| Morocco..... | Treaty..... | Peace and friendship..... | January, 1787 | | Superseded. |
| Morocco..... | Treaty..... | Peace and friendship..... | Sept. 16, 1836 | Jan. 30, 1837 | In force. |
| Morocco..... | Convention..... | Relative to Cape Sparte light-house..... | May 31, 1865 | Mar. 12, 1867 | In force. |
| Morocco..... | Convention..... | Relative to protection..... | July 3, 1880 | Dec. 21, 1881 | In force. |
| Muscate II..... | Treaty..... | Amity and commerce..... | Sept. 21, 1833 | June 21, 1837 | In force, but modified by treaty of June 5, 1903, with Great Britain. |
| Nassau..... | Convention..... | Abolishing emigration taxes..... | May 27, 1846 | Jan. 26, 1847 | Terminated. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Treaty..... | Peace and commerce..... | Oct. 8, 1782 | | Abrogated. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Relative to recaptured vessels..... | Oct. 8, 1782 | | Abrogated. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Jan. 19, 1839 | May 21, 1839 | In force, except Articles I and II. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Aug. 26, 1852 | Feb. 25, 1853 | In force. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Relative to consular office..... | Jan. 22, 1855 | May 26, 1855 | Superseded. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Relative to consular office..... | May 23, 1878 | Aug. 1, 1879 | In force. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | May 22, 1880 | July 30, 1880 | Superseded. |
| Netherlands, The..... | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | June 2, 1887 | June 21, 1889 | In force. |

* Acceded to extradition treaty between United States and Prussia.
 † See Zanzibar.

† In part.

† See also Peru and Bolivia.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Netherlands, The.. | Treaty..... | Supplementary extradition..... | Jan. 18, 1904 | May 31, 1904 | In force. |
| Netherlands, The.. | Convention.. | Parcels post..... | May 10, 1907 | Mar. 24, 1908 | In force. |
| Netherlands, The.. | Convention.. | Arbitration..... | May 2, 1908 | Mar. 25, 1909 | In force. |
| Nicaragua..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce, navigation and Isthmian transit..... | June 21, 1867 | Aug. 13, 1868 | Terminated |
| Nicaragua..... | Convention.. | Extradition of criminals..... | June 25, 1870 | Sept. 19, 1871 | Terminated. |
| Nicaragua..... | Agreement.. | Settlement of claim of Orr and others..... | Mar. 22, 1900 | | In force. |
| Nicaragua..... | Treaty..... | Extradition..... | Mar. 1, 1905 | June 15, 1907 | In force. |
| Nicaragua..... | Convention.. | Naturalization..... | Dec. 7, 1908 | May 10, 1912 | In force. |
| Nicaragua..... | Convention.. | Supplementary to above..... | June 17, 1911 | May 10, 1912 | In force. |
| North German Union..... | Convention.. | Naturalization..... | Feb. 22, 1868 | May 27, 1868 | In force. |
| Norway..... | Convention.. | Extradition of criminals..... | June 7, 1893 | Nov. 9, 1893 | In force. |
| Norway..... | Convention.. | Parcels post..... | { Aug. 27, 1904
Sept. 14, 1904 } | | In force. |
| Norway..... | Treaty..... | Amending extradition treaty of June 7, 1893..... | Dec. 10, 1904 | April 6, 1905 | In force. |
| Norway..... | Convention.. | Arbitration..... | April 4, 1908 | June 29, 1908 | In force. |
| Oldenburg [*] | Convention.. | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | Dec. 22, 1871 | Aug. 23, 1873 | Terminated. |
| Orange Free State..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Oct. 28, 1896 | April 21, 1899 | Terminated. |
| Panama..... | Treaty..... | Relative to a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama..... | Nov. 18, 1903 | Feb. 26, 1904 | In force. |
| Panama..... | Treaty..... | Extradition..... | May 25, 1904 | May 12, 1905 | In force. |
| Panama..... | Convention.. | Postal arrangements..... | June 19, 1905 | June 19, 1905 | |
| Panama..... | Convention.. | Postal arrangements, amendment..... | July 19, 1905 | July 19, 1905 | In force. |
| Paraguay..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claims..... | Feb. 4, 1859 | Mar. 12, 1860 | Satisfied. |
| Paraguay..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | Feb. 4, 1859 | Mar. 12, 1860 | In force. |
| Paraguay..... | Convention.. | Arbitration..... | Mar. 13, 1909 | Nov. 11, 1909 | In force. |
| Persia..... | Treaty..... | Friendship and commerce..... | Dec. 13, 1856 | Aug. 18, 1857 | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claims..... | Mar. 17, 1841 | Jan. 8, 1847 | Satisfied. |
| Peru..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | July 26, 1851 | July 19, 1852 | Terminated.† |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Declaring the principles of the rights of neutrals at sea..... | July 22, 1856 | Nov. 2, 1857 | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Relative to whaling ships..... | July 4, 1857 | Oct. 14, 1858 | Terminated.† |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claims..... | Dec. 20, 1862 | May 19, 1863 | Dropped. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claims..... | Jan. 12, 1863 | May 19, 1863 | Satisfied. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claims..... | Dec. 1, 1868 | July 6, 1869 | Satisfied. |
| Peru..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | Sept. 6, 1870 | July 27, 1874 | Terminated.† |
| Peru..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Sept. 12, 1870 | July 27, 1874 | Terminated.† |
| Peru..... | Treaty..... | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | Aug. 31, 1887 | Nov. 7, 1888 | Terminated.† |
| Peru..... | Agreement.. | Settlement of Mac-Cord claim..... | May 17, 1898 | | Satisfied. |
| Peru..... | Treaty..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Nov. 28, 1899 | Jan. 29, 1901 | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Money orders..... | { Aug. 8, 1903
Sept. 12, 1903 } | | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Parcels post..... | May 28, 1906 | | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Arbitration..... | Dec. 5, 1908 | June 30, 1909 | In force. |
| Peru..... | Convention.. | Naturalization..... | Oct. 15, 1907 | Sept. 2, 1909 | In force. |
| Peru-Bolivia..... | Convention.. | Friendship, commerce and navigation..... | Nov. 30, 1836 | Oct. 3, 1838 | Terminated. |
| Portugal..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Aug. 26, 1840 | April 24, 1841 | Terminated.† |
| Portugal..... | Convention.. | Settlement of claim of Brig.-General Armstrong..... | Feb. 26, 1851 | Sept. 1, 1851 | Satisfied. |
| Portugal..... | Convention.. | Relative to Delagoa Bay..... | June 13, 1891 | | In force. |
| Portugal..... | Treaty..... | Commercial reciprocity..... | July 24, 1897 | June 12, 1900 | In force. |
| Portugal..... | Convention.. | Naturalization..... | May 7, 1908 | Dec. 14, 1908 | In force. |
| Portugal..... | Convention.. | Extradition..... | May 7, 1908 | Dec. 14, 1908 | In force. |
| Portugal..... | Convention.. | Arbitration..... | April 17, 1908 | Dec. 14, 1908 | In force. |
| Prussia..... | Treaty..... | Amity and commerce..... | Sept. 10, 1785 | | Expired.† |
| Prussia..... | Treaty..... | Amity and commerce..... | July 11, 1799 | Nov. 4, 1800 | Expired.† |
| Prussia..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | May 1, 1828 | Mar. 14, 1829 | In force. |
| Prussia..... | Convention.. | Extradition of criminals..... | June 16, 1852 | June 1, 1853 | In force.‡ |
| Roumania..... | Convention.. | Relative to consular office..... | June 17, 1881 | July 9, 1883 | In force. |
| Roumania..... | Convention.. | Trade marks..... | { Mar. 18, 1906
Mar. 31, 1906 } | June 25, 1906 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Convention.. | As to the Pacific ocean and northwest coast of America..... | April 17, 1824 | Jan. 12, 1825 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Treaty..... | Commerce and navigation..... | Dec. 18, 1832 | May 11, 1833 | Abrogated. |
| Russia..... | Convention.. | As to rights of neutrals at sea..... | July 22, 1854 | Nov. 1, 1854 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Convention.. | Ceding Alaska..... | Mar. 30, 1867 | June 20, 1867 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Treaty..... | Additional to treaty of commerce of 1832..... | Jan. 27, 1868 | Oct. 15, 1868 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Declaration.. | Relative to trade marks..... | Mar. 28, 1874 | Nov. 24, 1874 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Convention.. | Extradition of criminals..... | Mar. 28, 1887 | June 5, 1893 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Agreement.. | For a modus vivendi in relation to the fur seal fisheries in Behring sea, etc..... | May 4, 1894 | May 12, 1894 | In force. |
| Russia..... | Agreement.. | Status of corporations..... | June 25, 1904 | June 15, 1909 | In force. |
| Salvador..... | Convention.. | Amity, navigation and commerce..... | Jan. 2, 1850 | April 18, 1853 | Superseded. |
| Salvador..... | Convention.. | Extradition of criminals..... | May 23, 1870 | Mar. 4, 1874 | Terminated. |
| Salvador..... | Treaty..... | Amity, commerce and consular privileges..... | Dec. 6, 1870 | Mar. 13, 1874 | Terminated.† |
| Salvador..... | Convention.. | Relative to amity, commerce, etc..... | Dec. 12, 1873 | Mar. 13, 1874 | Expired. |
| Salvador..... | Agreement.. | Settlement of claims..... | Dec. 12, 1901 | | |
| Salvador..... | Convention.. | Naturalization..... | Mar. 14, 1908 | July 23, 1908 | In force. |

* Acceded to extradition treaty between United States and Prussia.

† Upon notice of foreign power.

‡ Revived in part.

‖ Concluded for Prussia and other States of the Germanic Confederation; others acceded.

| COUNTRIES | Character of document | Subject of document | Signed | Proclaimed | Disposition |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---|---|----------------|--------------|
| Salvador | Convention..... | Arbitration | Dec. 21, 1908 | July 7, 1909 | In force. |
| Salvador | Treaty | Extradition | April 18, 1911 | July 13, 1911 | In force. |
| Samoa Islands | Treaty | Friendship and commerce | Jan. 17, 1878 | Feb. 13, 1878 | Terminated. |
| Samoa Islands | General Act..... | Neutrality and autonomous government of Samoa*..... | June 14, 1880 | May 21, 1890 | Terminated. |
| San Marino | Treaty | Extradition | Jan. 10, 1906 | June 12, 1908 | In force. |
| Sardinia | Treaty | Commerce and navigation | Nov. 26, 1838 | Mar. 18, 1839 | Terminated. |
| Saxony | Convention..... | Abolishing emigration taxes..... | May 11, 1845 | Sept. 9, 1846 | In force. |
| Serbia | Convention..... | Commerce and navigation | Oct. 14, 1881 | Dec. 27, 1882 | In force. |
| Serbia | Convention..... | Relative to consular offices..... | Oct. 14, 1881 | Dec. 27, 1882 | In force. |
| Serbia | Treaty | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Oct. 23, 1901 | May 17, 1902 | In force. |
| Siam | Convention..... | Amity and commerce | Mar. 20, 1833 | June 21, 1837 | Modified.† |
| Siam | Treaty | Amity and commerce | May 29, 1856 | Aug. 16, 1858 | In force. |
| Siam | Agreement..... | Regulating liquor traffic..... | May 14, 1884 | July 5, 1884 | In force. |
| Spain† | Treaty | Friendship, boundaries, commerce and navigation..... | Oct. 27, 1795 | Aug. 2, 1796 | Expired. |
| Spain† | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | Aug. 11, 1802 | Dec. 22, 1818 | Expired. |
| Spain† | Treaty | Friendship, cession of the Floridas and boundaries..... | Feb. 22, 1819 | Feb. 22, 1821 | In force. |
| Spain† | Convention..... | Settlement of claims of U. S. government..... | Feb. 17, 1834 | Nov. 1, 1834 | Satisfied. |
| Spain† | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | July 5, 1877 | Feb. 22, 1877 | Terminated. |
| Spain† | Convention..... | Relative to trade marks..... | June 19, 1882 | April 19, 1883 | Terminated. |
| Spain† | Convention..... | Supplementary to extradition convention..... | Aug. 7, 1882 | April 19, 1883 | Terminated. |
| Spain† | Treaty | Peace..... | Dec. 10, 1898 | April 11, 1899 | In force. |
| Spain† | Treaty | Cession of outlying islands of the Philippines..... | Nov. 7, 1900 | Mar. 23, 1901 | In force. |
| Spain† | Agreement..... | Relative to authenticity of signatures..... | Aug. 7, 1901 | Nov. 28, 1901 | In force. |
| Spain† | Treaty | Friendship and general relations..... | July 3, 1902 | April 20, 1903 | In force. |
| Spain | Treaty | Extradition | June 15, 1904 | May 21, 1908 | In force. |
| Spain | Convention..... | Arbitration | April 20, 1908 | June 3, 1908 | In force. |
| Sweden | Treaty | Amity and commerce | April 3, 1783 | Sept. 25, 1783 | Terminated.‡ |
| Sweden | Treaty | Amity and commerce | Sept. 4, 1816 | Dec. 31, 1818 | Expired. |
| Sweden | Treaty | Commerce and navigation | July 4, 1827 | Jan. 19, 1828 | In force. |
| Sweden | Convention..... | Extradition of criminals..... | Mar. 21, 1860 | Dec. 21, 1865 | Superseded. |
| Sweden | Convention..... | Naturalization | May 26, 1869 | Jan. 12, 1872 | In force. |
| Sweden | Treaty | Extradition of fugitives from justice..... | Jan. 14, 1893 | Mar. 18, 1893 | In force. |
| Sweden | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | Nov. 14, 1905 | Dec. 14, 1905 | In force. |
| Sweden | Convention..... | Arbitration | May 2, 1908 | Sept. 1, 1908 | In force. |
| Sweden | Convention..... | Consular | June 1, 1910 | Mar. 20, 1911 | In force. |
| Switzerland | Convention..... | Relative to property rights..... | May 18, 1847 | May 4, 1848 | Superseded. |
| Switzerland | Convention..... | Friendship, commerce and extradition..... | Nov. 25, 1850 | Nov. 9, 1855 | In force.† |
| Switzerland | Treaty | Extradition of criminals..... | May 14, 1900 | Feb. 28, 1901 | In force. |
| Switzerland | Convention..... | Arbitration | Feb. 29, 1908 | Dec. 23, 1908 | In force. |
| Texas | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | April 11, 1838 | July 6, 1838 | Satisfied. |
| Texas | Convention..... | Relative to boundary | April 25, 1838 | Oct. 13, 1838 | Obsolete. |
| Tonga | Treaty | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | Oct. 2, 1886 | Sept. 18, 1888 | In force. |
| Transvaal | Convention..... | Money orders..... | { April 28, 1903 }
{ June 13, 1903 } | | In force. |
| Tripoli | Treaty | Peace and friendship..... | Nov. 4, 1796 | June 10, 1797 | Superseded. |
| Tripoli | Treaty | Peace and amity | June 4, 1805 | (?) | ..... |
| Tunis | Treaty | Amity, commerce and navigation..... | August, 1797 | ..... | Superseded.† |
| Tunis | Convention..... | Amity and navigation | Feb. 24, 1824 | Jan. 21, 1825 | In force. |
| Turkey | Treaty | Commerce and navigation | May 7, 1830 | Feb. 4, 1832 | In force. |
| Turkey | Treaty | Commerce and navigation | Feb. 25, 1862 | July 2, 1862 | Terminated.§ |
| Turkey | Treaty | Extradition of criminals..... | Aug. 11, 1874 | May 26, 1875 | In force. |
| Turkey | Agreement..... | Right to hold real estate in Turkey..... | Aug. 11, 1874 | Oct. 29, 1874 | In force. |
| Two Sicilies | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | Oct. 14, 1832 | Aug. 27, 1833 | Satisfied. |
| Two Sicilies | Treaty | Commerce and navigation | Dec. 1, 1845 | July 24, 1846 | Superseded.¶ |
| Two Sicilies | Convention..... | Relative to rights of neutrals at sea..... | Jan. 13, 1855 | July 16, 1855 | Superseded. |
| Two Sicilies | Convention..... | Amity, commerce, navigation and extradition..... | Oct. 1, 1855 | Dec. 10, 1856 | Obsolete. |
| Uruguay | Convention..... | Parcels post..... | { Feb. 10, 1908 }
{ April 26, 1908 } | | In force. |
| Uruguay | Treaty | Extradition | Mar. 11, 1905 | July 10, 1908 | In force. |
| Uruguay | Convention..... | Naturalization | Aug. 10, 1908 | June 19, 1909 | In force. |
| Venezuela | Treaty | Peace, amity, commerce and navigation..... | Jan. 20, 1836 | June 30, 1836 | Terminated.§ |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | Jan. 14, 1859 | ..... | Satisfied. |
| Venezuela | Treaty | Amity, commerce, navigation and extradition..... | Aug. 27, 1860 | Sept. 25, 1861 | Terminated.§ |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | April 25, 1866 | May 29, 1867 | Satisfied. |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Relative to removal of doubts..... | Dec. 5, 1885 | June 4, 1889 | ..... |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Relative to extension of time..... | Mar. 15, 1888 | June 4, 1889 | ..... |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Settlement of claims..... | Oct. 5, 1888 | June 4, 1889 | Satisfied. |
| Venezuela | Convention..... | Abolishing taxes on emigration..... | Jan. 19, 1892 | July 30, 1894 | Satisfied. |
| Württemberg* | Convention..... | Naturalization and extradition..... | April 10, 1844 | Dec. 16, 1844 | In force. |
| Württemberg* | Convention..... | Naturalization and extradition..... | July 27, 1868 | Mar. 7, 1870 | In force. |
| Zanzibar | Treaty | Duties on liquors and consular powers..... | July 3, 1886 | Aug. 17, 1888 | In force. |

* Great Britain and Germany also parties. † In part.
annulled by treaty of July 3, 1902, except treaty of 1834.
‡ Acceded to extradition treaty between United States and Prussia.

§ All treaties with Spain prior to the treaty of peace were
|| Revived in part. ¶ Upon notice of foreign power.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Since the establishment of our government 27 men have been elected to the office of President and 28 to the office of Vice-President. Several of the Presidents have served two terms, but in the case of President Cleveland these two terms were not consecutive and were separated by the election of President Harrison. In the numbering, therefore,

the usual custom has been to denominate Cleveland as the 22d and 24th President of the United States and this custom has been followed. The States from which these officers were elected and the dates of their tenure of office are given and notations of death are inserted where either officer passed away during his term of office.

| | PRESIDENTS | VICE-PRESIDENTS | DATE |
|----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | George Washington, Va. | John Adams, Mass. | April 30, 1789, to Mar. 3, 1793. |
| 2 | George Washington, Va. | John Adams, Mass. | Mar. 4, 1793, to Mar. 3, 1797. |
| 3 | John Adams, Mass. | Thomas Jefferson, Va. | Mar. 4, 1797, to Mar. 3, 1801. |
| 4 | Thomas Jefferson, Va. | Aaron Burr, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1801, to Mar. 3, 1805. |
| 5 | James Madison, Va. | George Clinton, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1805, to Mar. 3, 1809. |
| 6 | James Madison, Va. | *George Clinton, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1809, to Mar. 3, 1813. |
| 7 | James Monroe, Va. | †Elbridge Gerry, Mass. | Mar. 4, 1813, to Mar. 3, 1817. |
| 8 | James Monroe, Va. | Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1817, to Mar. 3, 1821. |
| 9 | John Quincy Adams, Mass. | Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y. | Mar. 5, 1821, to Mar. 3, 1825. |
| 10 | Andrew Jackson, Tenn. | John C. Calhoun, S. C. | Mar. 4, 1825, to Mar. 3, 1829. |
| 11 | Andrew Jackson, Tenn. | John C. Calhoun, S. C. | Mar. 4, 1829, to Mar. 3, 1833. |
| 12 | Martin Van Buren, N. Y. | Martin Van Buren, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1833, to Mar. 3, 1837. |
| 13 | §William Henry Harrison, Ohio. | Richard M. Johnson, Ky. | Mar. 4, 1837, to Mar. 3, 1841. |
| 14 | John Tyler, Va. | John Tyler, Va. | Mar. 4, 1841, to April 4, 1841. |
| 15 | James K. Polk, Tenn. | George M. Dallas, Pa. | April 6, 1841, to Mar. 3, 1845. |
| 16 | †Zachary Taylor, La. | Millard Fillmore, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1845, to Mar. 3, 1849. |
| 17 | Millard Fillmore, N. Y. | Millard Fillmore, N. Y. | Mar. 5, 1849, to July 9, 1850. |
| 18 | Franklin Pierce, N. H. | ¶William R. King, Ala. | July 10, 1850, to Mar. 3, 1853. |
| 19 | James Buchanan, Pa. | John C. Breckinridge, Ky. | Mar. 4, 1853, to Mar. 3, 1857. |
| 20 | Abraham Lincoln, Ill. | Hannibal Hamlin, Me. | Mar. 4, 1857, to Mar. 3, 1861. |
| 21 | **Abraham Lincoln, Ill. | Andrew Johnson, Tenn. | Mar. 4, 1861, to Mar. 3, 1865. |
| 22 | Andrew Johnson, Tenn. | Andrew Johnson, Tenn. | Mar. 4, 1865, to April 15, 1865. |
| 23 | Ulysses S. Grant, Ill. | Schuyler Colfax, Ind. | April 15, 1865, to Mar. 3, 1869. |
| 24 | Ulysses S. Grant, Ill. | †Henry Wilson, Mass. | Mar. 4, 1869, to Mar. 3, 1873. |
| 25 | Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio. | William A. Wheeler, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1873, to Mar. 3, 1877. |
| 26 | †James A. Garfield, Ohio. | Chester A. Arthur, N. Y. | Mar. 5, 1877, to Mar. 3, 1881. |
| 27 | Chester A. Arthur, N. Y. | Chester A. Arthur, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1881, to Sept. 19, 1881. |
| 28 | Grover Cleveland, N. Y. | ¶¶Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind. | Sept. 20, 1881, to Mar. 3, 1885. |
| 29 | Benjamin Harrison, Ind. | Levi P. Morton, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1885, to Mar. 3, 1889. |
| 30 | Grover Cleveland, N. Y. | Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill. | Mar. 4, 1889, to Mar. 3, 1893. |
| 31 | William McKinley, Ohio. | *Garret A. Hobart, N. J. | Mar. 4, 1893, to Mar. 3, 1897. |
| 32 | ¶William McKinley, Ohio. | Theodore Roosevelt, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1897, to Mar. 3, 1901. |
| 33 | Theodore Roosevelt, N. Y. | Theodore Roosevelt, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1901, to Sept. 14, 1901. |
| 34 | Theodore Roosevelt, N. Y. | Charles W. Fairbanks, Ind. | Sept. 14, 1901, to Mar. 3, 1905. |
| 35 | William H. Taft, Ohio. | James S. Sherman, N. Y. Δ | Mar. 4, 1905, to Mar. 3, 1909. |
| 36 | Woodrow Wilson, N. J. | Thomas R. Marshall, Ind. | Mar. 4, 1909, to Mar. 3, 1913. |
| 37 | | | Mar. 4, 1913, to |

* Died April 20, 1812. † Died Nov. 23, 1814. ‡ Resigned Dec. 28, 1832. § Died April 4, 1841. ¶ Died July 9, 1850. ¶¶ Died April 18, 1853. ** Died April 15, 1865. †† Died Nov. 22, 1875. ‡‡ Died Sept. 19, 1881. §§ Died Nov. 25, 1885. ††† Died Nov. 21, 1899. ¶¶¶ Died Sept. 14, 1901. Δ Died Oct. 30, 1912.

PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

The first four presidential elections — those of 1789, 1792, 1796, and 1800 — were held under the provisions of the second article of the Constitution, by the terms of which the candidate receiving the largest number of electoral votes was declared to be President and the candidate receiving the next highest number was declared to be Vice-President. But in the fourth election Jefferson and Burr each received the same number of electoral votes and a contest in the House of Representatives ensued, resulting in the final choice of Jefferson to the presidency. This contest demonstrated the necessity of amending the Constitution so that the country might not again witness a similar situation. The Twelfth Amendment was then framed (proclaimed September 25, 1804) providing that the electoral ballots should be cast for both presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and this method has ever since been followed.

The voters do not cast their ballots "direct" for the two chief executives, but under the provisions of the second article of the Constitution and the Twelfth Amendment thereto vote for "electors." After the popular election these electors meet in the various States and certify to the

President of the Senate for which candidate they (the electors) have been instructed to cast their (electoral) votes. The President of the Senate then opens the ballots in the presence of the members of the Senate and House and officially announces the result of the election. For this reason there is no officially "direct" popular vote for our most important officials though the result of the count of ballots in the Electoral College may be regarded as the "direct" expression of popular opinion. The "will of the majority" (of the popular voters) has, however, been thwarted several times in our national elections, as in 1824, 1876 and 1888, when the unsuccessful candidates received from 100,000 to nearly 300,000 more votes from the people than the candidate who was declared elected by the Electoral College. As the number of electors in each State is equal to its representation in both branches of Congress and as the apportionment of representatives is changed only once every ten years (after each census and in accordance with the growth or decrease of population), it is not strange that the popular vote and the electoral vote vary, the popular majority, therefore, having little weight.

In our early history, therefore, the country witnessed the election of a President representing one party or political body while the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes and therefore being declared Vice-President, represented the op-

posing party. This of course has been obviated by the system of party nominations of the present day. This will explain the apparent omission of Vice-Presidential candidates prior to the election of 1804.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

| Year | NAME | State | Party | Elec-
toral
Vote | Popular
Vote | State and Date of
Birth | State and Date of
Death |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1789 | George Washington | Va. | | 69 | | Va., Feb. 22, 1732 | Va., Dec. 14, 1799 |
| | John Adams | Mass. | | 34 | | Mass., Oct. 30, 1735 | Mass., July 4, 1826 |
| | John Jay | N. Y. | | 9 | | N. Y., Dec. 12, 1745 | N. Y., May 17, 1829 |
| | R. H. Harrison | Md. | | 6 | | Md., 1745 | Md., April 2, 1790 |
| | John Rutledge | S. C. | | 6 | | S. C., 1739 | S. C., July 23, 1800 |
| | John Hancock | Mass. | | 4 | | Mass., Jan. 12, 1737 | Mass., Oct. 8, 1793 |
| | George Clinton | N. Y. | | 3 | | N. Y., July 26, 1739 | D. C., April 20, 1812 |
| | Samuel Huntington | Conn. | | 2 | | Conn., July 3, 1732 | Conn., Jan. 5, 1796 |
| | John Milton | Ga. | | 2 | | Ga., 1740 | |
| | James Armstrong | Ga. | | 1 | | | Pa., Sept. 3, 1795 |
| | Benjamin Lincoln | Mass. | | 1 | | Mass., Jan. 24, 1733 | Mass., May 9, 1810 |
| | Edward Telfair | Ga. | | 1 | | Va., 1735 | Ga., Sept. 17, 1807 |
| 1792 | George Washington | Va. | Federal | 132 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Adams | Mass. | Federal | 77 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | George Clinton | N. Y. | Rep. | 50 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Thomas Jefferson | Va. | Rep. | 4 | | Va., April 2, 1743 | Va., July 4, 1826 |
| | Aaron Burr | N. Y. | Rep. | 1 | | N. J., Feb. 6, 1756 | N. Y., Sept. 14, 1836 |
| 1796 | John Adams | Mass. | Federal | 71 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Thomas Jefferson | Va. | Rep. | 68 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Thomas Pinckney | S. C. | Federal | 59 | | S. C., Oct. 23, 1750 | S. C., Nov. 2, 1828 |
| | Aaron Burr | N. Y. | Rep. | 30 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Samuel Adams | Mass. | Rep. | 15 | | Mass., Sept. 27, 1722 | Mass., Oct. 2, 1803 |
| | Oliver Ellsworth | Conn. | Ind. | 11 | | Conn., April 29, 1745 | Conn., Nov. 26, 1807 |
| | George Clinton | N. Y. | Rep. | 7 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Jay | N. Y. | Federal | 5 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | James Fredell | N. C. | Federal | 3 | | N. C., Nov. 2, 1788 | N. C., April 13, 1853 |
| | George Washington | Va. | Federal | 2 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Henry | Md. | Federal | 2 | | Md., 1750 | Md., Dec. 16, 1798 |
| | S. Johnson | N. C. | Federal | 2 | | N. J., Feb. 6, 1733 | N. C., Aug. 18, 1816 |
| | C. C. Pinckney | S. C. | Federal | 1 | | S. C., Feb. 25, 1746 | S. C., Aug. 16, 1825 |
| 1800 | Thomas Jefferson | Va. | Rep. | *73 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Aaron Burr | N. Y. | Rep. | *73 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Adams | Mass. | Federal | 65 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | C. C. Pinckney | S. C. | Federal | 64 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Jay | N. Y. | Federal | 1 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1804 | Thomas Jefferson | Va. | Rep. | 162 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | C. C. Pinckney | S. C. | Federal | 14 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1808 | James Madison | Va. | Rep. | 122 | | Va., Aug. 27, 1749 | Va., Mar. 6, 1812 |
| | C. C. Pinckney | S. C. | Federal | 47 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | George Clinton | N. Y. | Rep. | 6 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1812 | James Madison | Va. | Rep. | 128 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | DeWitt Clinton | N. Y. | Federal | 89 | | N. Y., Mar. 2, 1769 | N. Y., Feb. 11, 1826 |
| 1816 | James Monroe | Va. | Rep. | 183 | | Va., April 28, 1758 | N. Y., July 4, 1831 |
| | Rufus King | N. Y. | Federal | 34 | | Me., Mar. 24, 1755 | N. Y., April 29, 1827 |
| 1820 | James Monroe | Va. | Rep. | 228 | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Quincy Adams | Mass. | Rep. | 1 | | Mass., July 11, 1767 | D. C., Feb. 23, 1848 |
| 1824 | John Quincy Adams | Mass. | Rep. | *84 | 108,740 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Andrew Jackson | Tenn. | Dem. | *99 | 153,544 | N. C., Mar. 15, 1767 | Tenn., June 8, 1845 |
| | W. H. Crawford | Ga. | Rep. | 42 | 47,136 | Va., April 12, 1777 | D. C., June 29, 1852 |
| | Henry Clay | Ky. | Rep. | 37 | 46,618 | Va., Feb. 24, 1772 | Ga., Sept. 15, 1834 |
| 1828 | Andrew Jackson | Tenn. | Dem. | 178 | 647,286 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Quincy Adams | Mass. | Nat. Rep. | 83 | 508,064 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1832 | Andrew Jackson | Tenn. | Dem. | 219 | 687,502 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Henry Clay | Ky. | Nat. Rep. | 49 | 530,189 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Floyd | Ga. | Ind. | 11 | | Va., 1770 | Va., Aug. 16, 1837 |
| | William Wirt | Md. | Anti-Mas. | 7 | | Md., Nov. 8, 1772 | D. C., Feb. 18, 1834 |
| 1836 | Martin Van Buren | N. Y. | Dem. | 170 | 762,678 | N. Y., Dec. 5, 1782 | N. Y., July 24, 1862 |
| | William H. Harrison | Ohio | Whig | 73 | | Va., Feb. 9, 1773 | D. C., April 4, 1841 |
| | Hugh L. White | Tenn. | Whig | 26 | 735,651 | N. C., Oct. 30, 1773 | Tenn., April 10, 1840 |
| | Daniel Webster | Mass. | Whig | 14 | | N. H., Jan. 18, 1782 | Mass., Oct. 24, 1852 |
| | W. P. Mangum | N. C. | Whig | 11 | | N. C., 1792 | N. C., Sept. 14, 1861 |
| 1840 | William H. Harrison | Ohio | Whig | 234 | 1,275,016 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Martin Van Buren | N. Y. | Dem. | 60 | 1,129,102 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | James G. Birney | N. Y. | Liberty | | 7,069 | Ky., Feb. 4, 1792 | N. J., Nov. 25, 1857 |
| 1844 | James K. Polk | Tenn. | Dem. | 170 | 1,337,243 | N. C., Nov. 2, 1795 | Tenn., June 15, 1849 |
| | Henry Clay | Ky. | Whig | 105 | 1,299,062 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | James G. Birney | N. Y. | Liberty | | 62,300 | (Above) | (Above) |

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES — *Continued.*

| Year | NAME | State | Party | Elec-
toral
Vote | Popular
Vote | State and Date of
Birth | State and Date of
Death |
|------|---------------------|-------|------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1848 | Zachary Taylor | La. | Whig | 163 | 1,360,099 | Va., Sept. 24, 1784 | D. C., July 9, 1850 |
| | Lewis Cass | Mich. | Dem. | 127 | 1,220,544 | N. H., Oct. 9, 1782 | Mich., June 17, 1866 |
| | Martin Van Buren | N. Y. | F. S. | ... | 291,263 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1852 | Franklin Pierce | N. H. | Dem. | 254 | 1,602,274 | N. H., Nov. 23, 1804 | N. H., Oct. 8, 1869 |
| | Winfield Scott | N. J. | Whig | 42 | 1,386,580 | Va., June 13, 1786 | N. Y., May 29, 1866 |
| | John P. Hale | N. H. | Free Dem. | ... | 155,825 | N. H., Mar. 31, 1806 | N. H., Nov. 19, 1873 |
| 1856 | Daniel Webster | Mass. | Whig | ... | 1,670 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | James Buchanan | Pa. | Dem. | 174 | 1,838,169 | Pa., April 22, 1791 | Pa., June 1, 1868 |
| | John C. Fremont | Cal. | Rep. | 114 | 1,341,264 | Cal., Jan. 21, 1813 | N. Y., July 13, 1890 |
| 1860 | Millard Fillmore | N. Y. | Amer. | 8 | 874,534 | N. Y., Feb. 7, 1800 | N. Y., Mar. 8, 1874 |
| | Abraham Lincoln | Ill. | Rep. | 180 | 1,866,452 | Ky., Feb. 12, 1799 | D. C., April 15, 1865 |
| | J. C. Breckenridge | Ky. | Dem. | 72 | 847,953 | Ky., Jan. 21, 1824 | Ky., May 17, 1875 |
| 1864 | Stephen A. Douglas | Ill. | U. Dem. | 39 | 1,375,157 | Vt., April 23, 1813 | Ill., June 3, 1861 |
| | John Bell | Tenn. | Cons. U. | 12 | 590,631 | Tenn., Feb. 15, 1797 | Tenn., Sept. 10, 1869 |
| | Abraham Lincoln | Ill. | Rep. | 212 | 2,213,665 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1868 | George B. McClellan | N. J. | Dem. | 21 | 1,802,237 | Pa., Dec. 3, 1826 | N. J., Oct. 29, 1885 |
| | Ulysses S. Grant | Ill. | Rep. | 214 | 3,012,833 | Ohio, April 27, 1822 | N. Y., July 23, 1885 |
| | Horatio Seymour | N. Y. | Dem. | 80 | 2,703,249 | N. Y., May 31, 1810 | N. Y., Feb. 12, 1886 |
| 1872 | Ulysses S. Grant | Ill. | Rep. | 286 | 3,597,132 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Horace Greeley | N. Y. | D. and L. | † | 2,834,125 | N. H., Feb. 3, 1811 | N. Y., Nov. 29, 1872 |
| | Charles O'Connor | N. Y. | Dem. | ... | 29,489 | N. Y., Jan. 22, 1804 | Mass., May 12, 1884 |
| 1876 | James Black | Pa. | Temp. | ... | 5,608 | Pa., Sept. 23, 1823 | Pa., Dec. 16, 1893 |
| | Thomas A. Hendricks | Ind. | Dem. | 42 | † | Ohio, Sept. 7, 1819 | Ind., Nov. 25, 1885 |
| | B. Gratz Brown | Mo. | Dem. | 18 | † | Ky., May 28, 1826 | Mo., Dec. 13, 1885 |
| 1880 | Charles J. Jenkins | Cal. | Dem. | 2 | † | S. C., Jan. 6, 1805 | Cal., June 13, 1883 |
| | David Davis | Ill. | Ind. | 1 | ... | Ill., Mar. 9, 1815 | Ill., June 26, 1886 |
| | Rutherford B. Hayes | Ohio | Rep. | 185 | 4,036,298 | Ohio, Oct. 4, 1822 | Ohio, Jan. 17, 1893 |
| 1884 | Samuel J. Tilden | N. Y. | Dem. | 184 | 4,300,590 | N. Y., Feb. 9, 1814 | N. Y., Aug. 1, 1886 |
| | Peter Cooper | N. Y. | Green'b'k | ... | 81,737 | N. Y., Feb. 12, 1791 | N. Y., April 4, 1883 |
| | Green Clay Smith | Ky. | Prohib. | ... | 9,522 | Ky., July 2, 1832 | Ky., June 29, 1895 |
| 1888 | James B. Walker | Ill. | Amer. | ... | 2,636 | Ohio, Nov. 19, 1831 | N. J., Sept. 19, 1881 |
| | James A. Garfield | Ohio | Rep. | 214 | 4,454,416 | Pa., Feb. 14, 1824 | N. Y., Feb. 9, 1886 |
| | Winfield S. Hancock | Pa. | Dem. | 155 | 4,441,952 | Ohio, June 12, 1823 | Towa., Feb. 6, 1912 |
| 1892 | James B. Weaver | Iowa | Green'b'k | ... | 308,578 | Me., Mar. 20, 1804 | Me., Oct. 2, 1897 |
| | Neal Dow | Me. | Prohib. | ... | 10,305 | Vt., Nov. 13, 1813 | ... |
| | John W. Phillips | Vt. | Amer. | ... | 707 | N. J., Mar. 18, 1837 | N. J., June 21, 1908 |
| 1896 | Grover Cleveland | N. Y. | Dem. | 219 | 4,874,986 | Pa., Jan. 31, 1830 | D. C., Jan. 27, 1893 |
| | James G. Blaine | Me. | Rep. | 182 | 4,851,981 | Ind., Feb. 25, 1833 | D. C., Jan. 11, 1893 |
| | John P. St. John | Ky. | Prohib. | ... | 150,369 | N. H., Nov. 5, 1818 | ... |
| 1898 | Benjamin F. Butler | Mass. | People's | ... | 175,370 | Ohio, Aug. 20, 1833 | Ind., Mar. 13, 1901 |
| | P. D. Wigginton | Cal. | Amer. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Benjamin Harrison | Ind. | Rep. | 233 | 5,439,853 | N. Y., Dec. 8, 1828 | N. Y., July 9, 1890 |
| 1900 | Grover Cleveland | N. Y. | Dem. | 168 | 5,510,309 | N. Y., Dec. 8, 1828 | Ill., Nov. 24, 1901 |
| | Clinton B. Fisk | N. J. | Prohib. | ... | 249,506 | Conn., Feb. 19, 1816 | (Above) |
| | Alison J. Streeter | Ill. | Union L. | ... | 146,935 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1904 | James L. Curtis | N. Y. | Amer. | ... | 1,591 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Grover Cleveland | N. Y. | Dem. | 277 | 5,554,437 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Benjamin Harrison | Ind. | Rep. | 115 | 5,175,287 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1892 | James B. Weaver | Iowa | People's | 22 | 1,041,028 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Bidwell | Cal. | Nat. Dem. | ... | 264,133 | N. Y., Aug. 5, 1819 | Cal., April 5, 1900 |
| | Simon Wing | Mass. | Prohib. | ... | 21,161 | Ohio, Jan. 29, 1843 | N. Y., Sept. 14, 1901 |
| 1896 | William McKinley | Ohio | Rep. | 271 | 7,102,272 | Ill., Mar. 19, 1860 | Ill., Sept. 25, 1900 |
| | William J. Bryan | Neb. | Dem. & Pe. | 176 | 6,273,624 | Ky., Sept. 13, 1817 | ... |
| | John M. Palmer | Ill. | Nat. Dem. | ... | 133,148 | Md., Sept. 12, 1845 | ... |
| 1900 | Joshua Levering | Md. | Prohib. | ... | 132,007 | Mass., May 15, 1843 | ... |
| | Charles H. Matchett | N. Y. | Soc. L. | ... | 36,274 | N. Y., April 30, 1811 | ... |
| | Charles E. Bentley | Neb. | Nat. | ... | 13,969 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1904 | William McKinley | Ohio | Rep. | 292 | 7,219,101 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | William J. Bryan | Neb. | Dem. & Pe. | 155 | 6,357,054 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John G. Wooley | Ill. | Prohib. | ... | 208,187 | Ohio, Feb. 15, 1850 | ... |
| 1908 | Eugene V. Debs | Ind. | Soc. Dem. | ... | 99,613 | Ind., Nov. 5, 1855 | ... |
| | Wharton Barker | Pa. | M. R. P. | ... | 51,585 | Pa., May 1, 1846 | ... |
| | Joseph F. Malloney | Mass. | Soc. L. | ... | 33,413 | R. I., ... | 1863 |
| 1904 | Seth H. Ellis | Ohio | U. R. | ... | 5,698 | Ohio, Jan. 3, 1830 | ... |
| | J. F. R. Leonard | Iowa | U. C. | ... | 1,059 | Pa., Dec. 10, 1832 | ... |
| | Theodore Roosevelt | N. Y. | Rep. | 336 | 7,624,982 | N. Y., Oct. 27, 1858 | ... |
| 1908 | Alton B. Parker | N. Y. | Dem. | 140 | 5,112,565 | N. Y., May 14, 1832 | ... |
| | Eugene V. Debs | Ind. | Soc. | ... | 406,442 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Silas C. Swallow | Pa. | Prohib. | ... | 258,838 | Pa., May 5, 1839 | ... |
| 1908 | Thomas E. Watson | Ga. | People's | ... | 120,903 | Ga., Sept. 5, 1856 | ... |
| | Charles H. Corregan | N. Y. | Soc. L. | ... | 28,943 | N. Y., Dec. 11, 1860 | ... |
| | William Howard Taft | Ohio | Rep. | 321 | 7,676,147 | Ohio, Sept. 15, 1857 | ... |
| 1908 | William J. Bryan | Neb. | Dem. | 162 | 6,412,805 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Eugene V. Debs | Ind. | Soc. | ... | 420,711 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Thomas L. Hisgen | Mass. | Ind. | ... | 82,806 | Ind., Nov. 26, 1858 | ... |
| 1912 | Eugene W. Chafin | Ill. | Prohib. | ... | 253,888 | Wis., Nov. 1, 1852 | ... |
| | Thomas E. Watson | Ga. | People's | ... | 29,100 | Ga., Sept. 5, 1856 | ... |
| | Albert Gilhaus | N. Y. | Soc. L. | ... | 13,825 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1912 | William H. Taft | Ohio | Rep. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Woodrow Wilson | N. J. | Dem. | ... | ... | Va., Dec. 28, 1856 | ... |
| | Theodore Roosevelt | N. Y. | Pro. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1912 | Eugene V. Debs | Ind. | Soc. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Eugene W. Chafin | Ill. | Prohib. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Arthur E. Reimer | ... | Soc. Lab. | ... | ... | (Above) | (Above) |

* Election decided by the House of Representatives.

† Owing to the death of Mr. Greeley, the Democratic elec-
toral votes were scattered.

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

| Year | NAME | State | Party | Electoral Vote | State and Date of Birth | State and Date of Death |
|------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1804 | George Clinton | New York | Republican | 162 | N. Y., July 26, 1739 | D. C., April 20, 1812 |
| | Rufus King | New York | Federal | 14 | Me., March 24, 1755 | N. Y., April 29, 1827 |
| 1808 | George Clinton | New York | Republican | 113 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Rufus King | New York | Federal | 47 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Langdon | N. H. | Federal | 9 | N. H., June 25, 1741 | N. H., Sept. 18, 1819 |
| | James Madison | Virginia | Republican | 3 | Va., Aug. 27, 1749 | Va., March 6, 1812 |
| | James Monroe | Virginia | Republican | 3 | Va., April 28, 1758 | N. Y., July 4, 1831 |
| 1812 | Elbridge Gerry | Mass. | Republican | 131 | Mass., July 17, 1744 | D. C., Nov. 23, 1814 |
| | Jared Ingersoll | Pa. | Federal | 86 | Conn., —, 1749 | Pa., Oct. 31, 1822 |
| 1816 | D. D. Tompkins | New York | Republican | 183 | N. Y., June 21, 1774 | N. Y., June 11, 1825 |
| | John E. Howard | Maryland | Federal | 22 | Md., June 4, 1752 | Md., Oct. 12, 1827 |
| | James Ross | Pa. | Republican | 5 | Pa., July 12, 1762 | Pa., Nov. 27, 1847 |
| | John Marshall | Virginia | Republican | 4 | Va., Sept. 24, 1755 | Pa., July 6, 1835 |
| | Robert G. Harper | Maryland | Republican | 3 | Va., —, 1765 | Md., July 15, 1825 |
| 1820 | D. D. Tompkins | New York | Republican | 215 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Richard Stockton | N. J. | Republican | 8 | N. J., Oct. 1, 1750 | N. J., Feb. 28, 1821 |
| | Daniel Rodney | Delaware | Republican | 1 | —, —, 1771 | Del., Sept. 2, 1846 |
| | Robert G. Harper | Maryland | Republican | 4 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Richard Rush | Pa. | Republican | 1 | Pa., Aug. 29, 1780 | Pa., July 30, 1859 |
| 1824 | John C. Calhoun | S. C. | Democrat | 182 | S. C., March 18, 1782 | D. C., Mar. 31, 1850 |
| | Nathan Sanford | New York | Republican | 30 | N. Y., Nov. 5, 1779 | N. Y., Oct. 17, 1838 |
| | Nathaniel Macon | N. C. | Republican | 24 | N. C., Dec. 17, 1757 | N. C., June 29, 1837 |
| | Andrew Jackson | Tennessee | Democrat | 13 | N. C., Mar. 15, 1767 | Tenn., June 8, 1845 |
| | Martin Van Buren | New York | Democrat | 9 | N. Y., Dec. 5, 1782 | N. Y., July 24, 1862 |
| | Henry Clay | Kentucky | Republican | 2 | Va., April 12, 1777 | D. C., June 29, 1852 |
| 1828 | John C. Calhoun | S. C. | Democrat | 171 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Richard Rush | Pa. | Nat. Rep. | 83 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | William Smith | N. C. | Democrat | 7 | N. C., —, 1762 | Ala., June 26, 1840 |
| 1832 | Martin Van Buren | New York | Democrat | 189 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John Sergeant | Pa. | Nat. Rep. | 49 | Pa., Dec. 5, 1779 | Pa., Nov. 25, 1852 |
| | Henry Lee | Mass. | Independent | 11 | Mass., Feb. 4, 1782 | Mass., Feb. 6, 1867 |
| | Amos Ellinaker | Pa. | Anti-Masonic | 7 | Pa., Feb. 2, 1787 | Pa., Nov. 28, 1851 |
| | William Wilkins | Pa. | Democrat | 30 | Pa., Dec. 20, 1779 | Pa., June 23, 1865 |
| 1836 | Richard M. Johnson | Kentucky | Democrat | 147 | Ky., Oct. 17, 1780 | Ky., Nov. 19, 1850 |
| | Francis Granger | New York | Whig | 77 | Conn., Dec. 1, 1792 | N. Y., Aug. 28, 1868 |
| | John Tyler | Virginia | Whig | 47 | Va., Mar. 29, 1790 | Va., Jan. 18, 1862 |
| | William Smith | Alabama | Democrat | 23 | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1840 | John Tyler | Virginia | Whig | 234 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Richard M. Johnson | Kentucky | Democrat | 48 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | L. W. Tazewell | Virginia | Democrat | 11 | Va., Dec. 17, 1774 | Va., Mar. 6, 1860 |
| | James K. Polk | Tennessee | Democrat | 1 | N. C., Nov. 2, 1795 | Tenn., June 15, 1849 |
| | Thomas Earle | Pa. | Liberty | — | Mass., April 21, 1796 | Pa., July 14, 1849 |
| 1844 | George M. Dallas | Pa. | Democrat | 170 | Pa., July 10, 1792 | Pa., Dec. 31, 1864 |
| | T. Frelinghuysen | N. J. | Whig | 105 | N. J., Mar. 28, 1787 | N. J., April 12, 1862 |
| | Thomas Morris | Ohio | Liberty | — | Va., Jan. 3, 1776 | Ohio, Dec. 7, 1844 |
| 1848 | Millard Fillmore | New York | Whig | 163 | N. Y., Feb. 7, 1800 | N. Y., Mar. 8, 1874 |
| | William O. Butler | Kentucky | Democrat | 127 | Ky., —, 1791 | Ky., Aug. 6, 1880 |
| | Charles F. Adams | Mass. | Free Soil | — | Mass., Aug. 18, 1807 | Mass., Nov. 21, 1886 |
| 1852 | William R. King | Alabama | Democrat | 254 | N. C., April 6, 1786 | Ala., April 17, 1853 |
| | William A. Graham | N. C. | Whig | 42 | N. C., Sept. 5, 1804 | N. Y., Aug. 11, 1875 |
| | George W. Julian | Indiana | F. Dem. | — | Ind., May 5, 1817 | Ind., July 7, 1899 |
| 1856 | J. C. Breckenridge | Kentucky | Democrat | 174 | Ky., Jan. 21, 1821 | Ky., May 17, 1875 |
| | William L. Dayton | N. J. | Republican | 114 | N. J., Feb. 17, 1807 | France, Dec. 1, 1864 |
| | A. J. Donelson | Tennessee | American | 8 | Tenn., Aug. 25, 1800 | Tenn., June 26, 1871 |
| 1860 | Hannibal Hamlin | Maine | Republican | 180 | Me., Aug. 27, 1809 | Me., July 4, 1891 |
| | H. V. Johnson | Georgia | Democrat | 12 | Ga., Sept. 18, 1812 | Ga., Aug. 16, 1880 |
| | Joseph Lane | Oregon | Democrat | 72 | N. C., Dec. 14, 1801 | N. C., April 19, 1881 |
| | Edward Everett | Mass. | Union | 39 | Mass., April 11, 1794 | Mass., Jan. 15, 1865 |
| 1864 | Andrew Johnson | Tennessee | Republican | 212 | N. C., Dec. 29, 1808 | Tenn., July 31, 1875 |
| | George H. Pendleton | Ohio | Democrat | 21 | Ohio, July 25, 1825 | Belg'm, Nov. 24, '89 |
| 1868 | Schuyler Colfax | Indiana | Republican | 214 | N. Y., Mar. 23, 1823 | Minn., Jan. 13, 1885 |
| | F. P. Blair, Jr. | Missouri | Democrat | 80 | Ky., Feb. 19, 1821 | Mo., July 9, 1875 |
| 1872 | Henry Wilson | Mass. | Republican | 286 | N. H., Feb. 16, 1812 | D. C., Nov. 22, 1875 |
| | B. Gratz Brown | Missouri | D. & L. | 47 | Ky., May 28, 1826 | Mo., Dec. 13, 1885 |
| | John Quincy Adams | Mass. | Democrat | — | Mass., Sept. 22, 1833 | Mass., Aug. 14, 1894 |
| | John Russell | Michigan | Temperance | — | (Above) | (Above) |
| | George W. Julian | Indiana | Liberty | 5 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | A. H. Colquitt | Georgia | Democrat | 5 | Ga., April 20, 1824 | D. C., Mar. 26, 1894 |
| | John M. Palmer | Illinois | Democrat | 3 | Ky., Sept. 13, 1817 | Ill., Sept. 25, 1900 |
| | T. E. Bramlette | Kentucky | Democrat | 3 | Ky., Jan. 3, 1817 | —, —, 1897 |
| | W. S. Groesbeck | Ohio | Democrat | 1 | N. Y., July 24, 1815 | —, —, 1897 |
| | Willis B. Machen | Kentucky | Democrat | 1 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | N. P. Banks | Mass. | Liberty | 1 | Mass., Jan. 30, 1816 | Mass., Sept. 1, 1894 |
| 1876 | William A. Wheeler | New York | Republican | 185 | N. Y., June 30, 1819 | N. Y., June 4, 1887 |
| | T. A. Hendricks | Indiana | Democrat | 184 | Ohio, Sept. 7, 1819 | Ind., Nov. 25, 1885 |
| | Samuel F. Cary | Ohio | Greenback | — | Ohio, Feb. 18, 1814 | —, —, 1897 |
| | Gideon T. Stewart | Ohio | Prohibition | — | N. Y., Aug. 7, 1824 | —, —, 1897 |
| | D. Kirkpatrick | New York | American | — | (Above) | (Above) |
| 1880 | Chester A. Arthur | New York | Republican | 214 | Vt., Oct. 5, 1830 | N. Y., Nov. 18, 1886 |
| | William H. English | Indiana | Democrat | 155 | Ind., Aug. 27, 1822 | Ind., Feb. 7, 1896 |
| | B. J. Chambers | Texas | Greenback | — | (Above) | (Above) |
| | H. A. Thompson | Ohio | Prohibition | — | Pa., Mar. 23, 1837 | —, —, 1897 |
| | S. C. Pomeroy | Kansas | American | — | Mass., Jan. 3, 1816 | Kan., Aug. 27, 1891 |

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES—Continued.

| Year | NAME | State | Party | Electoral Vote | State and Date of Birth | State and Date of Death |
|------|----------------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1884 | T. A. Hendricks | Indiana | Democrat | 219 | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John A. Logan | Illinois | Republican | 182 | Ill., Feb. 9, 1826 | D. C., Dec. 26, 1886 |
| | William Daniel | Maryland | Prohibition | | Md., Jan. 24, 1826 | Md., Oct. 13, 1822 |
| | A. M. West | Miss. | Greenback | | | |
| 1888 | Levi P. Morton | New York | Republican | 233 | Vt., May 16, 1824 | |
| | Allen G. Thurman | Ohio | Democrat | 168 | Va., Nov. 13, 1813 | Ohio, Dec. 12, 1895 |
| | John A. Brooks | Missouri | Prohibition | | | |
| | C. E. Cunningham | Arkansas | Union Labor | | | |
| | W. H. T. Wakefield | Kansas | United Labor | | | |
| | James B. Groer | Tennessee | American | | | |
| 1892 | Adlai E. Stevenson | Illinois | Democrat | 277 | Ky., Oct. 23, 1835 | |
| | Whitelaw Reid | New York | Republican | 145 | Ohio, Oct. 27, 1837 | |
| | James G. Field | Virginia | People's | | Va., —, 1839 | |
| | James B. Cranfill | Texas | Prohibition | | | |
| | Charles H. Matchett | New York | Socialist Labor | | Mass., May 15, 1813 | |
| 1896 | Garret A. Hobart | N. J. | Republican | 271 | N. J., June 3, 1844 | N. J., Nov. 21, 1899 |
| | Arthur Sewell | Maine | Democrat | 149 | Me., Nov. 25, 1835 | Me., Sept. 5, 1900 |
| | Thomas E. Watson | Georgia | People's | 27 | Ga., Sept. 5, 1856 | |
| | Hale Johnson | Illinois | Prohibition | | Ind., Aug. 21, 1847 | |
| | Simon B. Buckner | Kentucky | Nat. Dem. | | Ky., April 1, 1823 | |
| | Matthew Maguire | N. J. | Socialist Labor | | N. Y., —, 1850 | |
| | James H. Southgate | N. C. | National | | Va., July 12, 1859 | |
| 1900 | Theodore Roosevelt | New York | Republican | 292 | N. Y., Oct. 27, 1858 | |
| | Adlai E. Stevenson | Illinois | Democrat | 155 | (Above) | |
| | Henry R. Metcalf | R. I. | Prohibition | | Mass., —, 1829 | R. I., Oct. 10, 1904 |
| | Ignatius Donnelly | Minnesota | People's | | Pa., Nov. 3, 1831 | Minn., Jan. 2, 1901 |
| | Job Harriman | Cal. | Soc. D. | | Ind., Jan. 15, 1861 | |
| | Valentine Rummel | Pa. | Socialist Labor | | | |
| | John G. Woolley | Illinois | U. C. | | Ohio, Feb. 15, 1850 | |
| | Samuel T. Nicholson | Pa. | U. R. | | N. C., Feb. 2, 1852 | |
| 1904 | Charles W. Fairbanks | Indiana | Republican | 336 | Ohio, May 11, 1852 | |
| | Henry G. Davis | W. Va. | Democrat | 140 | Md., Nov. 16, 1823 | |
| | George W. Carroll | Texas | Prohibition | | La., April 11, 1855 | |
| | Thomas H. Tibbles | | People's | | Neb., —, 1840 | |
| | Benjamin Hanford | New York | Socialist | | Ohio, —, 1861 | N. Y., Jan. 24, 1910 |
| | William W. Cox | Illinois | Socialist Labor | | Ill., Feb. 5, 1864 | |
| 1908 | James S. Sherman | New York | Republican | 321 | N. Y., Oct. 24, 1855 | N. Y., Oct. 30, 1912 |
| | John W. Kern | Indiana | Democrat | 162 | Ind., Dec. 20, 1849 | |
| | Benjamin Hanford | New York | Socialist | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | John T. Graves | Georgia | Independent | | S. C., Nov. 9, 1857 | |
| | Aaron S. Watkins | Ohio | Prohibition | | Ohio, Nov. 29, 1863 | |
| | Samuel Williams | Indiana | People's | | | |
| | Donald L. Munro | Virginia | Socialist Labor | | | |
| 1912 | James S. Sherman* | New York | Republican | | (Above) | (Above) |
| | Thomas R. Marshall | Indiana | Democrat | | Ind., Mar. 14, 1854 | |
| | Hiram W. Johnson | California | Progressive | | | |
| | Emil Seidel | Wisconsin | Socialist | | (Above) | |
| | Aaron S. Watkins | Ohio | Prohibition | | | |
| | August Gillhaus | | Socialist Labor | | | |

* Died before election.

PRESIDENTS OF CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Peyton Randolph, Va. | Sept. 5, 1774 | John Hanson, Md. | Nov. 5, 1781 |
| Henry Middleton, S. C. | Oct. 22, 1774 | Elias Boudinot, N. J. | Nov. 4, 1782 |
| Peyton Randolph | May 10, 1775 | Thomas Mifflin, Pa. | Nov. 3, 1783 |
| John Hancock, Mass. | May 24, 1775 | Richard Henry Lee, Va. | Nov. 30, 1784 |
| Henry Laurens, S. C. | Nov. 1, 1777 | Nathaniel Gorham, Mass. | June 6, 1786 |
| John Jay, N. Y. | Dec. 10, 1777 | Arthur St. Clair, Pa. | Feb. 2, 1787 |
| Samuel Huntington, Conn. | Sept. 28, 1779 | Cyrus Griffin, Va. | Jan. 22, 1788 |
| Thomas McKean, Del. | July 10, 1781 | | |

CABINET OFFICERS, PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE, ETC.

In the following pages are given complete lists of the Secretaries of State, Secretaries of the Treasury, Secretaries of War, Attorneys-General, Postmasters-General, Secretaries of the Navy, Secretaries of the Interior, Secretaries of Agriculture, Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, Presidents *pro tempore* of the Sen-

ate, Speakers of the House of Representatives, and Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. The Secretary of Agriculture did not become a Cabinet official until 1889, and the Department of Commerce and Labor was not erected into a separate department until 1903; hence the few names mentioned under these titles:

| Cong. | Presidents <i>PRO TEM.</i> of the Senate. | Speakers of the House of Representatives. | Cong. | Presidents <i>PRO TEM.</i> of the Senate. | Speakers of the House of Representatives. |
|-------|---|---|-------|---|---|
| 1st | John Langdon, N. H. | F. A. Muhlenberg, Pa. | 29th | David R. Atchison, Mo. | Jno. W. Davis, Ind. |
| 2d | Richard Henry Lee, Va. | Jon'th'n Trumbull, Conn. | 30th | David R. Atchison, Mo. | John C. Wintthrop, Mass. |
| 3d | John Langdon, N. H. | F. A. Muhlenberg, Pa. | | | Armisted Burt, S. C., <i>pro tem</i> |
| | Ralph Izard, S. C. | | | | Howell Cobb, Ga. |
| 4th | Henry Tazewell, Va. | | 31st | David R. Atchison, Mo. | Robert C. Winthrop, Mass., <i>pro tem</i> . |
| | Sam'l Livermore, N. H. | Jonathan Dayton, N. J. | | Wm. R. King, Ala. | |
| | William Bingham, Pa. | | 32d | Wm. R. King, Ala. | Linn Boyd, Ky. |
| | Wm. Bradford, R. I. | Jonathan Dayton, N. J. | | David R. Atchison, Mo. | |
| 5th | Jacob Read, S. C. | | 33d | David R. Atchison, Mo. | Linn Boyd, Ky. |
| | Theo. Sedgwick, Mass. | George Dent, Md., <i>pro tem</i> . | | Lewis Cass, Mich. | |
| | John Lawrence, N. Y. | | | Jesse D. Bright, Ind. | |
| | James Ross, Pa. | | 34th | Chas. E. Stuart, Mich. | Nath'l P. Banks, Mass. |
| | Sam'l Livermore, N. H. | | | Jas. M. Mason, Va. | |
| 6th | Uriah Tracy, Conn. | Theo. Sedgwick, Mass. | | Jas. M. Mason, Va. | Jas. L. Orr, S. C. |
| | John E. Howard, Md. | Nath'l Macon, N. C. | 35th | Thos. J. Rusk, Texas. | |
| | Jas. Hillhouse, Conn. | | | Benj. Fitzpatrick, Ala. | |
| 7th | Abraham Baldwin, Ga. | Nath'l Macon, N. C. | | Benj. Fitzpatrick, Ala. | Wm. Pennington, N. J. |
| | Stephen R. Bradley, Vt. | | 36th | Jesse D. Bright, Ind. | |
| 8th | John Brown, Ky. | Nath'l Macon, N. C. | | Solomon Foot, Vt. | Galusha A. Grow, Pa. |
| | Jesse Franklin, N. C. | | 37th | Solomon Foot, Vt. | Schuyler Colfax, Ind. |
| 9th | Jos. Anderson, Tenn. | Jos. B. Varnum, Mass. | 38th | Daniel Clark, N. H. | Schuyler Colfax, Ind. |
| | Samuel Smith, Md. | | | Lafayette S. Foster, Conn. | |
| | Samuel Smith, Md. | | 39th | Benj. F. Wade, Ohio. | Schuyler Colfax, Ind. |
| 10th | Stephen R. Bradley, Vt. | | | Benj. F. Wade, Ohio. | Theo. M. Pomeroy, N. Y. |
| | John Milledge, Ga. | | 40th | Henry B. Anthony, R. I. | Jas. G. Blaine, Me. |
| | Andrew Gregg, Pa. | Jos. B. Varnum, Mass. | 41st | Henry B. Anthony, R. I. | Jas. G. Blaine, Me. |
| 11th | John Gaillard, S. C. | | 42d | Matthew H. Carpenter, Wis. | |
| | John Pope, Ky. | | 43d | Henry B. Anthony, R. I. | Jas. G. Blaine, Me. |
| 12th | Wm. H. Crawford, Ga. | Henry Clay, Ky. | | Thos. W. Ferry, Mich. | Michael C. Kerr, Ind. |
| 13th | Jos. B. Varnum, Mass. | Henry Clay, Ky. | 44th | Thos. W. Ferry, Mich. | Sam'l J. Randall, Pa. |
| | John Gaillard, S. C. | Langdon Cheves, S. C. | 45th | Allen G. Thurman, Ohio. | Sam'l J. Randall, Pa. |
| 14th | John Gaillard, S. C. | Henry Clay, Ky. | 46th | David Davis, Ill. | J. Warren Keifer, Ohio. |
| 15th | John Gaillard, S. C. | Henry Clay, Ky. | 47th | Geo. F. Edmunds, Vt. | Jno. G. Carlisle, Ky. |
| | James Barbour, Va. | | 48th | John Sherman, Ohio. | Jno. G. Carlisle, Ky. |
| 16th | James Barbour, Va. | Henry Clay, Ky. | 49th | John J. Ingalls, Kan. | Jno. G. Carlisle, Ky. |
| | John Gaillard, S. C. | J. W. Taylor, N. Y. | 50th | John J. Ingalls, Kan. | Thos. B. Reed, Me. |
| 17th | John Gaillard, S. C. | Philip P. Barbour, Va. | 51st | John J. Ingalls, Kan. | Charles F. Crisp, Ga. |
| 18th | John Gaillard, S. C. | Henry Clay, Ky. | | Chas. F. Manderson, Neb. | |
| 19th | John Gaillard, S. C. | John W. Taylor, N. Y. | 52d | Chas. F. Manderson, Neb. | |
| | Nath'l Macon, N. C. | | 53d | Isham G. Harris, Tenn. | Charles F. Crisp, Ga. |
| 20th | Nath'l Macon, N. C. | Andrew Stevenson, Va. | | Matt. W. Ransom, N. C. | Thos. B. Reed, Me. |
| | Samuel Smith, Md. | | 54th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Thos. B. Reed, Me. |
| | Samuel Smith, Md. | | 55th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | David B. Henderson, Ia. |
| 21st | Littleton W. Tazewell, Va. | Andrew Stevenson, Va. | 56th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | David B. Henderson, Ia. |
| | Littleton W. Tazewell, Va. | | 57th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Jos. G. Cannon, Ill. |
| 22d | Hugh L. White, Tenn. | Andrew Stevenson, Va. | 58th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Jos. G. Cannon, Ill. |
| | Hugh L. White, Tenn. | John Bell, Tenn. | 59th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Jos. G. Cannon, Ill. |
| 23d | Geo. Poindexter, Miss. | Henry Hubbard, N. H., <i>pro tem</i> . | 60th | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Champ Clark, Mo. |
| | John Tyler, Va. | Jas. K. Polk, Tenn. | 61st | Wm. P. Frye, Me. | Champ Clark, Mo. |
| 24th | Wm. R. King, Ala. | Jas. K. Polk, Tenn. | 62d | James P. Clarke, Ark. | |
| 25th | Wm. R. King, Ala. | R. M. T. Hunter, Va. | 63d | | |
| 26th | Wm. R. King, Ala. | | | | |
| | Sam'l L. Southard, N. J. | John White, Ky. | | | |
| 27th | Willie P. Mangum, N. C. | John W. Jones, Va. | | | |
| | | George W. Hopkins, Va., <i>pro tem</i> . | | | |
| 28th | Willie P. Mangum, N. C. | | | | |

CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| John Jay, N. Y. | Sept. 26, 1789 |
| John Rutledge, S. C. | July 1, 1795 |
| Oliver Ellsworth, Conn. | Mar. 4, 1796 |
| John Marshall, Va. | Jan. 31, 1801 |
| Roger B. Taney, Md. | Mar. 15, 1836 |
| Salmon P. Chase, Ohio. | Dec. 6, 1864 |
| Morrison R. Waite, Ohio. | Jan. 21, 1874 |
| Melville W. Fuller, Ill. | July 20, 1888 |
| Edward D. White, La. | Dec. 12, 1910 |

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| John Jay, N. Y., <i>ad interim</i> | Commissioned |
| Continued until Jefferson took charge | |
| Thomas Jefferson, Va. | Sept. 26, 1789 |
| Edmund Randolph, Va. | Jan. 2, 1794 |
| Timothy Pickering (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | Aug. 20, 1795 |
| Timothy Pickering, Pa. | Dec. 10, 1795 |
| Chas. Lee (Attorney-General), <i>ad interim</i> | May 13, 1800 |
| John Marshall, Va. | May 13, 1800 |
| Samuel Dexter (Secretary of the Treasury), " <i>pro hac vice</i> " | Jan. 31, 1801 |
| John Marshall (Chief Justice), <i>ad interim</i> | Feb. 4, 1801 |
| Levi Lincoln (Attorney-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 5, 1801 |
| James Madison, Va. | Mar. 5, 1801 |
| Robert Smith, Md. | Mar. 6, 1809 |
| James Monroe, Va. | April 2, 1811 |
| James Monroe (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 1, 1814 |
| James Monroe, Va. (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Feb. 28, 1815 |
| John Graham (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1817 |
| John Quincy Adams, Mass. | Mar. 5, 1817 |
| Richard Rush (Attorney-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 10, 1817 |
| Daniel Brent (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1825 |
| Henry Clay, Ky. | Mar. 7, 1825 |
| J. A. Hamilton, N. Y., <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1829 |
| Martin Van Buren, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1829 |
| Edward Livingston, La. | May 24, 1831 |
| Louis McLane, Del. | May 29, 1833 |
| John Forsyth, Ga. | June 27, 1834 |
| J. L. Martin (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1841 |
| Daniel Webster, Mass. | Mar. 5, 1841 |
| Hugh S. Legaré (Attorney-General), <i>ad interim</i> | May 9, 1843 |
| William S. Pickens (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | June 21, 1843 |
| Abel P. Upshur (Secretary of the Navy), <i>ad interim</i> | June 24, 1843 |
| Abel P. Upshur, Va. | July 24, 1843 |
| John Nelson (Attorney-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Feb. 29, 1844 |
| John C. Calhoun, S. C. | Mar. 6, 1844 |
| James Buchanan, Pa. | Mar. 6, 1845 |
| John M. Clayton, Del. | Mar. 7, 1849 |
| Daniel Webster, Mass. | July 22, 1850 |
| Charles M. Conrad (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 25, 1852 |
| Edward Everett, Mass. | Nov. 6, 1852 |
| William Hunter (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1853 |
| William L. Marey, N. Y. | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Lewis Cass, Mich. | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| William Hunter (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Dec. 15, 1860 |
| Jeremiah S. Black, Pa. | Dec. 17, 1860 |
| William H. Seward, N. Y. | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| Elihu B. Washburne, Ill. | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| Hamilton Fish, N. Y. | Mar. 11, 1869 |
| William M. Evarts, N. Y. | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| James G. Blaine, Me. | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| Fred'k T. Frelinghuysen, N. J. | Dec. 12, 1881 |
| Thomas F. Bayard, Del. | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| James G. Blaine, Me. | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| William F. Wharton (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | June 5, 1892 |
| John W. Foster, Ind. | June 29, 1892 |
| William F. Wharton (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Feb. 23, 1893 |
| Walter Q. Gresham, Ill. | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| Edwin F. Uhl (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | May 28, 1895 |
| Alvey A. Adee (Second Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | May 31, 1895 |
| Edwin F. Uhl (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | June 1, 1895 |
| Richard Olney, Mass. | June 8, 1895 |
| John Sherman, Ohio. | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| William R. Day, Ohio. | April 29, 1898 |
| Alvey A. Adee (Second Assistant Secretary) | Sept. 17, 1898 |

SECRETARIES OF STATE.—Continued

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| John Hay, District of Columbia | Sept. 20, 1898 |
| Elihu Root, N. Y. | July 19, 1905 |
| Philander C. Knox, Pa. | Mar. 5, 1909 |
| William J. Bryan, Neb. | Mar. 5, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Alexander Hamilton, N. Y. | Commissioned. |
| Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Conn. | Sept. 11, 1789 |
| Samuel Dexter, Mass. | Feb. 2, 1795 |
| Albert Gallatin, Pa. | Jan. 1, 1801 |
| William Jones (Secretary of the Navy), <i>ad interim</i> | May 14, 1801 |
| George W. Campbell, Tenn. | April 21, 1813 |
| Alexander J. Dallas, Pa. | Feb. 9, 1814 |
| William H. Crawford, Ga. | Oct. 6, 1814 |
| Samuel L. Southard (Secretary of the Navy), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 22, 1816 |
| Richard Rush, Pa. | Mar. 7, 1825 |
| Samuel D. Ingham, Pa. | Mar. 7, 1825 |
| Asbury Dickens (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | June 21, 1831 |
| Louis McLane, Del. | Aug. 8, 1834 |
| William J. Duane, Pa. | May 29, 1833 |
| Roger B. Taney, Md. | Sept. 23, 1833 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | June 25, 1834 |
| Levi Woodbury, N. H. | June 27, 1834 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1834 |
| Thomas Ewing, Ohio. | Mar. 5, 1841 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 13, 1841 |
| Walter Forward, Pa. | Sept. 13, 1841 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 1, 1843 |
| John C. Spencer, N. Y. | Mar. 3, 1843 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | May 2, 1844 |
| George M. Bibb, Ky. | June 15, 1844 |
| Robert J. Walker, Miss. | Mar. 6, 1845 |
| McClintock Young (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 6, 1849 |
| William M. Meredith, Pa. | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| Thomas Corwin, Ohio. | July 23, 1850 |
| James Guthrie, Ky. | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Howell Cobb, Ga. | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Isaac Toucey (Secretary of the Navy), <i>ad interim</i> | Dec. 10, 1860 |
| Philip F. Thomas, Md. | Dec. 12, 1860 |
| John A. Dix, N. Y. | Jan. 11, 1861 |
| Salmon P. Chase, Ohio. | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| George Harrington (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | July 1, 1864 |
| William P. Fessenden, Me. | July 1, 1864 |
| George Harrington (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1865 |
| Hugh McCulloch, Ind. | Mar. 7, 1865 |
| John F. Hartley (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| George S. Boutwell, Mass. | Mar. 11, 1869 |
| William A. Richardson, Mass. | Mar. 17, 1873 |
| Benjamin H. Bristow, Ky. | June 2, 1874 |
| Charles F. Conant (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | June 21, 1876 |
| Lot M. Morrill, Me. | June 21, 1876 |
| John Sherman, Ohio. | Mar. 8, 1877 |
| Henry F. French (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1881 |
| William Windom, Minn. | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| Charles S. Folger, N. Y. | Oct. 27, 1881 |
| Charles E. Coon (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 4, 1884 |
| Henry F. French (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 8, 1884 |
| Charles E. Coon (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 15, 1884 |
| Walter Q. Gresham, Ind. | Sept. 24, 1884 |
| Hugh McCulloch, Ind. | Oct. 28, 1884 |
| Henry F. French (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 30, 1884 |
| Daniel Manning, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| Charles S. Fairchild, N. Y. | April 1, 1887 |
| William Windom, Minn. | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Allured B. Nettleton (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 30, 1891 |
| Charles Foster, Ohio. | Feb. 24, 1891 |
| John G. Carlisle, Ky. | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| Lyman J. Gage, Ill. | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| Leslie M. Shaw, Ia. | Jan. 9, 1902 |
| George B. Cortelyou, N. Y. | Mar. 4, 1907 |
| Franklin MacVeagh, Ill. | Mar. 5, 1909 |
| William G. McAdoo, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

| | Commissioned. |
|---|----------------|
| Henry Knox, Mass. | Sept. 12, 1789 |
| Timothy Pickering, Pa. | Jan. 2, 1795 |
| James McHenry, Md. | Jan. 27, 1796 |
| Samuel Dexter, Mass. | May 13, 1800 |
| Benjamin Stoddert (Secretary of the Navy),
<i>ad interim</i> . | June 1, 1800 |
| Samuel Dexter (Secretary of the Treasury),
<i>ad interim</i> . | Jan. 1, 1801 |
| Henry Dearborn, Mass. | Mar. 5, 1801 |
| John Smith (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> . | Feb. 17, 1809 |
| William Eustis, Mass. | Mar. 7, 1809 |
| James Monroe (Secretary of State), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Jan. 1, 1813 |
| John Armstrong, N. Y. | Jan. 13, 1813 |
| James Monroe (Secretary of State), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Aug. 30, 1814 |
| James Monroe, Va. | Sept. 27, 1814 |
| James Monroe (Secretary of State), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Mar. 1, 1815 |
| Alexander J. Dallas (Secretary of the Treas-
ury), <i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 14, 1815 |
| William H. Crawford, Ga. | Aug. 1, 1815 |
| George Graham (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> . | Oct. 22, 1816 |
| John C. Calhoun, S. C. | Oct. 8, 1817 |
| James Barbour, Va. | Mar. 7, 1825 |
| Samuel L. Southard (Secretary of the Navy),
<i>ad interim</i> . | May 26, 1828 |
| Peter B. Porter, N. Y. | May 26, 1828 |
| John H. Eaton, Tenn. | Mar. 9, 1829 |
| Philip G. Randolph (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> . | June 20, 1831 |
| Roger B. Taney (Attorney-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | July 21, 1831 |
| Lewis Cass, Ohio. | Aug. 1, 1831 |
| Carey A. Harris (Commissioner of Indian
Affairs), <i>ad interim</i> . | Oct. 5, 1836 |
| Benjamin F. Butler (Attorney-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Oct. 26, 1836 |
| Joel R. Poinsett, S. C. | Mar. 7, 1837 |
| John Bell, Tenn. | Mar. 5, 1841 |
| Albert M. Lea (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> . | Sept. 12, 1841 |
| John C. Spencer, N. Y. | Oct. 12, 1841 |
| James M. Porter, Pa. | Mar. 8, 1843 |
| William Wilkins, N. Y. | Feb. 15, 1844 |
| William L. Marcy, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1845 |
| Reverdy Johnson (Attorney-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| George W. Crawford, Ga. | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| Samuel J. Anderson (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> . | July 23, 1850 |
| Winfield Scott (Major-General, U. S. A.),
<i>ad interim</i> . | July 24, 1850 |
| Charles M. Conrad, La. | Aug. 15, 1850 |
| Jefferson Davis, Miss. | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Samuel Cooper (Adjutant-General, U. S. A.),
<i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 3, 1857 |
| John B. Floyd, Va. | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Joseph Holt (Postmaster-General), <i>ad in-
terim</i> . | Jan. 1, 1861 |
| Joseph Holt, Ky. | Jan. 18, 1861 |
| Simon Cameron, Pa. | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| Edwin M. Stanton, Pa. | Jan. 15, 1862 |
| Ulysses S. Grant (General of the Army), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Aug. 12, 1867 |
| Edwin M. Stanton, Pa., reinstated. | Jan. 13, 1868 |
| Lorenzo Thomas (Adjutant-General, U. S.
A.), <i>ad interim</i> . | Feb. 21, 1868 |
| John M. Schofield. | May 28, 1868 |
| John A. Rawlins, Ill. | Mar. 11, 1869 |
| William T. Sherman, Ohio. | Sept. 9, 1869 |
| William W. Belknap, Ia. | Oct. 25, 1869 |
| George M. Robeson (Secretary of the Navy),
<i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 2, 1876 |
| Alphonso Taft, Ohio. | Mar. 8, 1876 |
| James D. Cameron, Pa. | May 22, 1876 |
| George W. McCrary, Ia. | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| Alexander Ramsey, Minn. | Dec. 10, 1879 |
| Robert T. Lincoln, Ill. | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| William C. Endicott, Mass. | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| Redfield Proctor, Vt. | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Lewis A. Grant (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Dec. 6, 1891 |
| Stephen B. Elkins, W. Va. | Dec. 22, 1891 |
| Daniel S. Lamont, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| Russell A. Alger, Mich. | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| Elihu Root, N. Y. | Aug. 1, 1899 |
| William H. Taft, Ohio. | Jan. 11, 1904 |
| Luke E. Wright, Tenn. | July 1, 1908 |
| J. M. Dickinson, Tenn. | Mar. 12, 1909 |
| Henry L. Stimson, N. Y. | May 15, 1911 |
| Lindley M. Garrison, N. J. | Mar. 5, 1913 |

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

| | Commissioned. |
|---|----------------|
| Edmund Randolph, Va. | Sept. 26, 1789 |
| William Bradford, Pa. | Jan. 27, 1794 |
| Charles Lee, Va. | Dec. 10, 1795 |
| Levi Lincoln, Mass. | Mar. 5, 1801 |
| John Breckenridge, Ky. | Aug. 7, 1805 |
| Caesar A. Rodney, Pa. | Jan. 20, 1807 |
| William Pinkney, Md. | Dec. 11, 1811 |
| Richard Rush, Pa. | Feb. 10, 1814 |
| William Wirt, Va. | Nov. 13, 1817 |
| John M. Berrien, Ga. | Mar. 9, 1829 |
| Roger B. Taney, Md. | July 20, 1831 |
| Benjamin F. Butler, N. Y. | Nov. 15, 1833 |
| Felix Grundy, Tenn. | July 5, 1838 |
| Henry D. Gilpin, Pa. | Jan. 11, 1840 |
| John J. Crittenden, Ky. | Mar. 5, 1841 |
| Hugh S. Lagaré, S. C. | Sept. 13, 1841 |
| John Nelson, Md. | July 1, 1843 |
| John Y. Mason, Va. | Mar. 6, 1845 |
| Nathan Clifford, Me. | Oct. 17, 1846 |
| Isaac Toucey, Conn. | June 21, 1848 |
| Reverdy Johnson, Md. | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| John J. Crittenden, Ky. | July 22, 1850 |
| Caleb Cushing, Mass. | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Jeremiah S. Black, Pa. | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Edwin M. Stanton, Pa. | Dec. 20, 1860 |
| Edward Bates, Mo. | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| James Speed, Ky. | Dec. 2, 1864 |
| J. Hubley Ashton (Assistant Attorney-Gen-
eral), Acting. | July 17, 1866 |
| Henry Stanbery, Ohio. | July 23, 1866 |
| Orville H. Browning (Secretary of the In-
terior), Acting. | Mar. 13, 1868 |
| William M. Everts, N. Y. | July 15, 1868 |
| J. Hubley Ashton (Assistant Attorney-Gen-
eral), Acting. | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| Ebenezer R. Hoar, Mass. | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| Amos T. Akerman, Ga. | June 23, 1870 |
| George H. Williams, Ore. | Dec. 14, 1871 |
| Edwards Pierpont, N. Y. | April 26, 1875 |
| Alphonso Taft, Ohio. | May 22, 1876 |
| Charles Devens, Mass. | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| Wayne MacVeagh, Pa. | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| Samuel F. Phillips (Solicitor-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Nov. 14, 1881 |
| Benjamin H. Brewster, Pa. | Dec. 19, 1881 |
| Augustus H. Garland, Ark. | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| William H. Miller, Ind. | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Richard Olney, Mass. | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| Judson Harmon, Ohio. | June 8, 1895 |
| Joseph McKenna, Cal. | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| John W. Griggs, N. J. | Jan. 25, 1898 |
| John K. Richards (Solicitor-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | Jan. 26, 1898 |
| John K. Richards (Solicitor-General), <i>ad
interim</i> . | April 1, 1901 |
| Philander C. Knox, Pa. | April 5, 1901 |
| William H. Moody, Mass. | July 1, 1904 |
| Charles J. Bonaparte, Md. | Dec. 17, 1906 |
| George W. Wickersham, N. Y. | Mar. 5, 1909 |
| James C. McReynolds, Tenn. | Mar. 6, 1913 |

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

| | Commissioned. |
|--|----------------|
| Samuel Osgood, Mass. | Sept. 26, 1789 |
| Timothy Pickering, Pa. | Aug. 12, 1791 |
| Joseph Habersham, Ga. | Feb. 25, 1795 |
| Gideon Granger, Conn. | Nov. 28, 1801 |
| Return J. Meigs, Jr., Ohio. | Mar. 17, 1814 |
| John McLean, Ohio. | June 26, 1823 |
| William T. Barry, Ky. | Mar. 9, 1829 |
| Amos Kendall, Ky. | May 1, 1835 |
| John M. Niles, Conn. | May 19, 1840 |
| Selah R. Hobbie (First Assistant Post-
master-General), <i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 4, 1841 |
| Francis Granger, N. Y. | Mar. 6, 1841 |
| Charles A. Wickliffe, Ky. | Sept. 13, 1841 |
| Selah R. Hobbie (First Assistant Post-
master-General), <i>ad interim</i> . | Sept. 14, 1841 |
| Cave Johnson, Tenn. | Mar. 6, 1845 |
| Selah R. Hobbie (First Assistant Post-
master-General), <i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 6, 1849 |
| Jacob Collamer, Vt. | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| Nathan K. Hall, N. Y. | July 23, 1850 |
| Samuel D. Hubbard, Conn. | Aug. 31, 1852 |
| James Campbell, Pa. | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Aaron V. Brown, Tenn. | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Horatio Kim (First Assistant Postmaster-
General), <i>ad interim</i> . | Mar. 9, 1859 |
| Joseph Holt, Ky. | Mar. 14, 1859 |

POSTMASTERS GENERAL *Continued*

| | Commissioned |
|--|----------------|
| Horatio King (First Assistant Postmaster-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 1, 1861 |
| Horatio King, Me..... | Feb. 12, 1861 |
| Montgomery Blair, District of Columbia..... | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| William Dennison, Ohio..... | Sept. 24, 1861 |
| Alexander W. Randall (First Assistant Postmaster-General), <i>ad interim</i> | July 17, 1866 |
| Alexander W. Randall, Wis..... | July 25, 1866 |
| St. John B. L. Skinner (First Assistant Postmaster-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1869 |
| John A. J. Creswell, Md..... | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| James W. Marshall, Va..... | July 3, 1874 |
| Marshall Jewel, Conn..... | Aug. 24, 1874 |
| James N. Tyner, Ind..... | July 12, 1876 |
| David M. Key, Tenn..... | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| Horace Maynard, Tenn..... | June 2, 1880 |
| Thomas L. James, N. Y..... | May 5, 1881 |
| Timothy O. Howe, Wis..... | Dec. 20, 1881 |
| Frank Hatton (First Assistant Postmaster-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 26, 1883 |
| Walter Q. Gresham, Ind..... | April 3, 1883 |
| Frank Hatton (First Assistant Postmaster-General), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 25, 1884 |
| Frank Hatton, Ia..... | Oct. 14, 1884 |
| William F. Vilas, Wis..... | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| Don M. Dickinson, Mich..... | Jan. 16, 1888 |
| John Wanamaker, Pa..... | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Wilson S. Bissell, N. Y..... | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| William L. Wilson, W. Va..... | Mar. 1, 1895 |
| James A. Gary, Md..... | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| Charles Emory Smith, Pa..... | April 21, 1898 |
| Henry C. Payne, Wis..... | Jan. 9, 1902 |
| Robert J. Wynne, District of Columbia..... | Oct. 10, 1904 |
| George B. Cortelyou, N. Y..... | Mar. 6, 1905 |
| George von L. Meyer, Mass..... | Mar. 4, 1907 |
| Frank H. Hitchcock, Mass..... | Mar. 5, 1909 |
| Albert S. Burleson, Tex..... | Mar. 5, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

| | Commissioned. |
|---|----------------|
| Benjamin Stoddert, Md..... | May 21, 1798 |
| Henry Dearborn (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | April 1, 1801 |
| General Samuel Smith (member of Congress), in charge for Dearborn from..... | Mar. 31, 1801 |
| Robert Smith, Md..... | July 15, 1801 |
| Paul Hamilton, S. C..... | Mar. 7, 1809 |
| Charles W. Goldsborough (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 8, 1809 |
| Charles W. Goldsborough (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 7, 1813 |
| William Jones, Pa..... | Jan. 12, 1813 |
| Benjamin Homans (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Dec. 2, 1814 |
| Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Mass..... | Dec. 19, 1814 |
| John C. Calhoun (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 19, 1818 |
| Smith Thompson, N. Y..... | Nov. 9, 1818 |
| John Rodgers (Commodore, U. S. N.), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 1, 1823 |
| Samuel L. Southard, N. J..... | Sept. 16, 1823 |
| Charles Hay (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1829 |
| John Branch, N. C..... | Mar. 9, 1829 |
| John Boyle (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | May 12, 1831 |
| Levi Woodbury, N. H..... | May 23, 1831 |
| Mahlon Dickerson, N. J..... | June 30, 1834 |
| James K. Paullding, N. Y..... | June 25, 1838 |
| John D. Simms (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1841 |
| George E. Badger, N. C..... | Mar. 5, 1841 |
| John D. Simms (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 11, 1841 |
| Abel P. Upshur, Va..... | Sept. 15, 1841 |
| David Henshaw, Mass..... | July 25, 1843 |
| Thomas W. Gilmer, Va..... | Feb. 15, 1844 |
| Lewis Warrington (Captain, U. S. N.), <i>ad interim</i> | Feb. 29, 1844 |
| John Y. Mason, Va..... | Mar. 14, 1844 |
| George Bancroft, Mass..... | Mar. 10, 1845 |
| John Y. Mason, Va..... | Sept. 9, 1846 |
| William B. Preston, Va..... | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| William A. Graham, N. C..... | July 22, 1850 |
| Lewis Warrington (Captain, U. S. N.), <i>ad interim</i> | July 23, 1850 |
| John P. Kennedy, Md..... | July 22, 1852 |
| James C. Dobbin, N. C..... | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Isaac Toucey, Conn..... | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Gideon Welles, Conn..... | Mar. 8, 1861 |

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY—*Continued*

| | Commissioned |
|--|----------------|
| William Faxon (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1869 |
| Adolph E. Borne, Pa..... | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| George M. Robeson, N. J..... | June 25, 1869 |
| Richard W. Thompson, Ind..... | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| Alexander Ramsey (Secretary of War), <i>ad interim</i> | Dec. 20, 1880 |
| Nathan Goff, Jr., W. Va..... | Jan. 6, 1881 |
| William H. Hunt, Ia..... | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| William E. Chandler, N. H..... | April 12, 1882 |
| William C. Whitney, N. Y..... | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| Benjamin F. Tracy, N. Y..... | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Hulary A. Herbert, Ala..... | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| John D. Long, Mass..... | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| William H. Moody, Mass..... | April 29, 1902 |
| Paul Morton, Ill..... | July 1, 1904 |
| Charles J. Bonaparte, Md..... | July 1, 1905 |
| Victor H. Metcalf, Cal..... | Dec. 17, 1906 |
| Truman H. Newberry, Mich..... | Dec. 1, 1908 |
| George von L. Meyer, Mass..... | Mar. 6, 1909 |
| Josephus Daniels, N. C..... | Mar. 5, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

| | Commissioned. |
|---|----------------|
| Thomas Ewing, Ohio..... | Mar. 8, 1849 |
| Daniel C. Goddard (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | July 23, 1850 |
| Thomas M. T. McKennan, Pa..... | Aug. 15, 1850 |
| Daniel C. Goddard (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Aug. 27, 1850 |
| Alexander H. H. Stuart, Va..... | Sept. 12, 1850 |
| Robert McClelland, Mich..... | Mar. 7, 1853 |
| Jacob Thompson, Miss..... | Mar. 6, 1857 |
| Moses Kelly (Chief Clerk), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 10, 1861 |
| Caleb B. Smith, Ind..... | Mar. 5, 1861 |
| John P. Usher (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 1, 1863 |
| John P. Usher, Ind..... | Jan. 8, 1863 |
| James Harlan, Ia..... | May 15, 1865 |
| Orville H. Browning, Ill..... | July 27, 1866 |
| William T. Otto (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1869 |
| Jacob D. Cox, Ohio..... | Mar. 5, 1869 |
| Columbus Delano, Ohio..... | Nov. 1, 1870 |
| Benjamin R. Cowen (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Oct. 1, 1875 |
| Zachariah Chandler, Mich..... | Oct. 19, 1875 |
| Carl Schurz, Mo..... | Mar. 12, 1877 |
| Samuel J. Kirkwood, Ia..... | Mar. 5, 1881 |
| Henry M. Teller, Col..... | April 6, 1882 |
| Merritt L. Jocelyn (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Mar. 4, 1885 |
| Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Miss..... | Mar. 6, 1885 |
| Henry L. Muhdrow (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Jan. 11, 1888 |
| William F. Vilas, Wis..... | Jan. 16, 1888 |
| John W. Noble, Mo..... | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Hoke Smith, Ga..... | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| John M. Reynolds (Assistant Secretary), <i>ad interim</i> | Sept. 1, 1896 |
| David R. Francis, Mo..... | Sept. 1, 1896 |
| Cornelius N. Bliss, N. Y..... | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| Ethan A. Hitchcock, Mo..... | Dec. 21, 1898 |
| James R. Garfield, Ohio..... | Mar. 4, 1907 |
| Richard A. Ballinger, Wash..... | Mar. 5, 1909 |
| Walter L. Fisher, Ill..... | Mar. 13, 1911 |
| Franklin K. Lane, Cal..... | Mar. 5, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF AGRICULTURE.

| | Commissioned. |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Norman J. Colman, Mo..... | Feb. 13, 1889 |
| Jeremiah M. Rusk, Wis..... | Mar. 5, 1889 |
| Julius Sterling Morton, Neb..... | Mar. 6, 1893 |
| James Wilson, Ia..... | Mar. 5, 1897 |
| David F. Houston, Mo..... | Mar. 6, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

| | Commissioned. |
|--|---------------|
| George B. Cortelyou, N. Y..... | Feb. 16, 1903 |
| Victor H. Metcalf, Cal..... | July 1, 1904 |
| Oscar S. Straus, N. Y..... | Dec. 17, 1906 |
| Charles Nagel, Mo..... | Mar. 6, 1909 |
| W. C. Redfield, N. Y. (commerce only)..... | Mar. 5, 1913 |

SECRETARIES OF LABOR.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| William B. Wilson, Pa..... | Mar. 5, 1913 |
|----------------------------|--------------|

GOVERNORS OF STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

ALABAMA.

TERRITORY.

1817—William W. Bibb.

STATE.

1819—William W. Bibb.
1820—Thomas Bibb.
1821—Israel Pickens.
1825—John Murphy.
1829—Gabriel Moore.
1831—Samuel B. Moore.
1831—John Gayle.
1835—Clement C. Clay, Sr.
1837—Hugh McVay.
1837—Arthur P. Bagby.
1841—Benjamin Fitzpatrick.
1845—Joshua L. Martin.
1847—Reuben Chapman.
1849—Henry W. Collier.
1853—John A. Winston.
1857—Andrew B. Moore.
1861—John G. Shorter.
1863—Thomas H. Watts.
1865—Interregnum of two months.
1865—Lewis E. Parsons (Provisional, appointed by the President).
1865—Robert M. Patton.*
1868—William H. Smith.
1870—Robert B. Lindsay.
1872—David P. Lewis.
1874—George S. Houston.
1878—Rufus W. Cobb.
1882—Edward A. O'Neal.
1886—Thomas Seay.
1890—Thomas G. Jones.
1894—William C. Oates.
1896—Joseph F. Johnston.
1900—William J. Samford.
1901—William D. Jelks.
1907—Braxton B. Comer.
1911—Emmett O'Neal.

ALASKA.

MILITARY.

1867—Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau.

CIVIL.

1884—John H. Kinkaid.
1885—Alfred P. Swineford.
1889—Lyman E. Knapp.
1893—James Sheakley.
1897—John G. Brady.
1908—Wilford B. Hoggatt.
1910—Walter E. Clark.

ARIZONA.

1862—John A. Gurley.
1863—John N. Goodwin.
1866—Richard C. McCormick.
1869—A. P. K. Safford.
1876—Charles E. D. French.
1877—John P. Hoyt.
1878—John C. Frémont.
1882—Frederick A. Tritle.
1885—C. Meyer Zulick.
1889—Louis Woffley.
1891—John N. Irwin.
1892—Nathan O. Murphy.
1894—Louis C. Hughes.
1896—Benjamin J. Franklin.
1897—Myron H. McCord.
1899—Nathan O. Murphy.
1901—Alexander O. Brodie.
1905—Joseph H. Kibbey.
1909—Richard E. Sloan.
1911—George W. P. Hunt.

ARKANSAS.

UNDER FRENCH RULE.

1684—Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle (Appointed Governor of Louisiana, but was murdered in 1687 and did not serve, Henri De Tonti being left as Commander at the Illinois Post during his absence).
1698—Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (Began to colonize the Province of Louisiana under a commission from Louis XIV).
1699—M. de Sauvvolle (Appointed first Governor of Province of Louisiana).
1701—Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville.
1712—La Mothe Cadillac.
1716—De L'Epiney.
1718—Bienville.
1724—Boisbriant (Acting Governor).
1726—Perier.
1733—Bienville.
1743—Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil.
1753—Louis Billouart de Kerleréc.
1763—D'Abbadie.
1765—Aubry (Last French Governor).

UNDER SPANISH RULE.

1767—Antonio de Ulloa.
1769—Count Alexander O'Reilly.
1770—Luis de Unzaga.
1777—Bernardo de Galvez.

1784—Estevan de Miro.

1791—Francisco Luys Hector,

Baron de Carondelet.

1797—Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

1799—Sebastian de Casa Calvo.

1801—Juan Manuel de Salcedo.

PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA.

1803—William C. C. Claiborne.

DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA.

1804—William Henry Harrison.

TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA

1805—Gen. James Wilkinson.

1807—Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

1809—Gen. Benjamin Howard.

TERRITORY OF MISSOURI.

1812—Benjamin A. Howard.

1813—William Clark.

TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS.

1819—James Miller.

1825—Robert Crittenden (Acting Governor).

1825—George Izard.

1829—H. G. Burton (Acting Governor).

1829—John Pope.

1835—William S. Fulton.

STATE OF ARKANSAS.

1836—James S. Conway.

1840—Archibald Yell.

1844—Samuel Adams (Acting Governor).

1844—Thomas S. Drew.

1849—Richard C. Byrd (Acting Governor).

1849—John S. Roane.

1852—Elias N. Conway.

1861—Henry M. Rector.

1862—Thomas Fletcher (Acting Governor).

1862—Harris Flanagan (Confederate).

1864—Isaac Murphy.

1868—Powell Clayton.

1871—Ozro A. Hadley (Acting Governor).

1873—Elisha Baxter.

1874—Augustus H. Garland.

1877—William R. Miller.

1881—Thomas J. Churchill.

1883—James H. Berry.

1885—Simon P. Hughes.

1889—James P. Eagle.

1893—William M. Fishback.

1895—James P. Clarke.

1897—Daniel W. Jones.

1901—Jefferson Davis.

* Patton served seven months more than his term because no successor was elected.

1907—John S. Little (Inaugurated, but never served).
 * X. O. Pindall (Acting Governor).
 1907—J. Ike Moore (Acting Governor).
 1909—George W. Donaghey.
 1913—J. T. Robinson.

1887—Washington Bartlett.
 1887—R. W. Waterman.
 1891—H. H. Markham.
 1895—James H. Budd.
 1899—Henry G. Gage.
 1903—George C. Pardee.
 1907—James N. Gillette.
 1911—Hiram W. Johnson.

1658—Thomas Welles.
 1659—John Winthrop.
 1676—William Leete.
 1683—Robert Treat.
 1698—Fitz John Winthrop.
 1708—Gurdon Saltonstall.
 1725—Joseph Talcott.
 1742—Jonathan Law.
 1751—Roger Wolcott.
 1754—Thomas Fitch.
 1766—William Pitkin.
 1769—Jonathan Trumbull.
 1784—Matthew Griswold.

CALIFORNIA.

UNDER SPANISH CONTROL.

1767—Gaspar de Portala.
 1771—Felipe de Barri.
 1774—Felipe de Neve.
 1782—Pedro Fajes.
 1790—José A. Romeu.
 1792—José J. de Arrillaga.
 1794—Diego de Borica.
 1800—José J. de Arrillaga.
 1814—José D. Arguello.
 1815—Pablo V. de Sola.

UNDER MEXICAN CONTROL.

1822—Pablo V. de Sola.
 1823—Luis Arguello.
 1825—José M. de Echeaudia
 1831—Manuel Victorio.
 1832—Pío Pico.
 1833—José Figueroa.
 1835—José Castro.
 1836—Nicolas Gutierrez (Ad Interim).
 1836—Mariana Chico.
 1836—Nicolas Gutierrez (Ad Interim).
 1836—Juan B. Alvarado.
 1842—M. Micheltorena.
 1845—Pío Pico.

UNDER AMERICAN MILITARY RULE.

1846—John D. Sloat.
 1846—Robert F. Stockton.
 1847—John C. Frémont.
 1847—Stephen W. Kearney.
 1847—Richard B. Mason.
 1849—Bennet Riley.

AS A STATE.

1849—Peter H. Burnett.
 1851—John McDougall.
 1852—John Bigler.
 1856—J. N. Johnson.
 1858—John B. Weller.
 1860—Milton S. Latham (Resigned Jan. 14, 1860).
 1860—John G. Downey.
 1862—Leland Stanford.
 1863—Fred F. Low.
 1868—Henry H. Haight.
 1872—Newton Booth (Resigned in 1875).
 1875—Romualdo Pacheco.
 1875—George C. Perkins.
 1883—George Stoneman.

COLORADO.

1861—William Gilpin.
 1862, May—John Evans.
 1865, October—Alexander Cummings.
 1867, May—A. C. Hunt.
 1869, June—Edward M. McCook.
 1873, April—Samuel H. Elbert.
 1874, July—Edward M. McCook.
 1875, March—John L. Routt.
 1879, January—Frederick W. Pitkin.
 1883—James B. Grant.
 1885—Benjamin H. Eaton.
 1887—Alva Adams.
 1889—Job A. Cooper.
 1891—John L. Routt.
 1893—Davis H. Waite.
 1895—Albert W. McIntyre.
 1897—Alva Adams.
 1899—Charles S. Thomas.
 1901—James B. Orman.
 1903—James H. Peabody.
 1905—Alva Adams.
 1905—James H. Peabody.
 1905—Jesse F. McDonald.
 1907—Henry A. Buchtel.
 1909—John F. Shafroth.
 1913—Elias M. Ammons.

AS A STATE.

1786—Samuel Huntington.
 1796—Oliver Wolcott.
 1797—Jonathan Trumbull.
 1809—John Treadwell.
 1811—Roger Griswold.
 1812—John Cotton Smith.
 1817—Oliver Wolcott.
 1827—Gideon Tomlinson.
 1831—John S. Peters.
 1833—Henry W. Edwards.
 1834—Samuel A. Foote.
 1835—Henry W. Edwards.
 1838—William W. Ellsworth.
 1842—Chauncey F. Cleveland.
 1844—Roger S. Baldwin.
 1846—Isaac Toucey.
 1847—Clark Bissell.
 1849—Joseph Trumbull.
 1850—Thomas H. Seymour.
 1853—C. H. Pond (Acting Governor).
 1854—Henry Dutton.
 1855—William T. Minor.
 1857—Alexander H. Holley.
 1858—William A. Buckingham.
 1866—Joseph R. Hawley.
 1867—James E. English.
 1869—Marshall Jewell.
 1870—James E. English.
 1871—Marshall Jewell.
 1873—Charles R. Ingersoll.
 1877—Richard D. Hubbard.
 1879—Charles B. Andrews.
 1881—Hobart B. Bigelow.
 1883—Thomas M. Waller.
 1885—Henry B. Harrison.
 1887—Phineas C. Lounsbury.
 1889—Morgan G. Bulkeley.
 1893—Luzon B. Morris.
 1895—O. Vincent Coffin.
 1897—Lorin A. Cooke.
 1899—George F. Lounsbury.
 1901—George P. McLean.
 1903—A. Chamberlain.
 1905—Henry Roberts.
 1907—Rollin S. Woodruff.
 1909—George L. Lilley (d. April 21, 1909).
 1909—Frank B. Weeks.
 1911—Simeon E. Baldwin.

CONNECTICUT

AS A COLONY

1639 }
 1641 }
 1643 }
 1645 } John Haynes
 1647 }
 1649 }
 1651 }
 1653 }
 1640 }
 1644 }
 1646 }
 1648 } Edward Hopkins.
 1650 }
 1652 }
 1654 }
 1642 } George Wyllys.
 1643 }
 1655—Thomas Welles.
 1656—John Webster.
 1657—John Winthrop.

DELAWARE.

UNDER PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT
OF THE PENN FAMILY.

- 1681—William Penn.
 1681—William Markham.
 1682—William Penn.
 1684—The Council (Thomas Lloyd and others presiding at different times).
 1687—Commissioners (Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, Arthur Cooke, John Simcock, John Eckley).
 1688—Captain John Blackwell.
 1689—The Council (Thomas Lloyd, President).
 1691—Thomas Lloyd.
 1691—William Markham.
 1693—Benjamin Fletcher.
 1693—} William Markham.
 1694—}
 1699—William Penn.
 1701—Andrew Hamilton.
 1702—The Council (Edward Shippen, President).
 1703—John Evans.
 1708—Colonel Charles Gookin.
 1717—William Keith.
 1718—Hannah Penn.
 1719—Sir William Keith.
 1726—Patrick Gordon.
 1727-46—John, Thomas and Richard Penn.
 1736—The Council (James Logan, President).
 1736—Thomas Penn.
 1738—George Thomas.
 1746-71—Thomas and Richard Penn.
 1747—The Council (Anthony Palmer, President).
 1748—James Hamilton.
 1754—Robert Hunter Morris.
 1756—William Denny.
 1759—James Hamilton.
 1763—John Penn.
 1771—The Council (James Hamilton, President).
 1771-75—Thomas and John Penn.
 1771—Richard Penn.
 1773—John Penn.

PRESIDENTS OF DELAWARE UNDER
CONSTITUTION OF 1776.

John McKinly, inaugurated Feb. 21, 1777. On Sept. 11, 1777, the British troops captured Wilmington and took him prisoner. George Read, as Speaker of the Legislative Council, should have succeeded to the office, but as he was unable to reach the State because of the British troops, Thomas McKean (Speaker of the Assembly) acted as President from Sept. 11, 1777, to about Oct. 20, 1777, when Read returned and was President until March, 1778.

- 1778—Caesar Rodney.
 1781—John Dickinson.
 1782—John Cook.
 1783—Nicholas Van Dyke.
 1786—Thomas Collins (d. March 29, 1789).
 1789—Joshua Clayton.

GOVERNORS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION
OF 1792.

- 1792—Joshua Clayton.
 1796—(unning Bedford (d. Sept. 30, 1797).
 1797—Daniel Rogers.
 1798—Richard Bassett.
 1801—James Sykes.
 1802—David Hall.
 1805—Nathaniel Mitchell.
 1808—George Truitt.
 1811—Joseph Hazlett.
 1814—Daniel Rodney.
 1817—John Clark.
 Henry Molliston was elected Governor in 1819 but died before January, 1820.
 1820—Jacob Stout.
 1821—John Collins (d. April, 1822).
 1822—Caleb Rodney.
 1823—Joseph Hazlett (d. June 23, 1823).
 1824—Samuel Paynter.
 1827—Charles Polk.
 1830—David Hazzard.

GOVERNORS UNDER AMENDED CON-
STITUTION OF 1832.

- 1833—Caleb P. Bennett (d. July 11, 1836).
 1836—Charles Polk.
 1837—Cornelius P. Comegys.
 1840—William B. Cooper.
 1844—Thomas Stockton (d. March 2, 1846).
 1846—Joseph Maull (d. May 3, 1846).
 1846—William Temple.
 1847—William Tharp.
 1851—William H. Ross.
 1855—Peter F. Causey.
 1859—William Burton.
 1863—William Cannon (d. March 1, 1865).
 1867—Gove Saulsbury.
 1871—James Ponder.
 1875—John P. Cochran.
 1879—John W. Hall.
 1883—Charles C. Stockley.
 1887—Benjamin T. Biggs.
 1891—Robert J. Reynolds.
 1895—Joshua H. Marvil (d. April, 1895).
 1895—William T. Watson.

GOVERNORS UNDER CONSTITUTION
OF 1897.

- 1897—Ebe W. Tunnell.
 1901—John Hunn.
 1905—Preston E. Lea.
 1909—Simeon S. Pennewill.
 1913—Charles R. Miller.

FLORIDA.

TERRITORY.

- 1821—Andrew Jackson.
 1822—William P. Duval.
 1834—John H. Eaton.
 1836—Richard K. Call.
 1839—Robert R. Reid.
 1841—Richard K. Call.
 1844—John Branch.

STATE.

- 1845—William D. Moseley.
 1849—Thomas Brown.
 1855—James E. Broome.
 1857—Madison S. Perry.
 1861—John Milton.
 1865—William Marvin (Provisional Governor).
 1866—David S. Walker.
 1868—Harrison Reed.
 1873—Ossian B. Hart.
 1874—Marcellus L. Stearns.
 1877—George F. Drew.
 1881—William D. Bloxham.
 1885—Edward A. Perry.
 1889—Francis P. Fleming.
 1893—Henry L. Mitchell.
 1897—William D. Bloxham.
 1901—William S. Jennings.
 1905—Napoleon B. Broward.
 1909—Albert W. Gilchrist.
 1913—Park Trammell.

GEORGIA.

- 1663—Lords Proprietors (See North and South Carolina).
 1717—Sir Robert Montgomery (Margrave of Azilia).
 1730—Lords Proprietors.
 1732—"Trustees of the Colony of Georgia" (Principally James Oglethorpe).

GOVERNORS UNDER THE TRUSTEES.

- 1732-43—James Oglethorpe (Governor).
 1741—William Stephens (President of Savannah County).
 1741—James Oglethorpe (President of Frederica County).
 1743—William Stephens (President).
 1751—Henry Parker (President).
 1754—Patrick Graham (President).

ROYAL GOVERNORS.

- 1754—Capt. John Reynolds.
 1757—Henry Ellis (Lieutenant and Acting Governor).
 1758—Henry Ellis.
 1760—James Wright.
 1771—James Habersham (President and Acting Governor).
 1773—James Wright.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS UNDER
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

- 1775—William Ewen (President of Council of Safety).
 1776—Archibald Bulloch (President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia).
 1777—Button Gwinnett (President of Georgia).

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION OF
1777.

- 1777—John A. Truetlen.
 1778, Jan. 8—1778, Dec. 29—John Houstoun.
 1778, Dec. 29—1779, Nov. 4—John Wreath.
 1779, Nov. 4—1780, Jan. 7—George Walton.
 1780, Jan 7—1781, Jan 7—Richard Howley.
 1781, Jan. 7—1781, Aug. 15—Stephen Heard (President of Executive Council and Acting Governor).
 1781, Aug. 16—1782, Jan. 8—Nathan Brownson.
 1782—John Martin.
 1783—Lyman Hall.
 1784—John Houstoun.
 1785—Samuel Elbert.
 1786—Edward Telfair.
 1787—George Matthews.
 1788—George Handley.

UNDER FEDERAL CONSTITUTION
AND STATE CONSTITUTION OF
1777.

- 1789—George Walton.
 1790—Edward Telfair.
 1793—George Matthews.
 1796—Jared Irwin.
 1798—James Jackson.

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION OF
1798.

- 1801—David Emanuel (Acting Governor).
 1801—Josiah Tatnall.
 1802—John Milledge.
 1806—Jared Irwin.
 1809—David B. Mitchell.
 1813—Peter Early.
 1815—David B. Mitchell.
 1817—William Rabun.
 1819—Matthew Talbot (Acting Governor).
 1819—John Clarke.
 1823—George M. Troup.
 1827—John Forsyth.
 1829—George R. Gilmer.
 1831—William Lumpkin.
 1835—William Schley.
 1837—George R. Gilmer.
 1839—Charles J. McDonald.
 1843—George W. Crawford.
 1847—George W. B. Towns.
 1851—Howell Cobb.

- 1853—Herschel V. Johnson.
 1857—Joseph E. Brown.
 1865—James Johnson (Provisional Governor).
 1865—Charles J. Jenkins.
 1867—Gen. T. H. Ruger (Military).

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION OF
1868.

- 1868—Rufus B. Bullock.
 1871—Benjamin Conley (Acting Governor).
 1872—James Milton Smith.
 1877—Alfred H. Colquitt (Beginning under State Constitution of 1868 and ending under that of 1877).

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION OF
1877.

- 1882—Alexander H. Stephens.
 1883—J. L. Boynton (Acting Governor).
 1883—Henry D. McDaniel.
 1886—John B. Gordon.
 1890—W. J. Northen.
 1894—William Y. Atkinson.
 1898—Allen D. Candler.
 1902—Joseph M. Terrell.
 1907—Hoke Smith.
 1909—Joseph M. Brown.
 1911—Hoke Smith.
 1912—Joseph M. Brown.
 1913—John M. Slaton.

HAWAII.

- 1900—Sanford B. Dole.
 1904—George R. Carter.
 1907—Walter F. Frear.

IDAHO.

TERRITORY.

- 1863—William H. Wallace.
 1864—Caleb Lyon.
 1866—Daniel M. Ballard.
 1870—Samuel Bard.
 1870—Gilman Marston.
 1871—Alexander H. Connor.
 1871—Thomas M. Bowen.
 1871—Thomas W. Bennett.
 1875—David P. Thompson.
 1876—Mason Brayman.
 1878—John P. Hoyt.
 1880—John B. Neil.
 1883—John N. Irwin.
 1884—William N. Bunn.
 1885—Edward A. Stevenson.
 1889—George L. Shoup.

STATE.

- 1890—N. B. Willey.
 1893—William J. McConnell.
 1897—Frank Steunenberg.

- 1901—Frank W. Hunt.
 1903—John T. Morrison.
 1905—Frank R. Gooding.
 1909—James H. Brady.
 1911—James H. Hawley.
 1913—John M. Haines.

ILLINOIS.

TERRITORY.

- 1809, March 7—John Boyle (Declined).
 1809, April 24—1818, Dec. 6—Ninian Edwards.

STATE.

- 1818—Shadrack Bond.
 1822—Edward Coles.
 1826—Ninian Edwards.
 1830—John Reynolds (Resigned November 17, 1834).
 1834—William L. D. Ewing (Served until December 3, 1834).
 1834—Joseph Duncan.
 1838—Thomas Carlin.
 1842—Thomas Ford.
 1846—Augustus C. French.
 1853—Joel A. Matteson.
 1857—William H. Bissell.
 1860—John Wood.
 1861—Richard Yates.
 1865—Richard J. Oglesby.
 1869—John M. Palmer.
 1873—Richard J. Oglesby.
 1873—John L. Beveridge.
 1877—Shelby M. Callom.
 1883—John M. Hamilton.
 1885—Richard J. Oglesby.
 1889—Joseph W. Fifer.
 1893—John P. Altgeld.
 1897—John R. Tanner.
 1901—Richard Yates.
 1905—C. S. Dineen.
 1913—Edward F. Dunne.

INDIANA.

TERRITORY.

- Arthur St. Clair (Governor of Northwest Territory).
 1800—John Gibson.
 1801—William Henry Harrison.
 1811—John Gibson (Acting Governor).
 1812—Thomas Posey.

STATE.

- 1816—Jonathan Jennings.
 1822, Sept. 12—Dec. 15—Ratliffe Boone.
 1822—William Hendricks.
 1825—James B. Day.
 1831—Noah Noble.
 1837—David Wallace.
 1840—Samuel Biggar.

1843—James Whitecomb.
 1848—Paris C. Dunning.
 1849—Joseph A. Wright.
 1857—Ashbel P. Willard.
 1860—Abram A. Hammond.
 1861, Jan 14-16—Henry S. Lane.
 1861—Oliver P. Morton.
 1867—Conrad Baker.
 1873—Thomas A. Hendricks.
 1877—James D. Williams.
 1880—Isaac P. Gray.
 1881—Albert G. Porter.
 1885—Isaac P. Gray.
 1889—Alvin P. Hovey.
 1891—Ira J. Chase.
 1893—Claude Mathews.
 1897—James A. Mount.
 1901—Winfield T. Durbin.
 1905—J. F. Hanly.
 1909—Thomas R. Marshall.
 1913—Samuel L. Palston.

IOWA.

TERRITORY.

1838—Robert Lucas.
 1841—John Chambers.
 1846—James Clark.

STATE.

1846—Ansel Briggs.
 1850—Stephen Hempstead.
 1854—James W. Grimes.
 1858—Ralph P. Lowe.
 1860—Samuel J. Kirkwood.
 1864—William M. Stone.
 1868—Samuel Merrill.
 1872—Cyrus C. Carpenter.
 1876—Samuel J. Kirkwood.
 1877—Joshua G. Newbold.
 1878—John H. Gear.
 1882—Buren R. Sherman.
 1886—William Larrabee.
 1890—Horace Boies.
 1894—Frank D. Jackson.
 1896—Francis M. Drake.
 1898—Leslie M. Shaw.
 1902—Albert B. Cummins.
 1909—Beryl F. Carroll.
 1913—George W. Clarke.

KANSAS.

TERRITORY.

1854—A. H. Reeder.
 1855—Wilson Shannon.
 1856—John W. Geary.
 1857—Robert J. Walker.
 1858—James W. Denver.
 1858—Samuel Medary.
 1859—Frederick P. Stanton.

STATE.

1861—Charles Robinson.
 1863—Thomas Carney.

* Goebel contested the seat of Taylor and was awarded the certificate.

1865—Samuel J. Crawford.
 1869—N. Green (Three months to fill vacancy).
 1869—James M. Harvey.
 1873—Thomas A. Osborne.
 1877—George T. Anthony.
 1879—John P. St. John.
 1883—George W. Glick.
 1885—John A. Martin.
 1889—Lyman U. Humphrey.
 1893—L. D. Lewelling.
 1895—Edmund N. Morrill.
 1897—John W. Leedy.
 1899—W. E. Stanley.
 1903—W. J. Bailey.
 1905—E. W. Hoch.
 1909—Walter R. Stubbs.
 1913—George H. Hodges.

KENTUCKY.

1792—Isaac Shelby.
 1796—James Garrard.
 1804—Christopher Greenup.
 1808—Charles Scott.
 1812—Isaac Shelby.
 1816—George Madison (d. in office).
 1819—Gabriel Slaughter.
 1820—John Adair.
 1824—Joseph Desha.
 1828—Thomas Metcalfe.
 1832—John Breathitt (d. in office).
 1834—James T. Morehead.
 1836—James Clark (d. in office).
 1839—Charles A. Wickliffe.
 1840—Robert P. Letcher.
 1844—William Owsley.
 1848—John J. Chittenden.
 1850—John L. Helm.
 1851—Lazarus W. Powell.
 1855—Charles S. Morehead.
 1859—Beriah Magoffin.
 1861—George W. Johnson (Provisional Governor).
 1862—James F. Robinson.
 1862—Richard Hawes (Provisional Governor).
 1863—Thomas E. Bramlette.
 1867—John L. Helm (d. in office).
 1867—John W. Stevenson.
 1871—Preston H. Leslie.
 1875—James B. McCreary.
 1879—Luke P. Blackburn.
 1883—J. Proctor Knott.
 1887—Simon B. Buckner.
 1891—John Young Brown.
 1895—William O. Bradley.
 1899, Dec. to 1900, Jan. 31—William S. Taylor.
 1900, Jan. 31 to Feb. 3—William Goebel.*
 1900—John C. W. Beckham.
 1907—Augustus E. Willson.
 1911—James B. McCreary.

LOUISIANA.

AS A COLONY OF FRANCE.

1699—Sieur de Sauvolle.
 1701—Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville.

AS A FRENCH PROPRIETARY COLONY.

(a) Anthony Crozat (Proprietor).
 1712-16—La Mothe Cadillac.
 1717—De L'Epinay.
 (b) John Law and the Company of the West (Proprietors).
 1718—Bienville.
 1724—Boisbriant (Acting Governor).
 1726—Perier.

AS A FRENCH ROYAL PROVINCE.

1733—Bienville.
 1743—Marquise de Vaudreuil.
 1753—Louis Billouart de Kerleréc.

AS A SPANISH ROYAL PROVINCE.

(a) *Interregnum*.
 1763—D'Abbadie (Director-General and Acting Governor).
 1765—Aubry (Commander of the Royal Troops, Acting Governor after death of D'Abbadie).
 (b) *Spanish Dominions*.
 1767—Antonio de Ulloa (First Spanish Governor).
 1769—Alexander O'Reilly.
 1770—Don Luis de Unzaga.
 1777—Don Bernardo de Galvez.
 1785—Don Estevan de Miro.
 1791—Baron de Carondelet.
 1797—Gen. Gayoso de Lemos.
 1799—Marquis de Casa Calvo.
 1801—Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo.

THE TERRITORY OF ORLEANS.

1803—William Charles Cole Claiborne (Appointed).

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1812.

1812—William C. C. Claiborne (Elected).
 1816—Jacques Philippe Villeré.
 1820—Thomas Bowling Robertson (Resigned Nov. 15, 1824).
 1824—Henry Schuyler Thibodaux (President of the Senate and *ex officio* Lieut.-Gov.; filled the unexpired term).
 1824—Henry Johnson.
 1828—Pierre Derbigny (Accidentally killed Oct. 6, 1829).
 1829—Armand Beauvais (President of the Senate; Acting Governor until Jan. 14, 1830).
 1830—Jacques Dupré (Elected President of the Senate to succeed Beauvais; acted as Governor until the next popular election).

1831—André Bienvenu Roman.
 1835—Edward Douglas White.
 1839—André Bienvenu Roman.
 1843—Alexander Mouton.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1845.

1846—Isaac Johnson.
 1850—Joseph Marshall Walker.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852

1853—Paul Octave Hébert.
 1856—Robert Charles Wickliffe.

The War Period.

1860—Thomas Overton Moore
 (Military government established by the Federals after the fall of New Orleans).
 1864—Henry Watkins Allen (Governor of portion held by Confederates).
 1864—Michael Hahn (Governor of portion held by Federals).

The Reconstruction Period.

1865—James Madison Wells (Hahn elected Senator March 4, 1865; Lieut.-Gov. Wells succeeded him).
 1867—Benjamin Franklin Flanders (Appointed Acting Governor by Military District Commander Sheridan).
 1868—Joshua Baker (Appointed Acting Governor by Gen. W. S. Hancock who succeeded Sheridan).

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1868.*

1868—Henry Clay Warmoth.
 1872—William Pitt Kellogg (Recognized by President and Congress as the *de facto* Governor). John McEnery (Elected, but will of the people overturned by the "Returning Board").
 1876—Francis Tillou Nicholls (Stephen B. Packard, claimant; but claims rejected).

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1879.

1880—Louis A. Wiltz (d. 1881).
 1881—Samuel Douglas McEnery (*Ex officio* Lieut.-Gov. succeeded Wiltz).
 1884—Samuel Douglas McEnery (Elected).
 1888—Francis Tillou Nicholls.
 1892—Murphy J. Foster.
 1896—Murphy J. Foster.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1898.

1900—William W. Heard.
 1904—Newton C. Blanchard.
 1908—Jared Y. Sanders.
 1912—Luther E. Hall.

MAINE.

ROYAL GOVERNORS.

1692—Sir William Phips (Retires to England, 1694; d. 1695).
 1694—William Stoughton (Lieut.-Governor).
 1699—Richard, Earl Bellamont (Governor; d. March 5, 1701).
 1701—Stoughton (Lieut.-Governor d. July 7, 1701).
 1701—The Council.
 1702, June—Joseph Dudley (Governor; removed 1715).
 1715, Nov. 9—William Tailer (Lieut.-Governor).
 1716, Oct.—Samuel Shute (Governor; left for England Dec. 27, 1722).
 1723, Jan. 1—William Dummer (Lieut.-Governor).
 1728, July—William Burnet (Governor; d. Sept. 7, 1729).
 1729—Dummer (Lieut.-Governor).
 1730, Aug.—Jonathan Belcher (Governor; displaced 1740).
 1740, July—William Shirley (Governor; commissioner to Paris 1749).
 1749—Spencer Phips (Lieut.-Governor).
 1753, Aug. 7—Gov. Shirley returns (Goes to England 1756).
 1756, Sept.—Phips (Lieut.-Governor; d. April 4, 1757).
 1757—The Council.
 1757, Aug. 3—Thomas Pownall (Governor; left June 3, 1760).
 1760, Aug. 4—Sir Francis Bernard (Governor; Aug. 2, 1769).
 1769—Thomas Hutchinson (Governor; May, 1774).
 1774—Thomas Gage (Governor-General; denounced October, 1774).
 1774, Oct. 7—1775, July 19—Provincial Congresses.
 1775, July—1780, Oct.—The Council.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Elected.
 1780, Oct. 25—John Hancock.
 1785, May—James Bowdoin.
 1787—John Hancock (d. Oct. 1793).
 1793, Oct.—Samuel Adams (Lieut.-Governor).
 1794—Samuel Adams.
 1797—Increase Sumner (d. June 1799).
 1799, June—Moses Gill (Lieut.-Governor).
 1800—Caleb Strong.
 1807—James Sullivan (d. Dec. 10, 1808).
 1808—Levi Lincoln (Lieut.-Governor).

1809—Christopher Gore.

1810—Elbridge Gerry.

1812—Caleb Strong.

1816—John Brooks (Until separation).

1820, March 15—Maine separated from Massachusetts.

SINCE FORMATION OF CONSTITUTION.

1820—William King (Resigned).
 1821—William D. Williamson (Acting Governor; resigned).
 1821—Benjamin Ames (Acting Governor).
 1822—Albion K. Parriss.
 1827—Enoch Lincoln (Died).
 1829—Nathan Cutler (Acting Governor).
 1830—Joshua Hall (Acting Governor).
 1830—Jono. G. Hunton.
 1831—Samuel E. Smith.
 1834—Robert P. Danlap.
 1838—Edward Kent.
 1839—John Fairfield.
 1841—Edward Kent.
 1842—John Fairfield.
 1843—John Fairfield (Resigned, elected to U. S. Senate).
 1843—Edward Kavanagh (Acting Governor).
 1844—Hugh J. Anderson.
 1847—John W. Dana.
 1850—John Hubbard.
 1853—Anson P. Morrill.
 1856—Samuel Wells.
 1857—Hannibal Hamlin (Resigned, elected to U. S. Senate).
 1857—Joseph H. Williams (Acting Governor).
 1858—Lot M. Morrill.
 1861—Israel Washburn, Jr.
 1863—Abner Coburn.
 1864—Samuel Cony.
 1867—Joshua Chamberlain.
 1871—Sidney Perham.
 1874—Nelson Dingley, Jr.
 1876—Selden Connor.
 1879—Alonzo Garcelon.
 1880—Daniel F. Davis.
 1881—Harris M. Plaisted.
 1883—Frederick Robie.
 1887—Joseph R. Bodwell (d. Dec. 15, 1887).
 1887—S. S. Marble (Acting Governor).
 1889—Edwin C. Burleigh.
 1893—Henry B. Cleaves.
 1897—Llewellyn Powers.
 1901—John Fremont Hill.
 1905—William T. Cobb.
 1909—Bert M. Fernald.
 1911—Frederick M. Plaisted.
 1913—William T. Haines.

* In 1861 a convention modified the Constitution of 1853 to read "The Confederate States of America" where it originally referred to the United States of America. In 1864 a Constitution was framed and voted upon, but was not recognized by Congress.

MARYLAND.

LORDS PROPRIETARY.

- 1632—Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore.
 1675—Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore.
 1715—Benedict L. Calvert, Fourth Lord Baltimore.
 1715—Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore.
 1751—Frederick Calvert, Sixth Lord Baltimore.
 1771—Sir H. Harford.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNORS.

- 1633—Leonard Calvert.
 1638, April—John Lewger (Acting Governor).
 1638, May—August—Thomas Cornwaleys (Acting Governor).
 1641, May—July—Thomas Cornwaleys (Acting Governor).
 1643—Giles Brent (Acting Governor).
 1644—Leonard Calvert (Returned).
 1645—Richard Ingle (Usurper; "The Plundering Time").
 1646—Edward Hill.
 1646—Leonard Calvert (Restored).
 1647—Thomas Greene.
 1649—William Stone.
 1652, March—June—Parliamentary Commissioners, Richard Bennett, Edmund Curtis, William Claiborne.
 1652—William Stone (Restored).
 1654—Commissioners named by the Parliamentary Commissioners, with subsequent additions to fill vacancies made by the Provincial Court.
 1658—Josias Fendall.
 1660—Philip Calvert.
 1661—Charles Calvert.
 1669—Philip Calvert (Acting Governor).
 1670—Charles Calvert (Returned).
 1676—Cecilius Calvert (Titular Governor).
 1676—Jesse Wharton (Deputy-Governor).
 1676—Thomas Notley.
 1679—Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore.
 1684—Benedict Leonard Calvert (Titular Governor; Government carried on by the Council).
 1688—William Joseph (President of Council).
 1689, August—Committee of the Protestant Freemen (Usurpers).
 1689, August—Convention of the Freemen.
 1689, September—John Coode (Commander-in-Chief).
 1690—Provincial Convention and Committee of two from each county.

ROYAL GOVERNORS.

- 1692—Sir Lionel Copley.
 1693—Sir Edmund Andros.
 1693—Nicholas Greenberry (President of Council).
 1694—Sir Thomas Lawrence (Secretary).
 1694—Francis Nicholson.
 1699—Nathaniel Blackiston.
 1702—Thomas Tench (President of Council).
 1704—John Seymour.
 1709—Edward Loyd (President of Council).
 1714—John Hart.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNORS.

- 1715—John Hart.
 1720—Thomas Brooke (President of Council).
 1720—Charles Calvert.
 1727—Benedict Leonard Calvert.
 1731—Samuel Ogle.
 1732—Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore.
 1733—Samuel Ogle.
 1742—Thomas Bladen.
 1747—Samuel Ogle.
 1752—Benjamin Tasker (President of Council).
 1753—Horatio Sharpe.
 1769—Robert Eden.
 1774—Richard Lee (President of Council).
 1774—Robert Eden (Returned).
 1774-76—Council of safety.

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION.

- 1777—Thomas Johnson.
 1779—Thomas Sim Lee.
 1782—William Paca.
 1785—William Smallwood.
 1788—John Eager Howard.
 1791—George Plater.
 1792—James Brice (Acting Governor).
 1792—Thomas Sim Lee.
 1794—John H. Stone.
 1797—John Henry.
 1798—Benjamin Ogle.
 1801—John Francis Mercer.
 1803—Robert Bowie.
 1806—Robert Wright.
 1808—James Butcher (Acting Governor).
 1809—Edward Lloyd.
 1811—Robert Bowie.
 1812—Levin Winder.
 1815—Charles Ridgely.
 1818—Charles W. Goldsborough.
 1819—Samuel Sprigg.
 1822—Samuel Stevens, Jr.
 1826—Joseph Kent.
 1828—Daniel Martin.
 1829—Thomas King Carroll.
 1830—Daniel Martin.
 1831—George Howard (Acting Governor).
 1832—George Howard.

- 1833—James Thomas.
 1835—Thomas W. Veazey.
 1838—William Grayson.
 1841—Francis Thomas.
 1844—Thomas G. Pratt.
 1847—Philip F. Thomas.
 1850—Enoch L. Lowe.
 1854—Thomas W. Ligon.
 1858—Thomas H. Hicks.
 1862—Augustus W. Bradford.
 1865—Thomas Swann.
 1869—Oden Bowie.
 1872—William Pinkney Whyte.
 1874—James Black Groome.
 1876—John Lee Carroll.
 1880—William T. Hamilton.
 1884—Robert M. McLane.
 1885—Henry Lloyd.
 1888—Elihu E. Jackson.
 1892—Frank Brown.
 1896—Lloyd Lowndes, Jr.
 1900—John Walter Smith.
 1904—Edwin Warfield.
 1908—Austin L. Crothers.
 1912—Phillips L. Goldsborough.

MASSACHUSETTS.

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

- 1620—John Carver.
 1621—William Bradford.
 1633—Edward Winslow.
 1634—Thomas Prence.
 1635—William Bradford.
 1636—Edward Winslow.
 1637—William Bradford.
 1638—Thomas Prence.
 1639—William Bradford.
 1644—Edward Winslow.
 1645—William Bradford.
 1657—Thomas Prence.
 1673—Josiah Winslow.
 1680—Thomas Hinckley.
 1686—Sir Edmund Andros (Governor-General).
 1689—Thomas Hinckley.

UNDER FIRST CHARTER

- 1629—John Endicott (Acting Governor).
 1630—John Winthrop.
 1634—Thomas Dudley.
 1635—John Haynes.
 1636—Henry Vane.
 1637—John Winthrop.
 1640—Thomas Dudley.
 1641—Richard Bellingham.
 1642—John Winthrop.
 1644—John Endicott.
 1645—Thomas Dudley.
 1646—John Winthrop.
 1649—John Endicott.
 1650—Thomas Dudley.
 1651—John Endicott.
 1654—Richard Bellingham.
 1655—John Endicott.
 1665—Richard Bellingham.

1673—John Leverett.
 1679—Simon Bradstreet.
 1684—Joseph Dudley (President).
 1686—Sir Edmund Andros (Governor-General).
 1689—Thomas Danforth (Acting Governor).

UNDER SECOND CHARTER.

1692—Sir William Phips.
 1694—William Stoughton (Acting Governor).
 1699—Richard Coote (Earl Bellamont).
 1700—William Stoughton (Acting Governor).
 1701—The Council.
 1702—Joseph Dudley.
 1715—The Council.
 1715—Joseph Dudley.
 1715—William Tailer (Acting Governor).
 1716—Samuel Shute.
 1723—William Dummer (Acting Governor).
 1728—William Burnett.
 1728—William Dummer (Acting Governor).
 1730—William Tailer (Acting Governor).
 1730—Jonathan Belcher.
 1741—William Shirley.
 1749—Spencer Phips (Acting Governor).
 1753—William Shirley.
 1756—Spencer Phips (Acting Governor).
 1757—The Council.
 1757—Thomas Pownall.
 1760—Thomas Hutchinson (Acting Governor).
 1760—Sir Francis Bernard.
 1769—Thomas Hutchinson (Acting Governor).
 1771—Thomas Hutchinson.
 1774—Thomas Gage.
 1774—Provincial Congress.
 1775—The Council.

STATE.

1780—John Hancock.
 1785—James Bowdoin.
 1787—John Hancock.
 1793—Samuel Adams (Acting Governor).
 1794—Samuel Adams.
 1797—Increase Sumner.
 1799—Moses Gill (Acting Governor).
 1800—Caleb Strong.
 1807—James Sullivan.
 1808—Levi Lincoln (Acting Governor).
 1809—Christopher Gore.
 1810—Elbridge Gerry.
 1812—Caleb Strong.
 1816—John Brooks.
 1823—William Eustis.
 1825—Marcus Morton (Acting Governor).

1825—Levi Lincoln.
 1834—John Davis.
 1835—Samuel T. Armstrong (Acting Governor).
 1836—Edward Everett.
 1840—Marcus Morton.
 1841—John Davis.
 1843—Marcus Morton.
 1844—George N. Briggs.
 1851—George S. Boutwell.
 1853—John H. Clifford.
 1854—Emory Washburn.
 1855—Henry J. Gardner.
 1858—Nathaniel P. Banks.
 1861—John A. Andrew.
 1866—Alexander H. Bullock.
 1869—William Claflin.
 1872—William B. Washburn.
 1874—Thomas Talbot (Acting Governor).
 1874—William Gaston.
 1876—Alexander H. Rice.
 1879—Thomas Talbot.
 1880—John D. Long.
 1883—Benjamin F. Butler.
 1884—George D. Robinson.
 1887—Oliver Ames.
 1890—J. Q. A. Brackett.
 1891—William E. Russell.
 1894—Frederick T. Greenhalge.
 1897—Roger Wolcott.
 1900—Winthrop M. Crane.
 1903—John L. Bates.
 1905—William L. Douglas.
 1906—Curtis Guild, Jr.
 1909—Eben S. Draper.
 1911—Eugene N. Foss.
 1914—David I. Walsh.

MICHIGAN.

1622—Under French rule there were 28 governors.
 1763—Under British rule there were 11 governors.

AS PART OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

1796—Arthur St. Clair.

AS PART OF INDIANA TERRITORY.

1800—William Henry Harrison.

AS TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

1805—William Hull.
 1813—Lewis Cass.
 1831—George B. Porter.
 1834—Stevens T. Mason.

STATE.

1835—Stevens T. Mason (Not in Union).
 1837—Stevens T. Mason (In Union).
 1840—William Woodbridge.
 1841—J. Wright Gordon (Acting Governor).
 1843—John S. Barry.
 1846—Alpheus Felch.

1847—William L. Greely (Acting Governor).
 1848—Epaphroditus Ransom.
 1850—John S. Barry.
 1851—Robert McClelland.
 1853—Andrew Parsons (Acting Governor).
 1855—Kinsley S. Bingham.
 1859—Moses Wisner.
 1861—Austin Blair.
 1865—Henry H. Crapo.
 1869—Henry P. Baldwin.
 1873—John J. Bagley.
 1877—Charles M. Croswell.
 1881—David H. Jerome.
 1883—Josiah W. Begole.
 1885—Russell A. Alger.
 1887—Cyrus G. Luce.
 1891—Edwin B. Winans.
 1893—J. T. Rich.
 1897—H. S. Pingree.
 1901—A. T. Bliss.
 1905—F. M. Warner.
 1911—Chase S. Osborn.
 1913—Woodbridge N. Ferris.

MINNESOTA.

TERRITORY.

1849—Alexander Ramsey.
 1853—Willis A. Gorman.
 1857—Samuel Medary.

STATE.

1858—Henry H. Sibley.
 1860—Alexander Ramsey.
 1863—Henry A. Swift.
 1864—Stephen Miller.
 1866—William R. Marshall.
 1870—Horace Austin.
 1874—Cushman K. Davis.
 1876—John S. Pillsbury.
 1882—Lucius F. Hubbard.
 1887—Andrew R. McGill.
 1889—William R. Merriam.
 1893—Knut Nelson.
 1895—David M. Clough.
 1899—John Lind.
 1901—Samuel R. Van Sant.
 1905—John A. Johnson (d. Sept. 21, 1909).
 1909—Adolph O. Eberhart.

MISSISSIPPI.

UNDER FRENCH RULE, 1699-1763.

1699—Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (Made settlement of Biloxi).
 1699-1711—Louis Hector de Callieres and Philip de Rigault, Marquis de Vaudreuil (Governors of New France or Canada) controlled the settlements of Louisiana in these years.
 1699—Antoine le Moyne Sauvolle.

1701—Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville.
 1712—Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac.
 1717—De L'Epiney.
 1718—Bienville.
 1724—Boisbriant (Acting Governor).
 1726—Perier.
 1733—Bienville.
 1743—Marquis de Vaudreuil.
 1753—Louis Billouart de Kerleréc.

PROVINCE OF WEST FLORIDA, UNDER ENGLISH RULE, 1763-1781.

1763—George Johnstone.
 1767—Montfort Browne (*ad interim*).
 1768—John Eliot.
 1768—Montfort Browne (*ad interim*).
 1769—Elias Durnford (*ad interim*).
 1770—Peter Chester.

NATCHEZ DISTRICT UNDER SPANISH RULE, 1781-1798.

Francis Callett.
 Philippe Trevino.
 Estevan de Miro.
 Pedro Piernas.
 Francis Dauligny.
 Carlos de Grand Pre.
 Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.
 Joseph Vidal.
 Stephen Minor.

TERRITORY OF MISSISSIPPI, 1798-1817.

1798—Winthrop Sargent (Governor of Territory Northwest of Ohio River).
 1801—John Steele (Acting Governor).
 1801—William C. C. Claiborne.
 1804—Cato West (Acting Governor).
 1805—Robert Williams.
 1806-7—Cowles Meade (Acting Governor).
 1807—Robert Williams.
 1809—Thomas Williams (Acting Governor).
 1809-17—David Holmes (Governor).
 1811-12—Henry Dangerfield (Acting Governor).
 1815-16—Nathaniel A. Ware (Acting Governor).

STATE.

1817—David Holmes.
 1820—George Poindexter.
 1822—Walter Leake (d. Nov. 17, 1825).
 1825—Gerard C. Brandon (Acting Governor).
 1826—David Holmes (Resigned July, 1826).
 1826—Gerard C. Brandon (Acting Governor).

1832—Abram M. Scott (d. June 12, 1833).
 1833—Charles Lynch (President of Senate and Acting Governor).
 1833—Hiram G. Runnels (Vacated Office Nov. 20, 1835).
 1835—John A. Quitman (President of Senate and Acting Governor).
 1836—Charles Lynch.
 1838—Alexander G. McNutt.
 1842—Tilghman M. Tucker.
 1844—Albert G. Brown.
 1848—Joseph W. Matthews.
 1850—John A. Quitman (Resigned Feb. 3, 1851).
 1851—John J. Guion (President of Senate and Acting Governor).
 1851—James Whitfield (President of Senate and Acting Governor).
 1852—Henry S. Foote (Resigned Jan. 5, 1854).
 1854—John J. Pettus (President of Senate and Acting Governor).
 1854—John J. McRae.
 1857—William McWillie.
 1859—John J. Pettus.
 1863—Charles Clark (Removed by Federal Government May 22, 1865).
 1865—William L. Sharkey (Provisional Governor).
 1865—Benjamin G. Humphreys (Removed by Federal Government June 15, 1868).
 1868—Adelbert Ames (Military Governor).
 1870—James L. Alcorn (Resigned Nov. 30, 1871).
 1871—Ridgeley C. Powers (Acting Governor).
 1874—Adelbert Ames (Resigned March 29, 1876).
 1876—John M. Stone (President of Senate).
 1882—Robert Lowry.
 1890—John M. Stone.
 1896—Anselm J. McLaurin.
 1900—Andrew H. Longino.
 1904—James Kimble Vardaman.
 1908—Edmond Favor Noel.
 1912—Earl Brewer.

MISSOURI.

SPANISH ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

1770—Pedro Piernas (Lieut.-Governor).
 1775—Francisco Cruzat (Lieut.-Governor).
 1778—Fernando de Leyba (Lieut.-Governor).
 1780—Francisco Cruzat (Lieut.-Governor).
 1787—Manuel Perez (Lieut.-Governor).
 1792—Zenon Trudeau (Lieut.-Governor).
 1799—Carlos Dehault de Lassus (Lieut.-Governor).

TERRITORY OF INDIANA.

1804—William Henry Harrison.

TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA.

1805—James Wilkinson.
 1806—James Brown (Acting Governor).
 1807—Frederick Bates (Acting Governor).
 1807—Meriwether Lewis.
 1809—Frederick Bates (Acting Governor).
 1810—Benjamin Howard.

TERRITORY OF MISSOURI.

1812—Frederick Bates (Acting Governor).
 1813—William Clark.

STATE.

1820—Alexander McNair.
 1824—Frederick Bates.
 1825—Abraham J. Williams (Acting Governor).
 1826—John Miller.
 1832—Daniel Dunklin.
 1836—Lilburn W. Boggs.
 1840—Thomas Reynolds.
 1844—M. M. Marmaduke (Acting Governor).
 1844—John C. Edwards.
 1848—Austin A. King.
 1852—Sterling Price.
 1856—Trusten Polk.
 1857—Hancock Jackson (Acting Governor).
 1857—Robert M. Stewart.
 1861—Claiborne F. Jackson.
 1861—Hamilton R. Gamble (Acting Governor).
 1864—Willard P. Hall (Acting Governor).
 1865—Thomas C. Fletcher.
 1869—Joseph W. McClurg.
 1871—Benjamin Gratz Brown.
 1873—Silas Woodson.
 1875—Charles H. Hardin.
 1877—John S. Phelps.
 1881—Thomas T. Crittenden.
 1885—John S. Marmaduke.
 1887—Albert P. Morehouse (Acting Governor).
 1889—David R. Francis.
 1893—William J. Stone.
 1897—Lon V. Stephens.
 1901—Alexander M. Dockery.
 1905—Joseph W. Folk.
 1909—Herbert S. Hadley.
 1913—Elliott W. Major.

MONTANA.

TERRITORY.

1864—Sydney Egerton.
 1865—Thomas Francis Meagher (Acting Governor).
 1866—Green Clay Smith.

1869—James M. Ashley.
 1870—Benjamin F. Potts.
 1883—John Schuyler Crosby.
 1884—B. Platt Carpenter.
 1885—Samuel T. Hauser.
 1887—Preston H. Leslie.
 1889—Benjamin F. White.

STATE.

1889—Joseph K. Toole.
 1893—John E. Rickards.
 1897—Robert B. Smith.
 1901—Joseph K. Toole.
 1908—Edwin L. Norris (Acting Governor).
 1909—Edwin L. Norris.
 1913—Samuel V. Stewart.

NEBRASKA.

TERRITORY.

1854—Francis Burt.
 1854—T. B. Cumming (Acting Governor).
 1855—Mark W. Izard.
 1858—William A. Richardson.
 1858—J. S. Morton (Acting Governor).
 1859—Samuel W. Black.
 1861—Alvin Saunders.
 1866—David Butler.

STATE.

1867—David Butler.
 1871—W. H. James (Acting Governor).
 1873—Robert W. Furnas.
 1875—Silas Garber.
 1879—Albinus Nance.
 1883—James W. Dawes.
 1887—John M. Thayer.
 1891—James E. Boyd.
 1893—Lorenzo Crouse.
 1895—S. A. Holcomb.
 1899—W. A. Poynter.
 1901—C. H. Dietrich.
 1903—John H. Mickey.
 1907—George L. Sheldon.
 1909—Ashton C. Shallenbarger.
 1911—Chester H. Aldrich.
 1913—John H. Morehead.

NEVADA.

TERRITORY.

1861—James W. Nye.

STATE.

1864—James W. Nye (Acting Governor).
 1864—Henry G. Blasdel.
 1871—Luther R. Bradley.
 1879—John H. Kinhead.
 1883—Jewett W. Adams.
 1887—Christopher C. Stevenson.

1890—Frank Bell (Acting Governor).
 1891—Roswell K. Colcord.
 1895—John E. Jones.
 1897—R. Sadler.
 1903—John Sparks.
 1909—D. S. Dickerson.
 1911—Tasker L. Oddie.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

1775—Mathew Thornton.
 1776—Meshech Weare.

SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD,
1784-93.

1784—Meshech Weare.
 1785—John Langdon.
 1786—John Sullivan.
 1788—John Langdon.
 1789—John Pickering.
 1789—John Sullivan.
 1790—Josiah Bartlett.

THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD,
1793-1879.

1794—John Taylor Gilman.
 1805—John Langdon.
 1809—Jeremiah Smith.
 1810—John Langdon.
 1812—William Plumer.
 1813—John Taylor Gilman.
 1816—William Plumer.
 1819—Samuel Bell.
 1823—Levi Woodbury.
 1824—David L. Morrill.
 1827—Benjamin Pierce.
 1828—John Bell.
 1829—Benjamin Pierce.
 1830—Matthew Harvey.
 1831—Joseph M. Harper.
 1832—Samuel Dinsmoor.
 1834—William Badger.
 1836—Isaac Hill.
 1839—John Page.
 1842—Henry Hubbard.
 1844—John H. Steele.
 1846—Anthony Colby.
 1847—Jared W. Williams.
 1849—Samuel Dinsmoor.
 1852—Noah Martin.
 1854—Nathaniel B. Baker.
 1855—Ralph Metcalf.
 1857—William Haile.
 1859—Ichabod Goodwin.
 1861—Nathaniel S. Berry.
 1863—Joseph A. Gilmore.
 1865—Frederick Smythe.
 1867—Walter Harriman.
 1869—Onslow Stearns.
 1871—James A. Weston.
 1872—Ezekiel A. Straw.
 1874—James A. Weston.
 1875—Person F. Cheney.
 1877—Benjamin F. Prescott.

FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD,
1879—.

1879—Nathaniel Head.
 1881—Charles H. Bell.
 1883—Samuel W. Hale.
 1885—Moody Currier.
 1887—Charles B. Sawyer.
 1889—David H. Goodell.
 1891—Hiram A. Tuttle.
 1893—John B. Smith.
 1895—Charles A. Busiel.
 1897—George A. Ramsdell.
 1899—Frank W. Rollins.
 1901—Chester B. Jordan.
 1903—Nahum J. Bacheelder.
 1905—John McLaue.
 1907—Charles M. Floyd.
 1909—Henry B. Quinby.
 1911—Robert P. Bass.

NEW JERSEY.

EAST JERSEY.

1665—Philip Carteret.
 1682—Robert Barclay.
 1683—Thomas Rudyard (Deputy-Governor).
 1683—Garen Lawrie.
 1685—Lord Neil Campbell.
 1692—Andrew Hamilton.
 1698—Jeremiah Basse.

WEST JERSEY.

1681—Samuel Jennings (Deputy-Governor).
 1684—Thomas Oliver.
 1685—John Skien (Deputy-Governor).
 1686—William Welsh (Deputy-Governor).
 1687—Daniel Coxe.
 1692—Andrew Hamilton.
 1697—Jeremiah Basse.
 1699—Andrew Hamilton.

EAST AND WEST JERSEY UNITED.

1703—Edward, Lord Cornbury.
 1708—John Lovelace.
 1709—Richard Ingoldsby (Lieut.-Governor).
 1710—Robert Hunter.
 1719—Lewis Morris.
 1720—William Burnet.
 1728—John Montgomery.
 1731—Lewis Morris.
 1732—William Crosly.
 1736—John Anderson.
 1736—John Hamilton.

SEPARATED FROM NEW YORK.

1738—Lewis Morris.
 1746—John Hamilton.
 1747—John Reading.
 1747—Jonathan Belcher.
 1757—Thomas Pownall.
 1757—John Reading.
 1758—Francis Barnard.

1760—Thomas Boone.
1761—Thomas Hardy.
1763—William Franklin.

REVOLUTIONARY AND STATE.

1776—William Livingston.
1790—William Patterson.
1792—Richard Howell.
1801—Joseph Bloomfield.
1802—John Lambert (Vice-President of Council).
1803—Joseph Bloomfield.
1812—Aaron Ogden.
1813—William S. Pennington.
1815—Mahlon Dickerson.
1817—Isaac H. Williamson.
1829—Garret D. Wall (Declined).
1829—Peter D. Vroom.
1832—Samuel L. Southard.
1833—Elias P. Seeley.
1835—Peter D. Vroom.
1836—Philemon Dickerson.
1837—William Pennington.
1843—Daniel Haines.

UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

1844—Charles S. Stratton.
1848—Daniel Haines.
1851—George F. Fort.
1854—Rodman M. Price.
1857—William A. Newell.
1860—Charles S. Alden.
1863—Joel Parker.
1866—Marcus L. Ward.
1869—Theodore F. Randolph.
1872—Joel Parker.
1875—Joseph D. Bedle.
1878—George B. McClellan.
1881—George C. Ludlow.
1884—Leon Abbett.
1887—Robert S. Green.
1890—Leon Abbett.
1893—George J. Werts.
1896—John W. Griggs.
1898—Foster M. Voorhees.
1902—Franklin Murphy.
1905—Edward C. Stokes.
1908—John Franklin Fort.
1912—Woodrow Wilson.
1913—Mar. 1—James F. Fielder.
1913—Oct. 28—Leon R. Taylor.
1914—James F. Fielder.

NEW MEXICO.

CIVIL GOVERNORS UNDER MILITARY APPOINTMENT.

1846—Charles Bent (Assassinated July 17, 1847).
1847—Donaciano Vigil.
1848—J. M. Washington (Commandant of the Department).
1849—John Munroe (Commandant of the Department).

CIVIL GOVERNORS UNDER THE ORGANIC ACT, MARCH 3, 1851.

1851—James S. Calhoun.
1852—William Carr Lane.
1853—David Meriwether.

1857—Abraham Rencher.
1861—Henry Conolly.
1865—Robert B. Mitchell.
1867—W. F. M. Amy (Acting Governor).

1869—William A. Pile.
1871—Marsh Giddings.
1876—Samuel B. Axtell.
1878—Lewis Wallace.
1881—Lionel A. Sheldon.
1885—E. G. Ross.
1888—L. B. Prince.
1893—W. T. Thornton.
1897—M. A. Otero.
1906—H. J. Hagerman.
1907—George Curry.
1909—William J. Mills.
1912—William C. McDonald

NEW YORK.

COLONIAL.

1623—Adrian Joris.
1624—Cornelius J. Mey.
1625—William Verhulst.
1626—Peter Minuit.
1633—Wouter Van Twiller.
1638—William Kieft.
1647—Petrus Stuyvesant.
1664—Richard Nicolls.
1668—Francis Lovlace.
1673—Cornelius Evertse, Jr.
1673—Anthony Colve.
1674—Edmond Andros.
1677—Anthony Brockholles.
1678—Sir Edmond Andros.
1681—Anthony Brockholles.
1683—Thomas Dongan.
1688—Sir Edmond Andros.
1688—Francis Nicholson.
1689—Jacob Leisler.
1691—Henry Sloughter.
1691—Richard Ingoldsby.
1692—Benjamin Fletcher.
1698—Earl of Bellamont.
1699—John Nanfan.
1700—Earl of Bellamont.
1701—Col. William Smith.
1701—Col. Abraham De Peyster.
1701—Col. Peter Schuyler.
1701—John Nanfan.
1702—Lord Cornbury.
1708—Lord Lovelace.
1709—Peter Schuyler.
1709—Richard Ingoldsby.
1709—Peter Schuyler.
1709—Richard Ingoldsby.
1710—Gerardus Beekman.
1710—Robert Hunter.
1719—Peter Schuyler.
1720—William Burnet.
1728—John Montgomerie.
1731—Rip Van Dam.
1732—William Crosby.
1736—George Clark.
1743—George Clinton.
1753—Sir Danvers Osborne.
1753—James De Lancey.

1755—Sir Charles Hardy.
1757—James De Lancey.
1760—Cadwallader Colden.
1761—Robert Monckton.
1761—Cadwallader Colden.
1765—Sir Henry Moore.
1769—Cadwallader Colden.
1770—John, Lord Dunmore.
1771—William Tyrone.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

1775—Nathaniel Woodhull.
1775—Abraham Yates.
1775—Nathaniel Woodhull.
1775—John Harding.
1776—Abraham Yates.
1776—Peter R. Livingston.
1777—Abraham Ten Broeck.
1777—Leonard Gansevoort.
1777—Pierre Van Courtland.

STATE.

1777—George Clinton.
1795—John Jay.
1801—George Clinton.
1804—Morgan Lewis.
1807—Daniel D. Tompkins.
1817—John Tayler.
1817—De Witt Clinton.
1822—Joseph C. Yates.
1824—De Witt Clinton.
1828—Nathaniel Pitcher.
1829—Martin Van Buren.
1829—Enos T. Throop.
1833—William L. Marcy.
1838—William H. Seward.
1842—William C. Bouck.
1844—Silas Wright.
1846—John Young.
1849—Hamilton Fish.
1851—Washington Hunt.
1853—Horatio Seymour.
1855—Myron H. Clark.
1857—John A. King.
1859—Edwin D. Morgan.
1863—Horatio Seymour.
1865—Reuben E. Fenton.
1869—John T. Hoffman.
1873—John A. Dix.
1875—Samuel J. Tilden.
1877—Lucius Robinson.
1880—Alonzo B. Cornell.
1883—Grover Cleveland (Elected President 1884, resigned Governorship Jan. 6, 1885).
1885—David B. Hill (Acting Governor).
1886—David B. Hill.
1892—Roswell P. Flower.
1896—Levi P. Morton.
1897—Frank S. Black.
1899—Theodore Roosevelt.
1901—Benjamin B. Odell, Jr.
1905—Frank W. Higgins.
1907—Charles E. Hughes (Appointed to Sup. Court, Oct. 1910).
1910—October—Horace White.
1911—John A. Dix.
1913—William Sulzer (Impeached).
1913—Oct. 17—Martin H. Glynn.

NORTH CAROLINA.

PROPRIETORS.

1629—Sir Robert Heath.
 1663-1725—Lords Proprietors. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albermarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkeley; Sir John Colleton.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNORS.

1663—William Drummond.
 1667—Samuel Stevens.
 1670—Peter Carteret.
 1670—Samuel Stevens.
 1674—Sir George Carteret.
 1675—John Jenkins (Acting Governor).
 1675—John Harvey (Acting Governor).
 1677—Sir George Eastchurch.
 1677—Thomas Miller (Acting Governor).
 1677—John Culpepper.
 1678—John Harvey (Acting Governor).
 1678—John Jenkins.
 1681—Henry Wilkinson.
 1683—Seth Sothel.
 1689—Philip Ludwell.
 1691—Alexander Lillington.
 1693—Thomas Smith.
 1694—John Archdale.
 1698—Thomas Harvey.
 1699—Henderson Walker.
 ————Sir Nathaniel Johnson.
 1704—Robert Daniel.
 1705—Thomas Carey.
 1706—William Glover (Acting Governor).
 1707—Thomas Carey (Acting Governor).
 1708-10—William Glover and Thos. Carey, contestants.
 1710—Edward Hyde.
 1712—George Pollock (Acting Governor).
 1713—Charles Eden.
 1722—Thomas Pollock (Acting Governor).
 1722—William Reed (Acting Governor).
 1724—George Burrington.
 1725—Edward Mosely (Acting Governor).
 1725—Sir Richard Everhard.

ROYAL GOVERNORS.

1730—George Burrington.
 1734—Nathaniel Rice (Acting Governor).
 1734—Gabriel Johnston.
 1752—Nathaniel Rice (Acting Governor).

1753—Arthur Dobbs.
 1753—Matthew Rowan (Acting Governor).
 1765—William Tryon.
 1771—James Hazell (Acting Governor).
 1771—Josiah Martin.
 1775—"Provincial "County Committees."

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION.

1776—Richard Caswell.
 1779—Abner Nash.
 1781—Thomas Burke.
 1782—Alexander Martin.
 1784—Richard Caswell.
 1787—Samuel Johnston.
 1792—Richard Dobbs Spraight, Sr.
 1795—Samuel Ashe.
 1798—William Richardson Davie.
 1799—Benjamin Williams.
 1802—James Turner.
 1805—Nathaniel Alexander.
 1807—Benjamin Williams.
 1808—David Stone.
 1810—Benjamin Smith.
 1811—William Hawkins.
 1814—William Miller.
 1817—John Branch.
 1820—Jesse Franklin.
 1821—Gabriel Holmes.
 1824—Hutchings G. Burton.
 1827—James Iredell.
 1828—John Owen.
 1830—Montford Stokes.
 1832—David L. Swain.
 1835—Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr.
 1837—Edward B. Dudley.
 1841—John M. Morehead.
 1845—William A. Graham.
 1849—Charles Manly.
 1851—David S. Reid.
 1854—Warren Winslow (Acting Governor).
 1855—Thomas Bragg.
 1858—John W. Ellis.
 1861—Henry T. Clarke (Acting Governor).
 1863—Zebulon B. Vance.
 1866—William W. Holden (Provisional Governor).
 1866—Jonathan Worth.
 1867—Gen. Daniel E. Sickles (Military Governor).
 1867—Gen. E. R. S. Canby (Military Governor).
 1868—William W. Holden (Impeached).
 1871—Tod R. Caldwell.
 1874—Curtis H. Brogden.
 1877—Zebulon B. Vance.
 1878—Thomas J. Jarvis (Acting Governor).
 1881—Thomas J. Jarvis.
 1885—Alfred M. Scales.
 1889—Daniel G. Fowle.
 1891—Thomas M. Holt.
 1893—Elias Carr.
 1897—Daniel L. Russell.

1901—Charles B. Aycock.
 1905—Robert B. Glenn.
 1909—W. W. Kitchin.
 1913—Locke Craig.

NORTH DAKOTA

TERRITORY.

1861—William Jayne.
 1863—Newton Edmonds.
 1866—Andrew J. Faulk.
 1869—John A. Burbank.
 1874—John L. Pennington.
 1878—William A. Howard.
 1880—Nehemiah G. Ordway.
 1884—Gilbert A. Pierce.
 1887—Louis K. Church.
 1889—Arthur C. Melette.

STATE.

1889—John Miller.
 1891—A. H. Burke.
 1893—E. C. D. Shortridge.
 1895—Roger Allen.
 1897—Frank A. Briggs.
 1898—Joseph M. Devine.
 1899—Frederick B. Fancher.
 1901—Frank White.
 1903—E. Y. Sarles.
 1907—John Burke.
 1913—Louis B. Hanna.

OHIO.

TERRITORY.

1788—Arthur St. Clair.
 1802—C. W. Byrd (Acting Governor).

STATE.

1803—Edward Tiffin.
 1807—Thomas Kirker (Acting Governor).
 1808—Samuel Huntington.
 1810—Return J. Meigs.
 1814—Othniel Looker (Acting Governor).
 1814—Thomas Worthington.
 1818—Ethan Allen Brown.
 1822—Allen Trimble (Acting Governor).
 1822—Jeremiah Morrow.
 1826—Allen Trimble.
 1830—Duncan McArthur.
 1832—Robert Lucas.
 1836—Joseph Vance.
 1838—Wilson Shannon.
 1840—Thomas Corwin.
 1842—Wilson Shannon.
 1844—T. W. Bartley (Acting Governor).
 1844—Mordecai Bartley.
 1846—William Bebb.

1849—Seabury Ford.
 1850—Reuben Wood.
 1853—William Medill.
 1856—Salmon P. Chase.
 1860—William Dennison.
 1862—David Todd.
 1861—John Brough.
 1865—C. Anderson (Acting Governor).
 1866—Jacob D. Cox.
 1848—Rutherford B. Hayes.
 1872—Edward F. Noyes.
 1874—William Allen.
 1876—Rutherford B. Hayes.
 1877—Thomas L. Young.
 1878—Richard M. Bishop.
 1880—Charles Foster.
 1884—George Hoadley.
 1886—Joseph B. Foraker.
 1890—James E. Campbell.
 1892—William McKinley.
 1896—Asa S. Bushnell.
 1900—George K. Nash.
 1904—Myron T. Herrick.
 1906—John M. Pattison.
 1907—Andrew L. Harris.
 1909—Judson Harmon.
 1913—James M. Cox.

OKLAHOMA.

TERRITORY.

1890—George W. Steele.
 1891—Abraham J. Seay.
 1893—William C. Renfrow.
 1897—C. M. Barnes.
 1901—Thomas B. Ferguson.
 1905—Frank Frantz.

STATE.

1907—Charles N. Haskell.
 1911—Lee Cruce.

OREGON.

PROVISIONAL.

1845—George Abernethy.

TERRITORY.

1849—Joseph Lane.
 1849—John P. Gaines.
 1853—Joseph Lane.
 1853—George L. Curry (Excepting a few days in 1854 when J. W. Davis was governor).

STATE.

1859—John Whittaker.
 1862—Addison C. Gibbs.
 1866—George L. Woods.
 1870—Lafayette S. Grover.
 1877—S. F. Chadwick.
 1878—William W. Thayer.
 1882—Zenas F. Moody.

1887—Sylvester Pennoyer.
 1895—William P. Lord.
 1899—Theodore T. Geer.
 1903—George E. Chamberlain.
 1909—Frank W. Benson.
 1911—Oswald West.

PENNSYLVANIA.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Governors and Directors of New Netherlands, and of the Dutch on the Delaware.

1621—Cornelius Jacobson May (Director).
 1625—William Van Hulst (Director).
 1626—Peter Minuit.
 1632—David Pieterzen De Vries.
 1633—Wouter Van Twiller.
 1638—Sir William Kieft.
 1647-64—Petrus Stuyvesant.

Swedish.

1638—Peter Minuit.
 1641—Peter Hollandaer.
 1643—John Printz.
 1643—John Pappegoya.
 1654—Johan C. Rysingh.

Dutch.

1655—John C. Jaquet.

CITY AND COMPANY.

1657—Jacob Alricks (City).
 1659—Alexander d' Hinoyossa (City).
 1657—Goeran Van Dyke (Company).
 1658—William Beekman.

UNITED COLONY.

1662—William Beekman.
 1663—Alexander d' Hinoyossa.

English.

1664—Richard Nicolls.
 1664—Robert Carr (Deputy-Governor).
 1667—Francis Lovelace.

Dutch.

1673—Anthony Colve.
 1673—Peter Alricks (Deputy-Governor).

English.

1674—Sir Edmond Andros.

PROPRIETARY.

1681—William Markham (Deputy-Governor).
 1682—William Penn.
 1684—Council (Thomas Lloyd, President).

1688—Commissioners.
 1688—John Blackwell (Deputy-Governor).
 1690—Council (Thomas Lloyd, President).
 1691—Thomas Lloyd (Deputy-Governor).
 1691—William Markham (Deputy-Governor).

CROWN.

1693—Benjamin Fletcher.
 1693—William Markham (Lieut.-Governor).

PROPRIETARY.

1695—William Markham.
 1699—William Penn.
 1701—Andrew Hamilton.
 1703—Council (E. Shippen, President).
 1704—John Evans.
 1709—Charles Gookin (Lieut.-Governor).
 1717—Sir William Keith (Lieut.-Governor).
 1726—Patrick Gordon (Lieut.-Governor).
 1736—Council (J. Logan, President).
 1738—George Thomas (Lieut.-Governor).
 1747—Council (A. Palmer, President).
 1748—James Hamilton (Lieut.-Governor).
 1754—Robert H. Morris (Lieut.-Governor).
 1756—William Denny (Lieut.-Governor).
 1759—James Hamilton (Lieut.-Governor).
 1763—John Penn.
 1771—Council (J. Hamilton, President).
 1771—Richard Penn.
 1776—John Penn (Lieut.-Governor).

REVOLUTION.

1776, September,—1777, March. Committee of Safety (Benjamin Franklin, Chairman).
 1777-1790—Supreme Executive Council of which the following were Presidents:
 1777—Thomas Wharton, Jr.
 1778—George Bryan (Acting President).
 1778—Joseph Reed.
 1781—William Moore.
 1782—John Dickinson.
 1785—Benjamin Franklin.
 1788—Thomas Mifflin.

STATE.

1790—Thomas Mifflin.
 1799—Thomas McKean.
 1808—Simon Snyder.

1817—William Findlay.
 1820—Joseph Heister.
 1823—John A. Schulze.
 1829—George Wolf.
 1835—Joseph Ritner.
 1839—David R. Porter.
 1845—Francis A. Shunk.
 1848—William F. Johnston.
 1852—William Bigler.
 1855—James Pollock.
 1858—William F. Packer.
 1861—Andrew J. Curtin.
 1867—John W. Geary.
 1873—John F. Hartranft.
 1879—Henry M. Hoyt.
 1883—Robert E. Pattison.
 1887—James A. Beaver.
 1891—Robert E. Pattison.
 1895—Daniel H. Hastings.
 1899—William A. Stone.
 1903—Samuel W. Pennypacker.
 1907—Edwin S. Stuart.
 1911—John K. Tener.

PORTO RICO.

MILITARY.

1898—Gen. John R. Brooke.
 1898—Gen. Guy V. Henry.
 1899—Gen. George M. Davis.

CIVIL.

1900—Charles H. Allen.
 1901—William H. Hunt.
 1901—Beekman Winthrop.
 1907—Regis H. Post.
 1909—George R. Colton.

RHODE ISLAND.

The State consisted originally of four towns.

Providence and Warwick had no executive head until 1647.

PORTSMOUTH.

1638—William Coddington (Judge).
 1639—William Hutchinson.

NEWPORT.

1639—William Coddington (Judge).

PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT.

1640—William Coddington (Governor).

FOUR TOWNS UNITED (1647).

1647—John Coggeshall.
 1648—Jeremy Clarke (William Coddington was elected, but the General Court would not engage him for failing to clear himself of certain accusations).
 1649—John Smith.
 1650—Nicholas Easton.

PROVIDENCE AND WARWICK.

1651—Samuel Groton.
 1652—John Smith.
 1653—Gregory Dexter (President).

PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT.

1652—John Sandford (President).

UNITED TOWNS.

1654—Nicholas Easton.
 1654—Roger Williams.
 1657—Benedict Arnold.
 1660—William Brenton.

UNDER ROYAL CHARTER.

1662—Benedict Arnold.
 1666—William Brenton.
 1667—Benedict Arnold.
 1672—Nicholas Easton.
 1674—William Coddington.
 1676—Walter Clarke.
 1677—Benedict Arnold.
 1678—William Coddington.
 1678—John Cranston.
 1680—Peleg Sandford.
 1683—William Coddington, Jr.
 1685—Henry Bull.
 1686—Walter Clarke.
 1690—Henry Bull.
 1690—John Easton.
 1695—Caleb Carr.
 1696—Walter Clarke.
 1698—Samuel Cranston.
 1728—Joseph Jencks.
 1732—William Wanton.
 1734—John Wanton.
 1740—Richard Ward.
 1743—William Greene.
 1745—Gideon Wanton.
 1746—William Greene.
 1747—Gideon Wanton.
 1748—William Greene.
 1755—Stephen Hopkins.
 1757—William Greene.
 1758—Stephen Hopkins.
 1762—Samuel Ward.
 1763—Stephen Hopkins.
 1765—Samuel Ward.
 1767—Stephen Hopkins.
 1768—Josias Lyndon.
 1769—Joseph Wanton.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

1775—Nicholas Cooke.
 1778—William Greene, Jr.
 1786—John Collins.
 1790—Arthur Fenner.
 1805—Paul Mumford (Acting Governor).
 1805—Henry Smith (Acting Governor).
 1806—Isaac Wilbur (Acting Governor).
 1807—James Fenner.
 1811—William Jones.
 1817—Nehemiah R. Knight.
 1821—William C. Gibbs.
 1824—James Fenner.

1831—Lemuel H. Arnold.
 1833—John B. Francis.
 1835—William Sprague.
 1839—Samuel W. King.

UNDER CONSTITUTION.

1843—James Fenner.
 1845—Charles Jackson.
 1846—Byron Diman.
 1847—Elisha Harris.
 1849—Henry B. Anthony.
 1851—Philip Allen.
 1852—William B. Lawrence (Acting Governor).
 1852—Philip Allen.
 1853—Francis M. Dimond (Acting Governor).
 1854—William W. Hoppin.
 1857—Elisha Dyer.
 1859—Thomas G. Turner.
 1860—William Sprague.
 1861—John R. Bartlett (Acting Governor).
 1863—William C. Cozzens (Acting Governor).
 1863—James Y. Smith.
 1866—Ambrose E. Burnside.
 1869—Seth Padeford.
 1873—Henry Howard.
 1875—Henry Lippitt.
 1877—Charles C. Van Zandt.
 1880—A. H. Littlefield.
 1883—A. O. Bourn.
 1885—George P. Wetmore.
 1887—John W. Davis.
 1888—Royal C. Taft.
 1889—Herbert W. Ladd.
 1890—John W. Davis.
 1891—Herbert W. Ladd.
 1892—D. Russell Brown.
 1895—Charles W. Lippitt.
 1897—Elisha Dyer.
 1900—William Gregory.
 1901—Charles D. Kimball.
 1903—Lucius F. Carvin.
 1905—George H. Utter.
 1907—James H. Higgins.
 1909—Aram J. Pothier.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

ORIGINAL LORDS PROPRIETORS.

1663—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Moneck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkeley; Sir John Colleton.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNORS.

1670—William Sayle.
 1671—Joseph West.
 1672—Sir John Yeamans.
 1674—Joseph West.

1682—Joseph Morton.
 1684—Sir Richard Kyrle.
 1684—Robert Quarry.
 1685—Joseph West.
 1685—Joseph Morton.
 1686—James Colleton.
 1690—Seth Sothel.
 1692—Philip Ludwell.
 1693—Thomas Smith.
 1694—Joseph Blake.
 1694—John Archdale.
 1696—Joseph Blake.
 1700—James Moore.
 1702—Sir Nathaniel Johnson.
 1710—Edward Tynte.
 1710—Robert Gibbs.
 1711—Charles Craven.
 1716—Robert Daniell (Deputy-Governor).
 1717—Robert Johnson.

UNDER THE CROWN.

1719—James Moore, 2d.
 1721—Sir Francis Nicholson.
 1724—Arthur Middleton (President of Council).
 1729—Robert Johnson.
 1735—Thomas Broughton (Lieut.-Governor).
 1737—William Bull (President of Council and Lieut.-Governor).
 1743—James Glen.
 1756—William Henry Lyttelton.
 1760—William Bull, 2d (Lieut.-Governor).
 1761—Thomas Boone.
 1764—William Bull, 2d (Lieut.-Governor).
 1766—Lord Charles Greville Montagu.
 1768—William Bull, 2d (Lieut.-Governor).
 1768—Lord Charles Greville Montagu.
 1769—William Bull, 2d (Lieut.-Governor).
 1771—Lord Charles Greville Montagu.
 1773—William Bull, 2d (Lieut.-Governor).
 1775—Lord William Campbell.
 1775—Henry Laurens (Acting Governor).

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION.

1776—John Rutledge (President).
 1778—Rawlins Lowndes (President).
 1779—John Rutledge (Governor).
 1782—John Mathewes.
 1783—Benjamin Guerard.
 1785—William Moultrie.
 1787—Thomas Pinckney.
 1789—Charles Pinckney.
 1792—William Moultrie.
 1794—Arnoldus VanderHorst.
 1796—Charles Pinckney.
 1798—Edward Rutledge.
 1800—John Drayton.

1802—James B. Richardson.
 1804—Paul Hamilton.
 1806—Charles Pinckney.
 1808—John Drayton.
 1810—Henry Middleton.
 1812—Joseph Akston.
 1814—David R. Williams.
 1816—Andrew Pickens.
 1818—John Geddes.
 1820—Thomas Bennett.
 1822—John L. Wilson.
 1824—Richard I. Manning.
 1826—John Taylor.
 1828—Stephen D. Miller.
 1830—James Hamilton.
 1832—Robert Y. Hayne.
 1834—George McDuffie.
 1835—Pierce M. Butler.
 1838—Patrick Noble.
 1840—B. K. Henagan.
 1840—John P. Richardson.
 1842—James H. Hammond.
 1844—William Aiken.
 1845—David Johnson.
 1848—W. B. Seabrook.
 1850—John H. Means.
 1852—John L. Manning.
 1854—James J. Adams.
 1856—Robert F. W. Allston.
 1858—William H. Gast.
 1860—Francis W. Pickens.
 1862—Milledge L. Bonham.
 1865—A. Gordon Magrath.
 1865—Benjamin F. Perry (Provisional Governor).
 1865—James L. Orr.
 1865—Gen. Daniel E. Sickles (Military Governor).
 1865—Gen. E. R. S. Canby (Military Governor).
 1868—Robert K. Scott.
 1872—Franklin J. Moses, Jr.
 1874—Daniel H. Chamberlain.
 1876—Wade Hampton.
 1879—William D. Simpson.
 1880—T. B. Jeter.
 1880—Johnson Hagood.
 1882—Hugh S. Thompson.
 1886—John C. Sheppard.
 1886—John P. Richardson.
 1890—Benjamin R. Tillman.
 1894—John Gary Evans.
 1897—William H. Ellerbe.
 1899—Miles B. McSweeney.
 1903—Duncan Clinch Heyward.
 1907—Martin F. Ansel.
 1911—Cole L. Blease.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

TERRITORY.

For Governors of Dakota Territory see North Dakota.

STATE.

1889—Arthur C. Mellette.
 1893—Charles H. Sheldon.

1897—Andrew E. Lee.
 1901—Charles H. Herreid.
 1905—Samuel H. Elrod.
 1907—Coe I. Crawford.
 1909—Robert S. Vessey.
 1913—Frank M. Byrne.

TENNESSEE.

STATE OF FRANKLIN.

1785—John Sevier.
 1788—Interregnum.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES
SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER.

1790—William Blount.

STATE.

1796—John Sevier.
 1801—Archibald Roane.
 1803—John Sevier.
 1809—William Blount.
 1815—Joseph McMinn.
 1821—William Carroll.
 1827—Samuel Houston.
 1829—William Hall (Acting Governor).
 1829—William Carroll.
 1835—Newton Cannon.
 1839—James K. Folk.
 1841—James C. Jones.
 1845—Aaron V. Brown.
 1847—Neil S. Brown.
 1849—William Trousdale.
 1851—William B. Campbell.
 1853—Andrew Johnson.
 1857—Isam G. Harris.
 1862—5—Andrew Johnson (Military Governor).
 1863—R. L. Caruthers (Elected Governor of Confederate part of Tennessee, but never inaugurated).
 1865—March 4—April 5—Interregnum.
 1865—William G. Brownlow.
 1869—De Witt C. Senter.
 1871—John C. Brown.
 1875—James D. Porter.
 1879—Albert S. Marks.
 1881—Alvin Hawkins.
 1883—William B. Bate.
 1887—Robert L. Taylor.
 1891—John P. Buchanan.
 1893—Peter Turney.
 1897—Robert L. Taylor.
 1899—Benton McMillan.
 1903—James B. Frazier.
 1905—John I. Cox.
 1907—Malcolm R. Patterson.
 1911—Ben W. Hooper.

TEXAS.

UNDER SPANISH RULE.*

- 1691-93 (?)—Domingo Terán de los Ríos.
 1693-1716 (?)—Interregnum. Texas abandoned.
 1716 (?)—Martín de Alarcón.
 1719—Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo.
 1722—Fernando Pérez de Almazán.
 1727—Melchor Mediavilla y Ascona.
 1730—Juan Bustillos Zevellos.
 1734—Manuel de Sandoval.
 1736 (?)—Carlos de Franquis.
 1737—Prudencio de Orobio Bazterra.
 1741—Thomas Felipe Wintuizen.
 1743—Justo Boneo y Morales.
 1748—Francisco García Larios.
 1748—Pedro del Barrio y Espriella.
 1751—Jacinto de Barrios y Jauregui.
 1758 (?)—Ángel Martos y Navarrete.
 1767 (?)—Hugo Oconor.
 1770—Baron of Ripperdá.
 1778—Domingo Cabello.
 1789 (?)—Rafael Martínez Pacheco.
 1794 (?)—Pedro de Nava.
 1803 (?)—Juan Bautista Ganzábal.
 1805—Antonio Cordero.
 1810-13—Manuel Salcedo.
 1811—Juan Bautista Casas.
 1814-18 (?)—Cristóbal Domínguez.
 1817—Ignacio Pérez.
 1817—Manuel Pardo.
 1817-21 (?)—Antonio Martínez.

UNDER MEXICAN RULE, AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

(a) *Governors of Texas alone.*

- 1822—Félix Trespalacios.
 1823 (?)—Luciano García.

(b) *Governors of Texas and Coahuila.*

- 1824—Rafael Gonzales.
 1826—Victor Blanco.
 1827—José María Viesca.
 1830—Rafael Eca y Musquiz.
 1831—José María Letona.
 1832—Rafael Eca y Musquiz.
 1832—Juan M. de Veramendi.
 1833—Juan José de Vidauri y Villaseñor.
 1834—Juan José Elguezábal.
 1835—José María Cantú.
 1835—Augustin M. Viesca.
 1835—Marcel Borrego.
 1835—Rafael Eca y Musquiz.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.

- 1835, Nov. 12—Henry Smith.

* *Al interim* governors are included in this list. Alarcón and Aguayo appear to have been governors of both Coahuila and Texas. In a number of cases the dates are only approximate.

PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLIC.

- 1836, March-October—David G. Burnet.
 1836—Sam Houston.
 1838—Mirabeau B. Lamar.
 1840—Davis G. Burnet (Acting Governor).
 1841—Sam Houston.
 1845—Anson Jones.

STATE GOVERNORS.

- 1846—James P. Henderson.
 1849—George T. Wood.
 1849—P. Hainsborough Bell.
 1853—E. M. Pease.
 1857—Hardin R. Runnels.
 1859—Sam Houston.
 1861—Edward Clark.
 1861—Francis R. Lubbock.
 1863—Pendleton Murrah.
 1865—Andrew J. Hamilton (Provisional Governor).
 1866—James W. Throckmorton.
 1867—E. M. Pease.
 1870—Edmund J. Davis.
 1874—Richard Coke.
 1877—Richard B. Hubbard.
 1879—Oran M. Roberts.
 1883—John Ireland.
 1887—Lawrence S. Ross.
 1891—James S. Hogg.
 1895—Charles A. Culberson.
 1899—Joseph D. Sayers.
 1903—Samuel W. T. Lanham.
 1907—Thomas M. Campbell.
 1911—Oscar B. Colquitt.

UTAH.

TERRITORY.

- 1850—Brigham Young.
 1854—Edwin J. Steptoe.
 1857—Alfred Cummings.
 1861—Stephen S. Harding.
 1864—James D. Doty.
 1865—Charles Durkee.
 1870—J. Wilson Shaffer.
 1871—George L. Woods.
 1873—Samuel B. Axtel.
 1875—George W. Emery.
 1880—Eli H. Murray.
 1886—Caleb W. West.
 1890—Arthur L. Thomas.
 1893—Caleb W. West.

STATE.

- 1896—Heber M. Wells.
 1905—John C. Cutler.
 1909—William Spry.

VERMONT.

- 1778—Thomas Chittenden.
 1789—Moses Robinson.
 1790—Thomas Chittenden.
 1797—Paul Brigham.
 1797—Isaac Tichnor.
 1807—Israel Smith.
 1808—Isaac Tichnor.
 1809—Jonas Galusha.
 1813—Martin Chittenden.
 1815—Jonas Galusha.
 1820—Richard Skinner.
 1823—Cornelius P. Van Ness.
 1826—Ezra Butler.
 1828—Samuel C. Crafts.
 1831—William A. Palmer.
 1835—Silas A. Jenison.
 1841—Charles Paine.
 1843—John Mattocks.
 1844—William Slade.
 1846—Horace Eaton.
 1849—Carlos Coolidge.
 1850—Charles K. Williams.
 1852—Erastus Fairbanks.
 1853—John S. Robinson.
 1854—Stephen Royce.
 1856—Ryland Fletcher.
 1858—Hiland Hall.
 1860—Erastus Fairbanks.
 1861—Frederick Holbrook.
 1863—John G. Smith.
 1865—Paul Dillingham.
 1867—John B. Page.
 1869—Peter T. Washburn.
 1870—George W. Hendee.
 1870—John W. Stewart.
 1872—Julius Converse.
 1874—Asahel Peck.
 1876—Horace Fairbanks.
 1878—Redfield Proctor.
 1880—Roswell Farnham.
 1882—John L. Barstow.
 1884—Samuel E. Pingree.
 1886—E. J. Ormsbee.
 1888—William P. Dillingham.
 1890—Carroll S. Page.
 1892—Levi K. Fuller.
 1894—Urban A. Woodbury.
 1896—Josiah Grout.
 1898—Edward C. Smith.
 1900—W. W. Stickney.
 1902—J. G. McCullough.
 1904—Charles J. Bell.
 1906—Fletcher D. Proctor.
 1908—George H. Prouty.
 1910—John A. Mead.
 1912—Allen M. Fletcher.

VIRGINIA.

IN TIME OF ELIZABETH.

- 1584-90—Sir Walter Raleigh (London Proprietor; never in Virginia).

- 1585-86—Ralph Lane (Governor of Raleigh, first colony).
 1587-90—John White (Governor of Raleigh, second colony).

UNDER THE VIRGINIA COMPANY,
 1606-1624.

Residents in England.

- 1609-18—Sir Thomas Smith (President and Treasurer of London Company).
 1618-19—Sir Edwin Sandys (President and Treasurer of London Company).
 1619-24—Earl of Southampton (President and Treasurer of London Company).

Residents in Virginia.

- 1607—Edward Maria Wingfield (President).
 1607—John Ratcliffe (President).
 1608—Capt. John Smith (President).
 1609—George Percy (President).
 1609-18—Thomas West, Lord de la Warr (Lord Governor; governor, though residing in Virginia very little).
 1610—Sir Thomas Gates (Deputy-Governor).
 1610—Thomas West.
 1611—George Percy (Deputy-Governor).
 1611—Sir Thomas Dale (Deputy-Governor).
 1611—Sir Thomas Gates (Lieut.-Governor).
 1614—Sir Thomas Dale (Deputy-Governor).
 1616—George Yeardley (Deputy-Governor).
 1617—Samuel Argall (Deputy-Governor).
 1619—Nathaniel Powell (Acting Deputy-Governor).
 1619—Sir George Yeardley (Governor).
 1621—Sir Francis Wyatt (Governor).

UNDER THE CROWN, 1624-1652.

- 1624—Sir Francis Wyatt (Governor).
 1626—Sir George Yeardley (Governor).
 1627—Francis West (Acting Governor).
 1628—John Pott (Acting Governor).
 1630—Sir John Harvey (Governor).
 1635—John West (Acting Governor).
 1636—Sir John Harvey (Governor).
 1639—Sir Francis Wyatt (Governor).
 1642—Sir William Berkeley (Governor).

- 1645—Richard Kemp (President of Council in Berkeley's absence in England).
 1645—Sir William Berkeley (Governor).

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH,
 1652-1660.

- 1652—Richard Bennett.
 1655—Edward Diggs.
 1658—Samuel Matthews.
 1659—Berkeley, acting at request of Assembly.

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 UNDER THE CROWN, 1660-1776.

- 1660—Sir William Berkeley.
 1661—Sir Francis Morrison (Acting Governor).
 1662—Sir William Berkeley.
 1677—Sir Henry Jefferys (Lieut.-Governor).
 1678—Sir Henry Chicheley (Lieut.-Governor).
 1680—Thomas, Lord Culpepper (Governor).
 1683—Nicholas Spencer (Acting Governor).
 1684—Lord Howard of Effingham (Deputy-Governor).
 1689—Nathaniel Bacon (Acting Governor).
 1690—Sir Francis Nicholson (Lieut.-Governor).
 1693—Sir Edmund Andros (Governor).
 1697-1737—George Hamilton Douglas, Earl of Orkney (Governor; never in the colony).
 1698—Sir Francis Nicholson (Lieut.-Governor).
 1705—Edward Nott (Lieut.-Governor).
 1706—Edmund Jennings (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1710—Robert Hunter (Lieut.-Governor; appointed but captured by French).
 1710—Alexander Spotswood (Lieut.-Governor).
 1722—Hugh Drysdale (Lieut.-Governor).
 1726—Robert Carter (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1727—William Gooch (Lieut.-Governor).
 1737-54—William, Earl of Albemarle (Governor; never in the colony).
 1740—James Blair (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1741—William Gooch (Lieut.-Governor).
 1749—John Robinson, Sr. (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1749—Thomas Lee (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1750—Louis Burwell (President of Council and Acting Governor).

- 1751—Robert Dinwiddie (Lieut.-Governor).
 1756-68—John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun (Governor; never in the colony).
 1758—John Blair (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1758—Francis Fauquier (Lieut.-Governor).
 1763-68—Sir Jeffrey Amherst (Governor; never in the colony).
 1768—John Blair (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1768-70—Norborne Berkeley, Lord de Botetourt (Governor).
 1770—William Nelson (President of Council and Acting Governor).
 1771—John, Lord Dunmore (Governor).

UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION,
 1776-1865.

- 1776—Patrick Henry.
 1779—Thomas Jefferson.
 1781—Thomas Nelson, Jr.
 1781—Benjamin Harrison.
 1784—Patrick Henry.
 1786—Edmund Randolph.
 1788—Beverly Randolph.
 1791—Henry Lee.
 1794—Robert Brooke.
 1796—James Wood.
 1799—James Monroe.
 1802—John Page.
 1805—William H. Cabell.
 1808—John Tyler, Sr.
 1811—James Monroe.
 1811—George William Smith (Acting Governor after resignation of Monroe).
 1811—Peyton Randolph (Acting Governor after death of Smith).
 1812—James Barbour.
 1814—Wilson Cary Nicholas.
 1816—James Patton Preston.
 1818—Thomas Mann Randolph.
 1822—James Pleasant, Jr.
 1825—John Tyler.
 1827—William B. Giles.
 1830—John Floyd.
 1834—Littleton Waller Tazewell.
 1836—Windham Robertson (Acting Governor after resignation of Tazewell).
 1837—David Campbell.
 1840—Thomas Walker Gilmer.
 1841—John M. Patton (Acting, pending election).
 1841—John Rutherford (Acting, pending election).
 1842—John M. Gregory (Acting, pending election).
 1843—James McDowell.
 1846—William Smith.
 1849—John Buchanan Floyd.
 1852—Joseph Johnson.
 1856—Henry Alexander Wise.
 1860—John Letcher.
 1864—William Smith.

UNDER FEDERAL RULE, 1865-1870.
 1865—Francis H. Pierpont.
 1867-69—J. M. Schofield (Military Commander).
 1867—Henry H. Wells (Provisional Governor).
 1869-70—E. R. S. Canby (Military Commander).
 1869—Gilbert C. Walker (Provisional Governor).

AGAIN IN UNION, 1870.

1870—Gilbert C. Walker.
 1874—James Lawson Kemper.
 1878—Frederick W. M. Holliday.
 1882—William E. Cameron.
 1886—Fitzhugh Lee.
 1890—Philip W. McKinney.
 1894—Charles Triplett O'Ferrall.
 1898—John Hoge Tyler.
 1902—Andrew J. Montague.
 1906—Claude A. Swanson.
 1910—William H. Mann.

WASHINGTON.

1853—Isaac I. Stevens.
 1857—J. Patton Anderson (Did not qualify).
 1857—Fayette McMullin.
 1859—Richard D. Gholson.
 1861—William H. Wallace.
 1862—William Pickering.
 1865—George E. Cole.
 1867—Marshall F. Moore.
 1869—Alvin Flanders.
 1870—Edward S. Salomon.
 1872—James F. Legate (Did not qualify).
 1872—Elisha P. Ferry.
 1880—William A. Newell.
 1884—Watson C. Squire.

1887—Eugene Semple.
 1889—Miles C. Moore.
 1890—Elisha P. Ferry.
 1893—John H. McGraw.
 1897—John R. Rogers.
 1901—Henry G. McBride.
 1905—Albert E. Mead.
 1909—Samuel G. Cosgrove.
 1909—M. E. Hay.
 1913—Ernest Lister.

WEST VIRGINIA.

1863—Arthur J. Boreman.
 1869—D. D. T. Farnsworth (Acting Governor).
 1869—William E. Stevenson.
 1871—John J. Jacob.
 1877—Henry M. Mathews.
 1881—Jacob B. Jackson.
 1885—E. Willis Wilson.
 1890—A. Brooks Fleming.
 1893—William A. MacCorkle.
 1897—George W. Atkinson.
 1901—Albert B. White.
 1905—William M. O. Dawson.
 1909—William E. Glasscock.
 1913—H. D. Hatfield.

WISCONSIN.

TERRITORY.

1836—Henry Dodge.
 1841—James D. Doty.
 1844—N. P. Tallmadge.
 1845—Henry Dodge.

STATE.

1848—Nelson Dewey.
 1851—Leonard J. Farwell.

1854—William A. Barstow.
 1856—Arthur McArthur.
 1856—Coles Bashford.
 1857—Alexander W. Randall.
 1861—Louis P. Harvey.
 1862—E. Salomon (Acting Governor).
 1863—James T. Lewis.
 1866—Lucius Fairchild.
 1872—C. C. Washburn.
 1871—William R. Taylor.
 1876—Harrison Luddington.
 1878—William E. Smith.
 1882—Jeremiah M. Rusk.
 1889—William D. Hoard.
 1891—George W. Peck.
 1895—William H. Upham.
 1897—Edward Scofield.
 1901—R. M. La Follette.
 1905—James O. Davidson.
 1911—Francis C. McGovern.

WYOMING.

TERRITORY.

1869—John A. Campbell.
 1875—John M. Thayer.
 1878—John W. Hoyt.
 1882—William Hale.
 1885—Francis E. Warren.
 1886—Thomas Moonlight.
 1889—Francis E. Warren (Elected U. S. Senator, 1890).

STATE.

1890—Amos W. Barber (Secretary of State, Acting Governor).
 1893—John E. Osborne.
 1895—William A. Richards.
 1899—De Forest Richards.
 1903—Fennimore Chatterton.
 1905—Bryant B. Brooks.
 1911—Joseph M. Carey.

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